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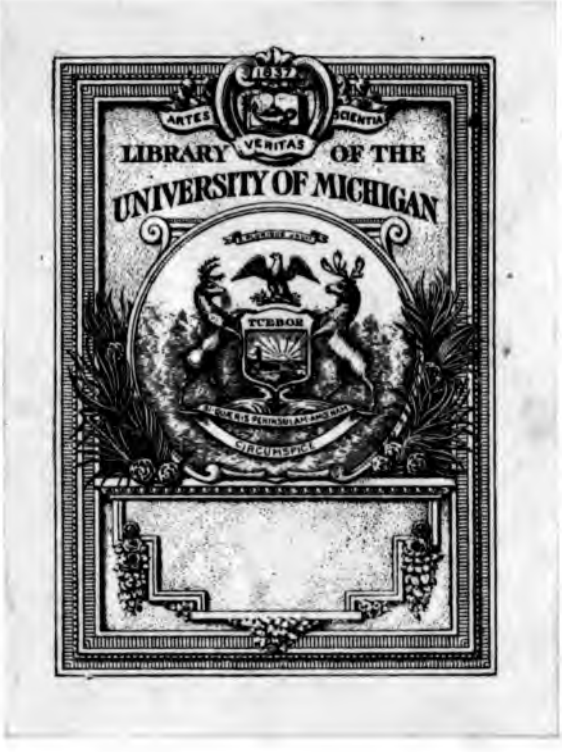
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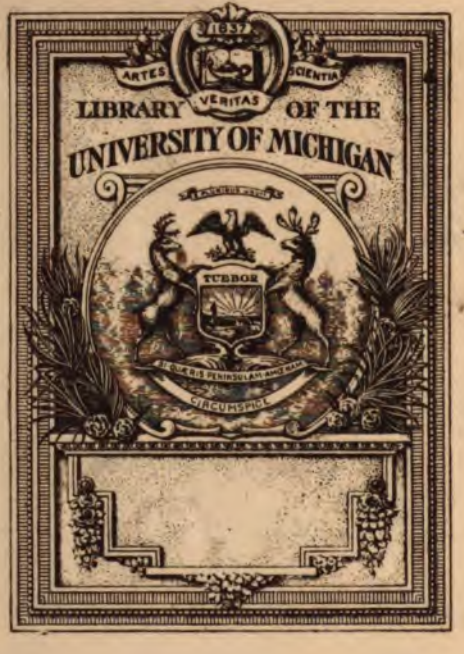
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COLBURN'S

UNITED SERVICE

MAGAZINE

AND

Naval and Military Journal.

1844. PART II.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

LONDON.
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

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COLBURN's

UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE.

THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN AND ITS HISTORIANS.

BY MAJOR BASIL JACKSON, H.P., ROYAL STAFF CORPS.

ALTHOUGH we possess some historical works of merit which treat incidentally of the Waterloo campaign, yet it cannot be said, that any writer has, hitherto, given us a full and satisfactory account of the momentous events of that important period. The relations we have seen may be considered rather in the light of contributions towards its history, than as entitled to the dignity of history themselves. We can all recollect how the press of this country teemed for months, and even years, with histories, narratives, accounts, letters, and anecdotes, having Waterloo for their theme; but many of these publications were of an ephemeral character, serving to fill the coffers of the booksellers, who knew how to avail themselves of the craving appetite amongst us for interesting details relating to the most glorious page in British history. Works of this class fulfilled their office, and then sank into oblivion; but not without leaving on the public mind indelible traces of perverted facts, false criticism, and unfounded prejudice.

The truth is, I believe*, that a military writer—and none other can properly treat on military occurrences—who has a loftier aim than merely to amuse his readers, rarely meets with much encouragement in England; so that, unless he can contrive to blend entertainment with instruction, his work must lie a dead weight on the publisher's shelves. Nevertheless we do occasionally see a certain bow-window in Whitehall graced by the unattractive octavo of some military aspirant for literary fame; and we should, doubtless, witness such an exhibition more frequently, did not the pages of the United Service Magazine and other professional periodicals, serve as recipients for the outpourings of those, among our brethren, who are subject to attacks of the multiform disease known as *cacoethes scribendi.*

But it is better that no writer, with ability for the task, should have earlier undertaken to furnish a complete history of the campaign of 1815; as it was necessary for the conflicting statements that have appeared, whether put forth under British, French, or Prussian colours, to be submitted to the operation of *time*, the seldom-failing crucible of

* As I shall have occasion, in the course of this paper, to mention facts from my own knowledge, I have preferred writing in the first person. If, therefore, the dogmatical *I* appears instead of the more modest, but also more important, *we*, it is in order to avoid such phrases as "the writer of this paper," "we of our own knowledge," &c.

truth, as well as to await the gradual unfolding of unvarnished and unvitiated evidence, that any one, whatever his capabilities, could hope to produce a good and lasting work on the military operations of that period.

What we desired to see, was a fair *European* history of the campaign, written in a spirit of truth, candour, liberality, and forbearance; and not a mere English, French, or German version of it, disfigured by exhibitions of national pride, vain glory, prejudice, or jealousy.

The French have, as yet, supplied us with no account upon which we dare to rely, as containing a correct representation of the occurrences of the campaign*: finding they could not expect to regain, by their clever pens, the glory that we wrested from them with the sword, their military writers in general deemed it prudent to remain silent, and leave the case in the hands of the compilers of such works as "Les Victoires et Conquêtes des Français," and "Vingt années de gloire contre un seul revers." Napoleon, however, tried his hand in manufacturing a "Campagne de 1815," which ought, properly, in imitation of the German tale, to have been entitled, "The Story without an end;" since, although, it proceeded very satisfactorily—like the reality—through the operations of the 15th, 16th, 17th, and part of the 18th June, yet its conclusion sorely puzzled him. The General, to whom he dictated it, told me at St. Helena, that the "Campagne Superbe" of his master being unfinished, he had himself submitted to the ex-Emperor, no less than six different modes of accounting for the unexpected and extraordinary termination of the battle of Waterloo, but each was rejected in succession!

Prussia has not been prolific in military histories of the campaign: that of Colonel Wagner, and a more recent one, compiled from documents supplied by General Grolman, Blücher's Quarter-Master General, are the only ones I believe of importance. The latter appeared in 1837; it is a very elaborate work, and from the character, ability, and opportunities, of General Grolman, fully to be depended upon for the *purely Prussian* operations; and, possibly, some of the compiler's strictures upon the Commander of the Anglo-Allied army and his troops may not have been wholly unmerited; but I think he goes out of his way occasionally, in order to detract from the well-earned reputation of the *British* army, and something very like a sneer now and then escapes him in reference to its composition, military institutions, and tactics†. His assumption in behalf of the Prussian army, that the most brilliant portion of the battle of Waterloo—to use his own language—fell to its share, I shall use my best endeavours to combat before I have done; but for the present will leave him "alone with *our* glory."

An English work, on the eve of publication, and of which I have been

---

* The celebrated military writer, General de Jomini, wrote upon it, and in French, with his usual talent; but he can scarcely be called a French writer.

† This work is written in German, and has not, that I am aware of, been translated into any other language. I shall have frequent occasion to speak of it in the course of my remarks, and for convenience will call it the *Prussian account*. The title of the work is "History of the Campaign of 1815, in the Netherlands and France, as a contribution to the History of Modern Wars." A Major von Damitz is *the compiler*.

favoured with an early copy, will supply the deficiencies complained of above. It is written in a free and impartial manner, is lucid in its descriptions, surprisingly correct in details; and many important features of the campaign, which have hitherto remained either wholly unnoticed, or else kept too much in shadow, are now brought forward into proper relief; whilst the grand military operations of the period are delineated with the pen of an enlightened soldier.

Captain Siborne, the author of the work in question, is advantageously known both to the military world, and the public in general, by his admirable model of the battle of Waterloo which was exhibited some years back: it had, indeed, but one solitary defect, namely, that of placing the Prussians more forward than they really were at the precise moment of the battle selected for representation; the cause of which error, its able and indefatigable constructor explains in a note at page 270, vol. ii. of his present work; but I confess that the explanation rather tends to give the reader a favourable notion of his own delicacy and good feeling, than serves to convince him that the error did not originate in a design on the part of the Prussian officers to support, by their *minute detail, and plan drawn upon a large scale, containing a distribution of the troops*, the pretension made on the part of their gallant army, of having saved the Anglo-Allied force from impending defeat at Waterloo.

One of the most important parts of Captain Siborne's undertaking, consists in a lavish supply of excellent plans; besides good general maps of parts of Belgium and France, we have no less than *nine* faithful plans, beautifully executed in the new style of engraving from models, to illustrate different periods of the several actions. The manner in which these plans are executed has the effect of throwing the ground into relief, by which the minutest details may be understood, not only by the military man who is accustomed to examine plans, but by any person of common intelligence. To the correctness and vast superiority, in every respect, of these plans over all others that I have seen of the same ground and circumstances, I can bear the most unqualified testimony; they reflect the highest credit on the talents and industry of their author.

Captain Siborne's model has evidently been the parent of his book; for the former having, as he tells us, been commenced under the authority of Government, he received permission to address himself to the several officers who might have it in their power to communicate valuable information; and with a view to render such information as complete as possible, and to substantiate it by corroborative testimony, he forwarded his applications to almost every surviving Waterloo officer—not limiting his inquiries to any one particular period of the action, but extending them over the whole of the battle of Waterloo, as also that of Quatre-Bras, and the entire campaign. In this manner he was enabled to possess himself, from the combined evidence of eye-witnesses, of a mass of extremely important matter, such as no one, under other circumstances, could by any possibility have obtained.

Of minor improvements to be found in Capt. Siborne's work, that of giving in a tabular form the amount of troops and guns engaged on each side in an action, which is repeated whenever any considerable reinforcement *arrives to either party*, is very useful. And the pro-

priety of giving the name, and acquainting us with the fate of every individual, of whatever rank, who had an opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself, everybody must feel; and I shall be greatly mistaken if it do not serve largely to benefit the publisher. Finally, Capt. Siborne's style of writing is graphic and soldier-like, and he has neglected to advantage the opinion of General de Jomini, that, "un soldat écrit toujours assez bien s'il se fait comprendre."

"L'aigle impérial volera de clocher en clocher jusqu'aux tours de Nôtre Dame," was a fine figurative prediction, verified by the ease and rapidity with which Napoleon re-seated himself on the French throne. The early part of the eagle's flight was, however, anything but cheering: day after day the march was prosecuted, from Cannes towards Paris, without a single demonstration of that enthusiasm with which Bonaparte flattered himself he would be greeted on retreading the soil of France. In melancholy silence, doubt, and anxiety, his band approached Grenoble. At that moment the destiny of Napoleon, of France, and the repose of Europe, hung upon a single individual, of no higher rank than Colonel of a regiment; Labedoyère shouted "Vive l'Empereur;" his men threw up their caps, ranged themselves under the standard of the bold invader, and thenceforward the march to Paris was an ovation. Ney's defection, about which so much has been said, and for which he died, was comparatively of little importance; that of the garrison of Grenoble sealed the fate of Louis *.

In his daring attempt Napoleon ran little hazard of experiencing the fate which closed Murat's career. He was accompanied by 600 of his old Imperial Guard; a force not only adequate to protect him against the efforts of any body of troops that could be immediately collected to meet him in the south, but likewise to insure his safe retreat, had the hope he placed in Labedoyère proved fallacious. For, even supposing that amongst the soldiery there had been any reluctance to aid Napoleon in his enterprise, none could have been found to act against their former idol; and he would have been suffered to retire, and to re-embark, without opposition. What afterwards might have befallen him it is useless to speculate upon: whether he would have sought to regain Elba, and await the deportation to St. Helena, which it is said was a question before he started on his expedition, or endeavoured to effect a passage to the United States. Probably he had become reckless of consequences before he quitted Elba. Existence there was unendurable; the inspiration of his genius pointed out the favourable moment for action; the enterprise was worthy of his great name; his person was secure from capture, while he felt the pulse of his old companions in arms; and, finally, if he must be a prisoner, it little mattered whether the remnant of his days was passed in Elba or elsewhere.

Never did Napoleon's energy and vast abilities shine forth in a more

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* Cipriani, Napoleon's Maître d'Hotel, and who accompanied his master from Elba, told me at St. Helena that the silence and apparent apathy of the people in the towns and villages through which they passed struck a chill to all their hearts, and almost deprived them of hope. From Count Bertrand I could never get any *particulars* of that march: silent and reserved by nature it was impossible to draw *him out.*

astonishing manner than immediately after he remounted the throne; the rapid development of the national resources, the complete military reorganization, the suppression of rebellion in La Vendée, and the overthrow of faction, are only a few of the objects which he effected, as if by magic.

"The general aspect of France at that moment was singularly warlike. It was that of a whole nation buckling on its armour; over the entire country armed bodies were to be seen in motion towards their several points of destination; everywhere the new levies for the line, and the newly-enrolled National Guards, were in an unremitting course of drill and organization. The greatest activity was maintained, day and night, in all the arsenals, and in all the manufactories of clothing and articles of equipment. Crowds of workmen were constantly employed in the repair of the numerous fortresses, and in the erection of intrenched works. Everywhere appeared a continued transport of artillery, waggons, arms, ammunition, and all the material of war; whilst upon every road forming an approach to any of the main points of assembly in the vicinity of the frontiers, might be seen those well-formed veteran bands, Napoleon's followers through many a bloody field, moving forth with all the order, and with all the elasticity of spirit, inspired by the full confidence of a renewed career of victory,—rejoicing in the display of those standards which so proudly recalled the most glorious fields that France had ever won, and testifying by their acclamations their enthusiastic devotion to the cause of their Emperor, which was ever cherished by them as identified with that of their country*."

It was a misfortune for Napoleon that the armies of the Allied Powers still existed upon the great scale to which they had been raised in the year preceding; and hence very little exertion was now necessary in order to put them into an efficient state for immediate action. Still time was required for those armies to assemble, and then to march towards the several points menacing France, which were assigned to them in the general plan of preparation for the expected campaign.

In the early part of June, Wellington's force in the Netherlands numbered more than 90,000 men, Blücher's, near the Meuse, 116,000; 100,000 Austrians were posted between Basle and Manheim, and the same number were drawing together on the plains of Lombardy. The Bavarians were little short of 80,000 on the Upper Rhine, and 160,000 Russians were rapidly retracing their way from Poland. Thus more than half a million of soldiers would speedily have been in line, ready to operate simultaneously against Bonaparte. But he relieved them at once of all trouble respecting their plans to crush him, by precipitating 130,000 men, the flower of the French army, upon Charleroi, the point on which rested the left of the Anglo-Allied and right of the Prussian cantonments.

The head-quarters of Blücher's four corps d'armée were, respectively, Charleroi, Namur, Cinay, and Liege; his own station being at Namur.

Wellington's head-quarters were at Brussels, in or near which city his reserve was cantoned; his cavalry was at Ninove; and the points of concentration for the advanced divisions of the army were Nivelles, Soignies, Enghien, Ath, Grammont, and Oudenarde, respectively. These formed two corps, the first under the Prince of Orange, as a British General, and the second under Lord Hill.

* *Siborne*, vol. i., p. 15.

A reference to the map will show that for Wellington's army to concentrate on its left, and Blücher's on its right, required a longer time than for each to collect at any other point of its own ground. Wellington's dispositions were more calculated to meet the enemy's advance by way of Mons, and Blücher's to meet it by Namur, than to oppose an attack by Charleroi. The weak point of the allied defensive system was at once perceived by Napoleon, whose object was to engage his adversaries separately.

Every military man will admit, that his army was brought together with wonderful celerity and secrecy; (but, no leader ever surpassed, if any has equalled, Bonaparte in ability to combine the movements of large bodies of troops for an ulterior purpose.) Before he left Paris to join his army, the odds—to use Newmarket language—were against his succeeding in beating both Blücher and Wellington; but when he had in so masterly a manner established his masses in front of their weakest point, while they had yet to concentrate, the odds were perhaps in his favour: so extraordinary was the sudden effect of his great strategetical skill, and the secrecy with which his army was concentrated.

Well was it then for the allied cause, that Bonaparte's opponents were worthy of their great antagonist; one of them "possessing, to a degree bordering on rashness, a high-spirited daring in enterprise; distinguished, on critical occasions in the field, when the unrestrained feelings and nature of the *ci-devant* bold hussar started forth in aid of the veteran commander, by a personal display of chivalrous and impetuous bravery; ever vigilant for an opportunity of harassing his enemy, and fixedly relentless in the pursuit, so long as he retained the mastery; —qualities which, in his own country, had acquired for him the sobriquet of 'Marschall Vorwärts,' he was eminently fitted to be both the representative and the leader of the Prussians*."

The other, "resolute, yet cool, cautious, and calculating in his proceedings, possessing a natural courage, unshaken even under the most appalling dangers and difficulties; placing great yet not vain reliance upon physical and moral strength, as opposed to the force of numbers; it was not surprising that he should have inspired with unbounded confidence soldiers who could not but see in his character and conduct the reflection and stamp of their own qualities, the worth of which he so well knew, and which he had so often proved during the arduous struggle that had been brought to so brilliant and so glorious a conclusion. But besides these traits in his character, which so completely identified him with a British Army, there were others which peculiarly distinguished him as one of the greatest captains that his own or any other nation ever produced, and which might well inspire confidence as to the result of the approaching contest, even opposed as he was to the hero of a hundred fights, with whom he was now, for the first time, to measure swords. The eagle-glance with which he detected the object of every hostile movement, and the promptitude with which he decided upon, and carried into effect, the measures necessary to counteract the enemy's efforts; the lightning-like rapidity with which l
attacks, founded as they frequently were, upon
discovered errors of his opponents; the noble

* Siborne, vol. i., p

of mind with which he surveyed the battle-field, and with which he gave his orders and instructions; unaffected by merely temporary success, unembarrassed by sudden difficulties, and undismayed by unexpected danger; the many proofs which his operations in the Peninsula had afforded of his accurate knowledge, just conception, and skilful discrimination, of the true principles of the science of strategy—all tended to point him out as the individual best fitted by his abilities, his experience, and his character, to head the military array assembled to decide the all-important question whether the star of Napoleon was to regain the ascendant, or to set in darkness; whether his iron despotism was again to erect its mighty head, or to be now struck down and crushed—finally and effectually crushed*."

But the qualities for command of both Generals—so well set forth in the above passages—would not, perhaps, have sufficed to secure a prosperous issue to the momentous events that were approaching. In those great men there was, moreover, a total absence of all mutual jealousy; the same feeling of pure patriotism reigned in both their bosoms; their confidence in each other was unbounded; their love of true glory the same: it was in many respects Marlborough and Eugene arming for victory†. These rare qualities were indispensable to procure their triumph, for, at the moment when the first gun was fired on the Sambre, the two allied armies were precisely in the situation contemplated by General de Jomini, when he recommends an assailant to direct his masses towards the decisive point of the line of operations—namely, on the centre, if the enemy has committed the fault of too greatly extending his army, or upon one of his extremities, if it remains contiguous‡.

And why, we may ask, were the allied armies thus scattered along a line eighty miles in extent, namely, from Liège to Oudenarde? The evil arose from their having different and opposite bases of operation; Wellington drew his supplies of men and material from Ostend and Antwerp, while Blücher's came from the Rhine. Up to the moment when hostilities began, Wellington was daily receiving reinforcements of troops; and Blücher, although strong enough, was desirous to keep as long as possible near his communications; hence, he would not move forward his corps d'armée from their cantonments between Namur and Liège, and place them in preparation for effective co-operation in the defence of Belgium, so long as there appeared no immediate prospect of their being called into the field.

But the event proved, that such an adversary as Napoleon was not to be trifled with; he was not slow in perceiving the peculiar nature of the allied dispositions; and with the secrecy and promptitude that characterised his great military operations, he issued orders for the rapid concentration of his army between Philipeville, Beaumont, and

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* Siborne, vol. i., page 22.

†ve seen a private letter from Blücher to Sir Hudson Lowe, written *many terior to Bonaparte's quitting Elba*, in which, after disavowing all desire umphs, he expressed a hope, that if ever again called upon to act, it th that General and that army who had immortalized when Wellington and himself would go hand in hand rophetic epistle.

‡*ations Militaires*, vol. ii., page 284.

Solre sur Sambre, and only quitted Paris in time to place himself at its head, ready to fall suddenly on the weakest point of the allied defences.

But, ere we proceed farther, it may not be useless to take a glance at the measures pursued by the successive commanders of the allied forces destined to protect Belgium; by which we shall perceive the evil consequences of having two distinct armies to defend the same frontier, even when the best understanding possible subsists between their leaders.

The disposition of the Anglo-Allied army in front of Brussels, nearly as it continued up to the commencement of hostilities, was originally made about the 20th March, while the Prince of Orange commanded it, with a view to check any attempt at a *coup de main* on the Netherlands by Bonaparte; Kleist, whose head-quarters were at Aix-la-Chapelle, being at the same time strongly urged to put the Prussian army in march, pass the Meuse, move on Namur, and thence towards Fleurus and Genappe, in order to support the forward movement of the Anglo-Allied force*.

Kleist was, however, of opinion, that in the event of the French attacking with a superior force, the Anglo-Allied army should retire behind Brussels, while the Prussians should advance across the Meuse, form a junction with it about Tirlemont or St. Tron, and then assail the enemy†. Nevertheless he caused Zieten's corps to move up to the Meuse at Liège, near which city it entered cantonments on the 22nd March‡.

When the Duke of Wellington took command of his army on the 4th April, he signified his approval of the important steps which had already been taken, and on the following day addressed a letter to Kleist, wherein, after representing the advantage it would be to Bonaparte if he could force back the Anglo-Allied army from its advanced situations between Brussels and the frontier, drive Louis XVIII. from Ghent, and cause the King of the Netherlands to quit his capital; he gives it as his opinion that measures ought to be taken to place the Prussian army in junction with his own, suggesting at the same time that Kleist should immediately march along the Meuse, and occupy cantonments between Charleroi, Namur, and Huy§.

In proposing this measure to Kleist—which was not then carried into effect—we are not to consider that Wellington looked upon the line of the Meuse as the best situation for the Prussian force, with a view to supporting him, but as being the only one that Kleist was likely to move to; well knowing that nothing short of actual hostilities would induce the Prussians to forsake that river, and enter more into the heart of Belgium, even supposing the King of the Netherlands disposed to accede to such a step. He also felt, that could the Prussians be so far advanced, there was little fear of an immediate attack on Belgium by Bonaparte, the Duke's object at that time being to protect the country from any sudden irruption of the French, and thus deprive Napoleon of the advantages, moral as well as physical, which he would have gained

* Unpublished correspondence of Sir Hudson Lowe, who was at once the Quartermaster-General and main-spring of the Anglo-Allied army at that period.

† Wellington's Dispatches, vol. xii., page 290.

‡ Unpublished letter of General Müffling to Sir Huds on Lowe.

§ *Dispatches, vol. xii., page 289.*

by occupying Belgium. But when Blücher assumed the command, he quickly adopted Wellington's suggestion, and cantoned his army in the manner that had been recommended to Kleist; and so it remained up to the opening of the campaign.

Had there been any appearance of an attack by Bonaparte while both armies were comparatively weak, the Prussian army would most likely have been pushed farther towards that of Wellington. By degrees, however, each army gained strength, and, towards the middle of June, Blücher had 116,000 men, and Wellington 80,000, in the field*, and each army lay cantoned conveniently for its own concentration, if necessary, but defectively in reference to affording each other efficient support in case of attack. But on this point no blame can attach to the British General, since the enemy, having three great roads converging from his own frontier upon Brussels—namely, by Tournay, Mons, and Charleroi—it was requisite for him to watch the two former, and be prepared to meet him in force should he select either of those routes to advance by. Thus he could not venture to draw in his right, in order to stretch forth his left, to be nearer the Prussians. But there was no reason why Blücher should not have had his fourth corps at Fleurus, instead of being so far off as Liège; in which case, not only would he have had the whole of his army present to meet the attack by Charleroi, but also his battle could have been fought in advance of Quatre-Bras, supported by all the Anglo-Allied troops, who were engaged at that point on the 16th June.

Owing to the distance of Bülow's corps, and the second and third corps being also cantoned too far off, the first, under Zieten, when compelled to fall back from Charleroi, had to move in a direction divergent from the left of the Anglo-Allied army, namely, towards Fleurus, in order to afford time for the second and third corps to assemble; whereby a gap was formed in the Allied defensive line, by which the approach to Brussels, *viâ* Quatre-Bras, lay open, until the breach was filled up by Wellington's reserve from that city.

But, perhaps, the events of the campaign warrant us in concluding that the proper situations for Blücher's cantonments, either with a view of supporting Wellington, or receiving timely succour himself, as also for protecting the Netherlands, were Gembloux, Genappe, Fleurus, and Wavre, with an infantry division at Charleroi, to watch the Sambre, and a body of cavalry at Namur, to observe the Meuse. For the Field-Marshal's head-quarters, Brussels was the proper point, in order that the two Commanders should be able to concert a plan of operations, under whatever circumstances the campaign might be opened.

From the moment that the Prussian army amounted to 100,000 men, Blücher had no reason for anxiety respecting his communications with the Rhine, as there was little chance of Bonaparte seeking to turn his left by Namur—supposing his army cantoned as above—when the consequence of such an operation would have been to throw the Allied armies closer together, and form, as it were, one grand combined army. In the previous year, Blücher had never shown himself over-solicitous about his communications with the rear when operating almost alone

* By this time Wellington had little short of 100,000 men under his command, but he had *places to garrison.*

against Bonaparte; nor is it imagined that he felt much anxiety respecting them at the period in question; and had he expected Napoleon's attack on the Allied armies, he would, it may be presumed, have made ready for his reception by moving up his several corps, and posting them in some such situations as I have ventured to suggest, and not have waited to relinquish his communications, or rather, hazard their interruption—a course which he was compelled to adopt eventually—until a defeat like that at Ligny rendered the measure tenfold more dangerous to the safety of his army, than it would have been before the opening of the campaign.

Some critics have found fault with the distribution of the Anglo-Allied troops in cantonments, and their Commander has also been blamed for not having concentrated his force after the 6th June, when he learned that the French were collecting near the frontier. Had his troops been at that time widely scattered, there can be no doubt that the Duke would, on the receipt of this intelligence, have drawn them more together; but if by concentration the gathering of an army into one mass, as for battle, is meant, I cannot agree with those critics. Any one has only to refer to a map of Belgium, and he will perceive, that, excepting an incomplete division posted at Oudenarde, to watch West Flanders, the Duke's army was so cantoned that it could be assembled at any given point within what may be called its own sphere of action, in from twenty to thirty hours after notice of an enemy's advance should reach Brussels, which city was the centre of a system, and Sotteghem, Ninove, Grammont, Ath, Lens, Soignies, and Nivelles (the chief cantonments) formed the circumference.

It appears to have been always the Duke of Wellington's fixed determination to prevent the French penetrating to Brussels, and hence his army was cantoned so that he could collect it at any place inside the above-traced boundary, but in advance of the forest of Soignies, in less time than the enemy would require to arrive at such particular spot. Whilst the Prussians continued on the Meuse, the Duke's arrangements were of necessity irrespective of their dispositions. Between the two leaders there existed an understanding for general co-operation; but there seems to have been no idea of uniting the two armies and making them act together.

It is manifest, from the Duke of Wellington's letter of the 6th June, to Sir Henry Hardinge—who was stationed at Prince Blücher's head-quarters—and his orders issued on the 7th, relative to the defence of certain towns* that he expected the French to invade Belgium, and was desirous for the Prussian General to be on his guard; but Blücher appears to have given no heed to the warning—at least he did not move his corps so as to have them in closer co-operation with the Anglo-Allied army; and consequently he had to fight a battle alone, and sustain a defeat which might have been avoided. Moreover, he placed Wellington under the necessity of collecting his army at Quatre-Bras, a point which was not only six miles beyond Nivelles, the left of his cantonments, but also farther in advance than any previously-contemplated place of concentration.

It is for the reader to determine how far the above remarks are just, and to what extent they tend to prove that the defence of a frontier by

* *See Dispatches*, vol. xii., pages 449, 450.

two armies having different bases, must of necessity be defective; and that if a country is to be defended on a particular side, it is better to employ one army of 150,000 men for that purpose, than 200,000 under two Commanders, circumstanced as were Wellington and Blücher. Had the Duke been single-handed, and at the head of 150,000 troops, Napoleon would hardly have ventured to attack him with 130,000; but with this number he did not hesitate to advance against 200,000, and very nearly succeeded in defeating them, because he saw the error of a too extended defensive line, and knew the value of the initiative upon such an occasion*.

On the opening of the campaign, Napoleon adopted a plan similar in principle to the Duke of Wellington's practice in the Peninsula; he divided his army into two wings and a reserve; Grouchy commanded the right wing and Ney the left, while the Imperial Guard remained under his own immediate direction, ready to strengthen either wing, or receive support from them, as should be needed.

The passage of the Sambre having been effected, with little opposition from the Prussians, on the 15th June, Bonaparte ordered Ney to advance, on the morning of the 16th, by the main route, to Brussels, possess himself of the important point of Quatre-Bras, occupy Genappe, and detach a division in the direction of Marbais, to cover the space between Sombref and Quatre-Bras. A letter from Napoleon speedily followed these orders, which was intended to make the Marshal acquainted with his views generally. He therein states his purpose to be at Fleurus before mid-day, and that he should attack the enemy, if any appeared, and clear the road as far as Gembloux, at which place he would decide on ulterior measures according to circumstances, "perhaps at three o'clock, perhaps in the evening." Meanwhile, Ney, who, it was presumed, would be at Genappe by the time that Bonaparte's ultimate decision should reach him, was to hold himself prepared to move upon Brussels, supported by the Imperial Guard. Napoleon further informed him, that he was desirous to arrive there in person early next day, and in this view, wished the Marshal, if possible, to advance three or four leagues on the evening of the 16th, in order that he might be at Brussels by seven the following morning.

* In 1794 the same mistake was committed by the Allies, who occupied a line extending from Antwerp to Namur (about the same distance as between Oudenarde and Liège). On that occasion, the Austrians clung, like Blücher, to the Meuse, and their communications with the Rhine, while the British and Dutch leaned towards Holland. Had a Bonaparte then directed the French, one or the other army of the Allies would have been destroyed.

There is a ridiculous story in the spurious memoirs of Fouché, relative to the opening of the campaign, which has been copied into the Prussian account, Alison's History, and other works; it scarcely deserves refutation, and one is only astonished that a writer of Alison's ability and discrimination should have been duped by a tale so grossly absurd. Was Napoleon a likely man to confide his plan, of which the success depended entirely on its secrecy, to anybody—but of all men to Fouché? Or, could any person really believe that the Duke of Wellington would have trusted the safety of a Corporal's party to information expected from such a source? As regards the silly fabrication alluded to, it happens, singularly enough, that a passage in one of the Duke's letters exposes its falsehood, were that necessary. At page 649, vol. xii., of his Dispatches, the following paragraph occurs in a letter to General Dumouriez:—"Avant mon arrivé à Paris au mois de Juillet, je n'avais jamais vu Fouché, ni eu avec lui communication quelconque, ni avec aucun de ceux qui sont liés avec *lui*," &c.

As Captain Siborne observes, "the idea of advancing upon Gembloux, and capturing Brussels by a *coup de main*, which could only be effected by a vigorous repulse and signal defeat of the corps of Zieten, and by a successful turning and partial dispersion of those of Pirch and Thielmann, as also by the rapid march of a closely-collected force under Ney, proves that Napoleon had either been insufficiently informed as to the general dispositions of his opponents, or had greatly miscalculated the degree of energy and promptitude required in his movements for the execution of such a design."

Apparently, from the tenor of his letter to Ney, Napoleon considered it probable that Wellington and Blücher, finding a powerful French army thrust between them, would not seek to oppose him ere he reached Brussels, but endeavour, by forced marches, to carry out the safer plan of uniting their armies at some point north of that city; at least, this is the only interpretation we can put on the following passage:—"Vous sentez assez l'importance attachée à la prise de Bruxelles. Cela pourra d'ailleurs, donner lieu à des accidens, car un mouvement aussi prompt et aussi brusque isolera l'armée Anglaise de Mons, Ostende," &c.

Would not any one suppose, that ere taking this imaginary flight from Charleroi to Gembloux, and thence to Brussels, within the space of twenty-four hours, Bonaparte had exerted all his energies to collect his troops, which the preceding day's operations had greatly scattered, after passing the Sambre, and urge them forward with the utmost expedition towards Quatre-Bras and Fleurus, with a view to attacking his enemies before they could concentrate in sufficient force to offer an effectual opposition to his movements? Doubtless the French troops needed repose after the exertions they had made during the last three days; but as the success of the campaign depended upon vigorously following up the first advantages, there was really no time for rest.

So far, however, from pressing forward with due vigour, and pursuing those advantages, Napoleon allowed the precious morning hours of the 16th to be wasted in inactivity, as his divisions remained until between ten and eleven tranquil at their bivouacs of the night, chiefly near the points where they had crossed the Sambre, viz., Charleroi, Châtelet, and Marchienne, no movement whatever being made at an earlier hour to support the advanced divisions, which had passed the night at Frasne and Fleurus. If it be argued that the soldiers were so exhausted as to be unable to proceed until recruited by rest, what must we then think of Bonaparte's project, as communicated to Ney, of breakfasting at Brussels next morning?

"In taking a calm retrospect," says Capt. Siborne, "of the dispositions made by Napoleon on the night of the 15th of June, we become strongly impressed with a conviction, that to the laxity of these dispositions, to the absence which they indicated of that energetic perseverance and restless activity which characterized the most critical of his operations in former wars, may, in a very great degree, be attributed the failure of the campaign on the part of the French. The great advantages derived by Napoleon from the result of his operations during the 15th, have already been set forth; but of what avail were those advantages to him, if he neglected the requisite measures for effectually retaining them within his grasp; or if, having secured them, he hesitated in following them up with the promptitude and energy which their

complete development demanded of him? His position, if judged by that of his most advanced forces, was all that could be desired; but, by fatally neglecting to concentrate the remainder of his troops in the immediate support of that advance, the important advantages which such a position held forth were completely neutralized. Doubtless the troops required rest; but, if one portion required it more than another, it was that which now lay most in advance: they had performed the longest march, and had withstood, in addition, the whole brunt of the action; so that there was no reason whatever why the remainder of the French army should not have been so far advanced as to afford direct support to the important position taken up by the leading divisions: that which had been so successfully effected by the heads of columns, might have been attained with infinitely greater ease and security by the masses which followed."

Again, after some essential details respecting the Prussians, the same writer proceeds:—"Hence, everything was favourable to the French Emperor's plan, which only required to be carried on with the same vigour and activity that had marked its commencement; the fate of Napoleon, of France, and of Europe, hung upon its issue; not an hour, not a moment should have been suffered to pass unheeded; and had the French right been concentrated during the night in this position, (near Ligny,) as also the left under Ney, between Gosselies and Frasne, and had an impetuous attack, with overwhelming force, been made, not later than five o'clock on the following morning, upon both Zieten's and Pirch's corps, not at that time united, it is very possible that these troops would have been beaten in detail,—that Thielmann's corps advancing from Namur, would either have shared the same fate, or have moved off in the direction of Hannut or Liege, to effect a junction with Bülow, whilst Ney would either have been enabled to secure the important point of Quatre-Bras before the arrival of any considerable portion of the Anglo-Allied troops, or would have held his own force advantageously disposed for a junction with that of Napoleon, on the latter moving to the left by the Namur road, for the purpose of bringing the great mass of his army against Wellington*."

Some writers have sided with Napoleon in blaming Ney for not pushing forward to Quatre-Bras during the forenoon of the 16th, while there was no force in his front sufficient to keep him back. The evidence adduced by Capt. Siborne, will be found to show that the Marshal only acted with justifiable prudence in delaying to march on until D'Erlon should come up from Marchienne to support a forward movement. Neither was it owing to any fault or negligence on the part of Ney, that half of his force remained so far in the rear: he had only joined the army at seven o'clock on the preceding evening, and as yet knew little of the troops he was to command. As was his custom, he had stationed himself with the vanguard, at Frasne, where, as we have seen, he was regaled by the Emperor with the prospect of a triumphant entry into Brussels next morning. But in the mean time all his divisions were not up, and he was uncertain what force belonging to the Anglo-Allied army stood in his front; nevertheless, acting on Napoleon's orders, he had directed the advance of the second corps towards Quatre-

* *Siborne, pages 82, 83, 84,* vol. i.

Bras, when a letter from Comte Reille, who commanded it, reached him from Gosselies, stating that General Girard had observed masses of the enemy coming from the direction of Namur; the most advanced of which was already as forward as St. Amand. This letter determined Ney to await the arrival of D'Erlon's corps, as, under existing circumstances, he feared to hazard a farther advance of Reille's corps until it could be supported.

Before leaving Charleroi, Napoleon despatched another order to Ney, desiring him to unite the corps of Reille and D'Erlon, and Kellermann's cavalry, which latter was marching to join him; remarking, that with these troops he ought to be able to destroy whatever force the enemy might have to oppose to them.

"In consequence of these instructions, Ney became anxious for the speedy concentration of his troops, and again sent orders to Reille and D'Erlon to move up their divisions. The information which he had obtained concerning the enemy in his front, and Girard's report of the assembling of troops in front of Fleurus, induced him to be cautious in his proceedings, and not to attempt any impetuous onset until he could have all his force more in hand, instead of the greater portion of it being, as it then was, lengthened out in columns of route along the Charleroi high road; and, in this respect, his views were in perfect accordance with the last despatch which he had received from the Emperor, enjoining him, in the first instance, to unite the two corps of Reille and D'Erlon. Hence, in debouching from his position at Frasne, about one o'clock, his advance was by no means vigorous: it was limited to a gradual pressing forward of the light troops, and amounted to little more than a reconnoissance *."

Meanwhile, Napoleon having reached Fleurus, and reconnoitred the Prussian army, which had moved into position near Ligny, sent to acquaint Ney that Grouchy would attack it at half-past two, and that he was to fall upon whatever force might be in his front, push it vigorously, and then turn round to assist in enveloping the Prussians. Again, at three o'clock, another letter was despatched to Ney, informing him of the battle having begun, and urging his manœuvring immediately, so as to throw all his strength upon the rear of the Prussians, who "would be lost if he acted with vigour." But the golden opportunity had been let slip; the arrival of Wellington's reserve from Brussels having rendered the Anglo-allied force sufficiently strong to check Ney's advance, and defeat Napoleon's hope of assistance from him.

Having put the whole of his forces in movement towards Nivelles and Quatre-Bras, the Duke of Wellington left Brussels early on the 16th; he rode first to Waterloo, and then on to Quatre-Bras. His reconnaissance of the enemy posted at Frasne took place between eleven and twelve, when, finding them quiet and in no great force, the Duke proceeded to confer with Blücher, whom he met about one o'clock at the windmill of Bussy, between Ligny and Bry. From this point the two chiefs were able to observe Napoleon's dispositions for attacking the Prussian position, and Wellington, having found so small a force of the enemy at Frasne, conjectured, from what he now saw, that Napoleon was about to throw all his weight upon the Prussian army; he there-

* Siborne, page 99, vol. i.

fore proposed to support Marshal Blücher, either by moving forward the whole of his disposable troops from Quatre-Bras upon the left and rear of the French, or along the Namur chaussée, and unite them with the right of the Prussians, according to circumstances. His Grace, no doubt, calculated that Blücher's 80,000 men, strongly posted, if not able effectually to beat off the enemy, would certainly resist his efforts for some hours, and that by the time the ardour of the French had got somewhat cooled, he would be able to bear upon their left in considerable force, supported by his divisions as they successively reached the field of battle.

The Duke shook hands with his gallant colleague at half-past two, and on regaining Quatre-Bras, found the Prince of Orange hard pressed by Ney, who, throughout the remainder of the day, continued his attacks with such vigour and determination, that it was with difficulty the Anglo-Allied troops were able to maintain their position.

The Prussian writer tells us at page 118, vol. i., that Blücher only determined on receiving battle at Ligny, in consequence of Wellington's assurance that he would be in a condition to "assume the offensive by two o'clock," and he dwells rather unreasonably on the non-fulfilment of the Duke's promise of support. Now, unless Sir Henry Hardinge will inform us on the matter, we have no means of correcting any error into which the Prussian writer may have been led as to the precise nature of that promise; but we well know that it has never been a fault imputed to his Grace that he proffered more than he had just hopes of being able to realize. But in point of fact, the Duke's co-operation was in effect the same as if his presumed original purpose had been accomplished, since, if Ney had not been at Quatre-Bras, his force would have augmented the main army at Ligny; and it does not seem material at what point Wellington fought, provided Ney's troops were kept from fulfilling Bonaparte's plan of enveloping the Prussian right.

It may readily be conceived, that during the severe struggle at Ligny, the Prussian leaders, being aware of the promised co-operation of Wellington's troops, while they were also in entire ignorance of the cause of their not appearing in the field, often directed wishful glances towards the quarter of the horizon in which the scarlet uniform was expected to show itself; and as the direction of the wind prevented their hearing the cannon fired at Quatre-Bras, they had no means of knowing how well the British were employed at that point*.

Captain Siborne has graphically described the severe contest between Ney's troops and the small portion of the Anglo-Allied army that held the important point of Quatre-Bras; and by throwing some

* The French guns near Quatre-Bras were turned in a direction from Ligny, and on our side we had very little artillery throughout the greater part of the action; hence, though the distance from that point to the position of the Prussians was not more than five or six miles, it is not surprising, as the wind blew from Ligny, that the firing at Quatre-Bras was not heard by them.

It is remarkable that the firing on the 16th at Ligny and Quatre-Bras seemed to the inhabitants of Brussels much nearer than that of the 18th at Waterloo. When the firing began on the 16th, I mounted my horse, fully expecting to find the scene of action immediately beyond the forest of Soignies, near Mont St. Jean. On the 18th, our troops posted at the entrance of the forest near Hal, heard nothing of the tremendous firing near Mont St. Jean, although the distance between those places does not exceed six miles.

striking details into his account of the battle, he has contrived to impart to it a degree of interest, such as no previous writer has been able to excite. It was, perhaps, a harder fought battle than the great one that took place two days afterwards; but the magnitude of the results produced by the latter, together with the glory it shed upon the victors, caused both the gallant stand at Quatre-Bras, and the Prussian defeat of Ligny, to sink into events of comparative insignificance. As it was physically impossible for the British divisions to reach the position of Quatre-Bras earlier than they did, in succession, it was a happy circumstance that D'Erlon's corps was withdrawn from Ney by Bonaparte, and passed the afternoon of the 16th in promenading between Frasne and Ligny; for the weight of his force thrown into the scale, must have overpowered the defenders of the position in spite of their determined and undaunted resolution.

As usual, when matters did not turn out to his satisfaction, Napoleon sought, on this occasion, to shift the blame from his own shoulders. In a letter from Soult to Ney, written on the 17th June by order of Bonaparte, he is charged with having kept the corps of D'Erlon and Reille separate, and is told that, had their corps been together not an Englishman would have escaped, when it was through his own orders, conveyed by Colonel Laurent in a pencilled note, that Ney was required to detach D'Erlon's corps towards St. Amand. "Having fallen in with the head of the column of that corps, he had taken upon himself (Colonel Laurent) to alter the direction of its march; and, on coming up with Count d'Erlon, who had preceded his corps, and was then in front of Frasne, he showed the note, and explained to him where he would find the head of his column. Shortly afterwards General d'Elcambre, Chief of the Staff to the 1st corps, arrived to report the movement which was in course of execution*." Ney, however, having a pressing need of reinforcements, sent back General d'Elcambre, with a peremptory order for its return towards Quatre-Bras; but it did not reach D'Erlon until he was near Ligny, and consequently too late for Ney's purpose.

There can be no doubt that Napoleon blamed Ney most unjustly for not doing more on the 16th, as in truth he attempted all that the circumstances warranted; and if he failed to gain possession of the point of Quatre-Bras, the British bayonets offered him a valid excuse. Captain Siborne has some excellent remarks upon Ney's proceedings at page 164, vol. i., followed by explanations relative to the posting of the Anglo-Allied troops and precautionary measures taken by the Duke of Wellington, which afford a complete refutation to the opinion expressed by certain writers, that his Grace was unprepared for Napoleon's invasion. I recommend an attentive perusal of them, and regret that my limits forbid me to extract more than the concluding paragraph; but I shall transcribe it for the benefit of non-military readers, and others who allow themselves to be misled by the false reasoning upon warlike operations of persons who are ignorant of the rudiments of military knowledge.

"My object being to relate only that which actually occurred, I do not feel myself called upon to enter into the question of what would have taken place under other circumstances; and, perhaps, even the brief remarks I

* Siborne, page 99, vol. i.

have here made may be already considered too digressive; but I cannot refrain from still further noticing the assertions made by the writers before alluded to, as to what would have resulted, had Ney attacked Quatre-Bras at an earlier hour of the 16th, with both the 1st and 2nd corps d'armée. Let us, for the sake of argument, suppose, that by an extraordinary exertion on the part of the French army, these two corps under Ney had succeeded in gaining that post on the morning of the 16th. Do these gentlemen imagine, that in this case, the Anglo-Allied troops would have continued to march upon Quatre-Bras, in detached bodies from their cantonments, so as to afford Ney the opportunity of crushing* them in detail? Can they not conceive the difference between troops marching upon a point for concentration, and troops marching towards a point occupied by an enemy? Can they not conceive the possibility of Nivelles and Genappe then becoming the points of general concentration? Can they not conceive, that at these two points such concentration could be effected with more rapidity, and in greater force, than at Quatre-Bras? Can they not conceive the possibility of Wellington taking up a sufficiently strong position on the heights commanding the defile of Genappe, and preparing, at the same time, to operate, with his collected force at Nivelles, upon the left flank of the enemy's advance? Can they not conceive the possibility of Ney, having Napoleon with the main army at such a distance as Fleurus, the whole Prussian army on his right, a very considerable portion of the Anglo-Allied army on his left, and the remainder of the latter force in his front, being induced by the knowledge which he must have had of the energetic and decisive character of Wellington, to hesitate in advancing, under such circumstances, along the direct road to Brussels? Can they not conceive the possibility of Ney (who, they must admit, was a General possessing both great abilities and long experience,) not venturing to advance beyond Quatre-Bras without leaving in his rear, at least, one-half of his force to secure his line of operation against any hostile attempt on the part of either the Prussians by the Namur road, or the Anglo-Allies along that of Nivelles, as also to prevent any interruption of his communication with Napoleon, a precaution which would subject him to the risk of finding his further progress opposed by superior force in both front and flank, of suffering his own troops to be beaten in detail, and, consequently, of compromising the safety of the main French army? Can they not—but it is needless to pursue the subject further. If they cannot conceive these *possibilities*, they should pause before they presume to attempt to diminish in the estimation of the world, the merits of Britain's illustrious chieftain, by boldly hazarding assertions so utterly incompatible with *probabilities*."

[To be completed in the next (Waterloo) Month.]

NOTICES FROM KAFIRLAND.

WRITTEN ON THE SPOT.

No. I.

MANY able and solid works on the subject of South Africa have made their way before the "reading public;" many lighter and perhaps, therefore, more agreeable books have been produced and properly appreciated by some; and yet, although such works have successively appeared, there are two good reasons why my sketches should be

* "It was well for the British corps that the French Marshal did not concentrate his whole army together, and commence his attack with his united force; for if so, they must inevitably have been crushed."—Alison's History of Europe, vol. x., page 929.

accepted with at least indulgence. In the first place, many—among the young especially—will hesitate to take up a book of "travels," however lightly and agreeably written, who look forward from month to month to the appearance of a magazine as to the coming of one to whom they have been long accustomed, and to whom they are, therefore, in some degree attached. Such people would deliberately sit down to the perusal of pages like mine, when they would turn indolently away from a voluminous book; and, in the second, an able and scientific production is for the most part composed by persons who travel hither for the express purpose of "making a book:" such works contain information literary, scientific, and general; but little do we gather from them of the *details* connected with the inhabitants of this vast portion of the British possessions. How little that is true has been set before us of the domestic manners, habits, and customs of the Kafirs, or of what I also intend to treat, the life led by the military sent hither. On such details, condensed as much as possible, I propose to dwell; and written, as my sketches are, *from Kafirland*, and from *motives perfectly disinterested*, their truthfulness alone will, I am persuaded, insure them that indulgence with which my productions have hitherto been received.

I will not dwell on the miseries of being detained in harbour on board the Java troop-ship, for three days after our embarkation at Cape Town for Algoa Bay. It is to be hoped that everything connected with the transport service will now be "revised and corrected." The agent for the transport protested we were ready for sea; the agent for the owner declaring we should sail on the afternoon of the day of embarkation (the 24th of February); while the Captain amused himself on shore, taking no notice whatever of the signal which had summoned all lingerers on board. We who had been obliged to obey it the moment it was fired, were paying him handsomely for our board; a capital arrangement for the pockets which received the money, but very unsatisfactory for some of those from whence it was issued. In this case, the bachelors of our party profited by the arrangement, since the Government allowance of four shillings a day went far towards liquidating their expenses. To them it was merely irksome to be detained in harbour, but the expenses were exceedingly heavy on the married officers, to say nothing of the unnecessary outlay on the part of Government purely for the Captain's amusement. Our departure was at a very inconvenient time; the route arriving just as the income-tax was deducted from each officer's pay. Query—Is it not rather hard that officers should be obliged to pay this tax when abroad, and that in a colony where no extra pay is given?

A few extracts from the journal I began on board ship will give some idea of the disagreeables arising from our detention in harbour.

February 24th.—Hurried on board, in consequence of the signal for sailing being fired, and the agent for the owner of the Java sending us word the ship was ready for sea, and would sail in the afternoon. The heat quite overpowering, a hot wind prevailing—what a day for embarking at half-past two P.M.! The troops have already been on board four-and-twenty hours. Wind quite fair for getting out of harbour, with the prospect of a north-wester, which would suit us exactly if we *were* once out at sea. Much disappointed at not finding the Captain on

board, and no prospect of even getting up the anchor. Asked the agent why he had fired the signal for sailing in the morning; he replied, "Because the ship and the troops were quite ready for sea." The Malabar has just got underweigh, and is clearing the harbour with a fine breeze.

Sunday, February 26th.—Cold and wet—the ship shockingly dirty No prospect of the Captain. Some of the officers have got leave to go on shore. A wretched day, a heavy sea prevailing. Many people sick, especially on the lower decks, which are dark, crowded, and ill ventilated. We make a great fuss at home about our prisons, asylums, poor-houses, and such institutions, and keep them in a high state of order, cleanliness, comfort, and *plenty*—nay, we carry our philanthropy so far as to take our convicts out of the way of a shower of rain from their work in our dockyards. I begin to think our institutions for the poor and the depraved are almost as much intended for display as for the benefit of those they shelter, while transports and convict-ships, not coming under the inspection of foreign and domestic sight-hunters, are but sorry specimens of the care bestowed on her troops by mighty philanthropic England!

A violent north-west gale all day and all night. I spent many hours of terror in remembering our wreck in Table Bay in the Abercrombie Robinson, in August. Ships should not be detained in harbour in Table Bay without efficient reasons, especially troop-ships, containing hundreds crowded together.

Monday, February 27th.—A man found dead on the lower deck, suffocated from the effects of drunkenness. Had we sailed when we ought to have done, he would have had little chance of procuring liquor. The Captain of the ship and the officers who obtained leave to go on shore yesterday, have come on board. Some prospect of sailing. Dead soldier sent on shore to be buried.

Sailed at one o'clock.

March the 1st.—We observed this evening a singular streak of light in the sky; no one able to account for it; it bore north-west from our position, steering as we were along the coast to the eastward.

March 2nd.—The meteoric light greatly increased in size and brilliancy.

March 4th.—Anchored in Algoa Bay at eleven o'clock A.M. The meteoric light, which has puzzled us all so much, turns out to be a comet, and increases in brilliancy every evening. Landed in the evening in a private boat. The troops will land to-morrow in surf-boats. We have reached the shore by the jetty, which reminds me of the one at Herne Bay, only that it is on a smaller scale, but is exceedingly creditable to the place, and a proof of its prosperity in trade*.

March 5th.—The single inn much crowded. The regiment have landed, and the little encampment formed on the green opposite the windows, is very picturesque. How strangely the wild, dusky-looking

* This fine jetty was destroyed in August last in a gale of wind, by a ship, which, having broken from her moorings, was driven, stern foremost, right through the fabric. The unfortunate crew, jumping from the ship to the lower end of the jetty, had congratulated themselves on their escape from the raging waves, when another vessel coming in contact with the wood-work, carried the whole of it away with its unhappy and ill-starred freight into the *boiling* surge beneath!

savages contrast with the soldiers: the latter busy in their preparations for their comforts, the former lounging idly in their skins and blankets, draped not ungracefully round their dark forms. * * *

The limits to which I am obliged to confine my pen will not permit my giving a detail of all that is necessary on the voyage and journey from Cape Town to Graham's Town. I shall therefore proceed to detail, for the amusement of the reader, the progress of our own, and although I cannot hope to invest it with an interest equal to that given to such narratives by more experienced travellers, to say nothing of more ingenious writers than myself; yet the circumstance of having threaded the weary way, in company with some five hundred others, soldiers, soldiers' wives, and children, may throw over it a certain charm in the eyes of some, while a better object would be attained were my narrative to elicit a consideration in favour of such advantages as might be bestowed on the soldier, with material benefit to him, while it would add nothing to the expenses incurred by Government in transporting troops from Cape Town to Graham's Town, and beyond it.

On Tuesday, the 7th of March, we started from Port Elizabeth for Graham's Town.

The evening before we departed, I accompanied my husband into the Commissariat Yard, to see the wagon which was to be the abode by day of my little girl and myself for nearly a week. I was already all the worse for having been condemned with my husband and child to a cabin on board the Java, certainly not more than *nine feet by five, if so large.* On seeing the huge machine in which we were to travel, I could not help remarking to the Commissary, who was so good as to point it out to me, that there were but two alternatives to decide between, ere the bugles sounded in the morning, and the tents were struck, preparatory to the troops moving off—these alternatives were suicide or mirth. In a state of quiescence the thing looked "horrible, most horrible;" but the "start" was enough to make any one hysterical, between the disposition to laugh, and the inclination to cry at the discomfort; and the remembrance of friends at home, who could never by any possibility be brought to comprehend the miseries one undergoes here, was strangely blended in my mind with the sights and sounds of outward objects; with the bellowing of oxen, the shouts of Hottentot drivers, the screams of children and scolding voices of their mothers in the neighbouring wagons, and the mingled oaths and laughter of the soldiers, as they picked up stray baskets, tin mugs, puppies, and babies, the latter animating the scene by occasionally tumbling off the wagons.

The first day of the march was fine, yet cool; the sky remaining overcast, yet without symptoms of rain. We left Port Elizabeth at eleven o'clock, A.M. (we ought to have done so many hours earlier). The first thing we approached worth notice was a salt-pan, looking more like a frozen lake upon which snow-heaps had been scattered, than anything else. It is not to my purpose to describe these singular works of nature here; I mention this one, lying about four miles from Port Elizabeth, to call the attention of travellers to the sight; as, being rather below the road, it often escapes the observation of those who are inclosed within that "narrow receptacle for the *living*," a bullock-wagon.

We reached the Zwart Cops, the spot appointed for out-spanning for

the night, at about five o'clock. The scene was certainly very beautiful. Imagine a vast plain of fair green meadow-land, intersected, and in fact divided into parterres by tall thick bushes, which here and there grew in clumps and copses, giving the ground the appearance of a vast park laid out with a great deal of attention to taste,—an amphitheatre of hills and mountains rising one behind another, till the summits in the distance blended with the clouds, gorgeously illuminated by the rays of the declining sun, whose glory was soon succeeded by the milder light of the "gentle moon," beside which, the comet, in strange contrast, spread its long and fiery tail. One by one the tents had risen "side by side in beautiful array;" arms were now piled; the younger soldiers, tired with their first march, lounged on the ground in clusters, till roused by the older and more experienced men, who dispatched them to gather wood and fetch water; more than a hundred fires soon lit up the camp.

In a short time our own preparations for comfort, refreshment, and repose, had been made. The tent was pitched, the fire lit in the nearest bush, and the kettle and gridiron put on. We had brought with us an Indian kitchen *, a most compact thing; but unfortunately it had been packed up in a chest too securely to get at without much trouble; and as we were only a party of three, we resolved on doing without it as long as we could. For any number of persons it is invaluable, but for two or three a gridiron, kettle, and saucepan are, or ought to be, enough. Our servant had also put away the bellows and the hatchet; and though the wind sometimes served us in lieu of the one, we were frequently obliged to borrow the other when we halted. Having cold fowls, tongue, bacon, bread, butter, tea, sugar, and a bottle of milk †, and good store of wine in our provision-basket, we did uncommonly well, roasting our potatoes in the ashes, comforting ourselves on the cold grass, (not having thought of a tent-mat or table,) with some warm negus. A piece of string wound round the pole of the tent, held a wax candle, but the wind rendering its light flickering and uncertain, we stuck a bayonet in the ground, which made a very convenient and certainly characteristic candlestick. The meal and its fragments cleared away, our beds were made in the tent, which had been comfortably pitched, (by an old soldier of the 27th, long used to the colony,) with its back to the wind; we were thus well screened from that, and could not well be inconvenienced by a shower.

Comparative quiet and much order now reigned in the camp. Every tent became more clearly defined as the evening advanced, and the sky formed a darker back-ground, for the moon, the stars, and the refulgent comet. Round the fires were assembled groups of soldiers, women resting themselves, as they called it, poor wretches with babies on their knees ‡,—Hottentots playing their rude violins, and merry voices joining in the chorus, led by neighbouring singers. Sounds of mirth issued from the tents of others; and the steam of savoury soup

* Jones' Patent Indian Kitchen.

† Do not trust to procuring anything on the road; such a chance is very uncertain. Milk, boiled with plenty of white sugar, will last, if bottled, for three days at least.

‡ For them Government provides no accommodation: they must either subscribe towards hiring a wagon, *or march with the men.*

gave evidence of the proximity of the mess-tent, and the talents of "little Paddy Farrell"—the incomparable cook; dinner there was always late, the officers never sitting down to solace themselves with good cheer, till their men had been well cared for, and their different positions established for the night. Now and then the brazen tongue of a bugle intruded its call upon the stillness of the night, and helped to disperse the groups gathered round the fire for a time, till the duty to which it had summoned them being done, they either returned to the social circle they had left, or secured a corner in a tent "licensed to hold fifteen inside" to sleep in. Gradually the voices of the singers became mute, the feeble cries of sleepy infants superseded the monotonous notes of the Homeric fables. Scoring "matches" seemed to be "gone up" as it were between sundry wagon-drivers and their neighbours, they having their mats spread under the wagons; the peals of laughter among the revellers became less frequent, and at length ceased altogether. The fires grew dim, and the moon and her companions in the sky alone lit up the scene; tents were closed, and the last jingle died away in the hushed night air, leaving all silent, peaceful, and at rest.

Although only fifteen miles from Port Elizabeth, I had been led to expect that I should hear the bleating cry of the jackal, and the howl of the wolf; but in spite of the bed being spread upon nothing but grass, in spite of the more than "whispers of the night breeze" which would be heard come under the lee of the tent, I never slept so soundly in my life; and thought a sail suggested itself generally was here up and dressed with my mind, ready for the march, at half-past five in the morning. The scene of that morning, though of a different character, almost equalled in beauty the one we had so much admired on the preceding evening. The regiment was drawn up in a circular parade of smooth green turf, bounded by bush, and the dark-green of the eastern hills was growing in the brilliant of the sun, who, as he advanced in radiant majesty, it fell upon the glittering arms and accoutrements of the soldiers, and shed an accordant varnish upon it as we saw the dew grass, the sharp and stony mountain peak before us. Up this hill the regiment wound, crossing the vagrom—now presenting a glittering cluster of arms and now being altogether out of the sight in the thick bush with which the ascent was covered. A long line of numerous wagons followed in the rear, and as we proceeded, four hundred men in marching, women, children, and baggage, wending their way slowly and steadily after them. I could not but ponder in my own mind on the ways of this mysterious and inscrutable Providence, by the working of whose will thousands from her original state of grandeur, magnificence, and luxuriance, is now the chief ruling power of the world, and subject her slaves and her soldiers. A feeling of sadness in after years was which perhaps is inconsiderable, when we consider the dangers and difficulties arising from climates and localities of which I knew nothing and understand. Even to the slightest parts of the world.

This day, March 5th, became gradually hot towards noon the sun but [illegible] [illegible] the heavens, and [illegible] the country we passed through was full of bush, there were no shady trees, and a sad scarcity of water.

The men being much fatigued with the previous day's march, it was determined to divide the next long march of thirty-two miles into two; such an arrangement was not only merciful but necessary. As man after man fell by the roadside overpowered with the heat, foot-tired and faint for want of water, I could not but think what an advantageous thing it would be were a few bullocks allowed by the Government, and a large tank or wagon filled with barrels of water provided for the solace and refreshment of the soldier on his march, under a South African sun. Such an addition to the baggage cavalcade would not cost Government more than 1*l.* per day, and would be of essential service to the troops, besides being the cause of shortening the march at least one day. It would have made our's shorter by *two days*, as in consequence of dividing the second days march into two, we reached Sly Kraal, (only twelve miles from Graham's Town,) on Saturday afternoon. The wagon-conductor would not suffer the wagons to proceed on Sunday, and we were detained in camp two nights and a day. About one hour before we halted on the second day, we came suddenly upon a pool of water, where a large herd of sheep and goats (the property of a neighbouring farmer,) were drinking. The men shouted aloud joyfully; and rushing precipitately to the pool, put their lips to the element, which, though to them most grateful, was muddy, and drank copiously of the unwholesome draught. Several became ill after doing so; and instead of being refreshed by it, were rendered less capable of proceeding than before. Fifteen stragglers fell out of one company, and were probably only induced to crawl after the battalion that evening from the dread of wild beasts. On reaching Sunday River, we found that such a dread was not without foundation, as five lions had, within the last few days, been seen drinking at the river side. Most gladly did I find, on reaching the "Outspan*," that a bed could be obtained at the Field-Cornet's house, close to the encampment: there, too, we obtained fresh butter, a leg of mutton, and some good English ale and porter, but rejoiced most in copious ablutions and clean bedding. My companions laughed much at my increased admiration of an encampment by moonlight that night, as I left it for a comfortable roof. "It certainly," said I, "is a very pretty sight *at a distance*."

It were ill-advised here, to allude to the position of affairs in the colony at present. The disastrous loss of life, limbs, and money, at Natal, has been sufficiently commented upon by able judges of the matter. It were little to my purpose to descant upon the inexpediency of marching troops up hill and down dale—the very people who dictate such movements from home are frequently unacquainted with the character or position of the localities through which they send soldiers; but if men are to march in such a country, at least, they should be treated as well as felons and prisoners at home. I can never understand, why soldiers, appointed to guard convicts on board ship, are allowed *less provisions* than the felons over whom they are placed, yet such is the case.

As I saw the men fall one after another for want of a little water, the providing which, had it been thought of, would have probably lessened the expenses of the march, I could not help calling to

* Place of rest, where the *oxen are* unyoked and turned out to graze.

remembrance our beautiful and humane institutions at home, especially our penitentiaries and prisons, not forgetting the "courtesies" (so to speak) displayed towards those interesting objects of a great nation's sympathies and compassion, murderers and self-created madmen, for in this last class may be ranked men like Oxford and Francis. Our philanthropy is proverbial throughout the civilized world*, nay we carry it so far, that though we resemble the monkey who stepped in between the adverse cats to settle the dispute concerning the piece of cheese—here the simile ends—the monkey, wiser than John Bull, swallowed the envied morsel, while we, in our fancied magnanimity, fling it down, and thus present the opportunity to any one who may be disposed to quarrel to fight for it over again†.

Who can walk through the cleanly prisons of condemned felons without justly admiring the philanthropy and liberality of enlightened England? Now it is really very kind and thoughtful of England to provide such a "variety of entertainments" for sight-seers. Foreigners going over our dock-yards, after being struck with the wonders of revolving *saws*, are full of admiration at the "modern *instances*" of our philanthropy, on seeing a bevy of hale, hearty, reckless-looking felons tenderly gathered together, like a flock of delicate young turkeys, under shelter of a goodly roof, which screens them from both wind and rain. The storms of heaven must not visit *them* too roughly, while the soldiers on fatigue proceed with *their* work as usual, and the officer going his "rounds" hardly thinks it necessary to don his cloak. Now no one would have the soldier marched from his work away from a casual shower; but why is the convict so petted? That a great deal of England's philanthropy proceeds from love of effect is proved by the circumstance, that no sooner have the convict and the soldier left the country, than all interest in them seems to cease. To get them "transported" as speedily and cheaply as possible, seems to be the great end and object of those who bear rule in such matters. The transport is hired by the day; the captain and the owner perfectly "understanding" one another, the former, therefore, taking care to take in studding sails at sunset, mend sails at the time they are most wanted, or repair topmasts in light but steady breezes; meanwhile, it may be added, that this last arrangement is a very safe one, inasmuch, as few ropes or spars in troop ships or convict vessels are really seaworthy; in our vessel, the Abercrombie Robinson, two men were nearly killed by blocks tumbling on them, and the same thing occurred several times, owing to the ill-condition of the ropes. It has already been shewn how worthless were our anchor chains. The hull of this vessel was a splendid specimen of ship-building, but as in the old saying, "For want of a nail the shoe of King Richard's horse was lost, for want of a shoe the horse was lost, &c," so for want of a proper chain cable the hull and spars of the Abercrombie were lost, and the lives of 513 souls had nearly been sacrificed also. As for the officers'

* Witness our balls and fêtes for the relief of distressed foreigners, for which the foreigners do not thank us: the Committees fritter away half the money, and very few of the magnificent dresses displayed on the occasion are paid for.

† America seems to take the wise part of profiting by our victories or disasters, as the case may be; interfering with no one, and benefiting by our meddlesome disposition in her trade and connexion with other nations.

baggage, who cares about that? they will get remunerated for about one fourth of their legal losses*; as for the soldiers, who cares about them, and for their wives and children? (a certain number of the former being permitted to each company to wash for the men) they are never taken into consideration at all; the cambric pocket-handkerchief society have never admitted them to be legitimate objects of compassion, like the gypsies, I suppose, it is imagined that, "their own people" will assist them in their difficulties and misfortunes.

Query, would it be a good plan to appoint men, in whose office such vessels are insured to be the surveyors of them? for their own sakes they would take care to ascertain they were perfectly fit for a voyage.

All this seems a digression, but it hath reference, nevertheless, to the necessity of providing a few cheap comforts for men at those times, when they may be said to earn the little they are paid, very dearly.

A draught of water to a suffering soldier will seem to those, who know nothing of such hardships, a small matter for so many words, but I who have witnessed the miserable effects of the want of it, speak feelingly as from experience. In hurried or forced marches such an indulgence could not be taken into consideration, but on a march for which deliberate preparation is made, the advantage of it is worth, at least, thinking about.

And now, where were we when we branched off from my route? Oh! we had halted near Sunday River, and had found shelter at Mr. Roll's, the Field-Cornet's snug small house by the way-side.

We were up with the dawn next morning, and crossed the beautiful ford of the Sunday River at sunrise. "Who could imagine," thought I, "that such a scene of peace and beauty should be one of the fastnesses for wild beasts." Green boughs met each other across the stream. Down such a pleasant-looking river I had often glided in "merry England," singing, by the way, with young companions to the gay music of our guitars, while the plash of oars kept time to the measure of our happy voices. There, in our own happy land, no lions prowled in our neighbourhood, no panthers could we fancy glaring on us from the bush, no venomous reptiles awaited our feet as we stepped upon the green sod from the boat. A South African climate is beautiful all the year round, except when visited by terrific thunder-storms, with their usual accompaniments of hail, rain, and lightning. Ah! that word "except;" "except" for our dark November days, and painful frosts, England would be an unexceptionable residence; still, even with these outward discomforts, look at our firesides!

But why go dreaming back from the burning shady Sunday River to the "stately homes of England!" On, on! and let us be thankful, that so far from home there is yet so much to be thankful for and enjoy. Oh! for the blessed philosophy which teaches us to make light of everything! Truly content *is* riches! In a moral point of view may it not be considered as bearing an analogy to the story of the philosopher's stone, (always remembering the one to be theory, the other practicable,) which was supposed to possess the gift of transmuting what the possessor of it touched, into gold.

On, then, through the river! the sun is up upon the hills; the troops

* For so may be termed their *beds*, canteens, and regimentals.

are refreshed, the oxen willing, the day balmy, and the road better than I expected. How the mimosa bushes scent the air; and here and there some taller than the others, fling down a pleasant shade, affording cool resting-places for the travellers.

At night we outspanned on the Quagga Flats, not so beautifully picturesque as the spots we had hitherto selected, but still pretty well wooded and watered. Here, for the first time, owing to the rain which began to fall in torrents, we slept in the wagon,—an arrangement I did not like at all; its narrow and close shape gives to an excitable mind the idea of the German story of the "Iron Shroud." I was awoke in the middle of the night by the lowing of the cattle, and the rattle of the horse's halter, by which he was fixed to the wheel; we soon found that the restlessness thus manifested by the poor animals arose from the noise of neighbouring wolves, who are always more likely to approach the dwellings of man in rainy hours than in favourable weather. The rain poured in torrents, the violence of which can only be understood by those who have experienced it. Fortunately the morning proved tolerably fine, and we proceeded in the usual order through the Addo bush, the scenery decreasing in beauty as we proceeded, but still affording a tolerable supply of wood and water at the spots where we outspanned. I had read and heard much of steenboks, and other noble game, but we saw nothing of the kind, not even a monkey; nor did we even hear the laugh of the hyena at night. Others said they had done so; but we did not.

Among some of the most remarkable things we observed were the ant-hills which were scattered all over the face of the country through which we passed. On a green plain they reminded us of hay-cocks in England, being about that size. Their similarity in shape to the huts built by the Fingoes, Kafirs, and, indeed, almost all savage nations, is not the least curious feature in their appearance. I had imagined that the ants themselves were the only architects of these ingenious buildings, but I was told by the Hottentot drivers that they take possession of a hole which has been forsaken by the mole (whom, indeed, they sometimes attack and hunt out of his domicile,) and thus obtain a foundation already dug, on which to begin the upper works of their establishment.

In consequence of the second day's march having been divided into two we did not reach Sly Kraal (twelve miles from Graham's Town) till Saturday. Ere we did reach it, however, we were overtaken by the most terrific thunder-storm I had ever witnessed, save on the night of our memorable wreck in Table Bay. Those who have never witnessed one can have no idea of such storms as those to be met with in South Africa. All the artillery of heaven seems let loose at once, while floods of light struggle for mastery with torrents of rain and hailstones. The knowledge that such storms are often attended with danger, makes their approach more awful. The place where we were overtaken by the one to which I allude was a barren spot, only varied by rocky eminences here and there, and scattered over with loose stones and pieces of rock. The horizon was bounded by vast mountains, the tops of which were vividly illuminated by the continued blaze of the lightning. The ground soon became so slippery that it was considered almost unsafe to proceed, men and officers were drenched to the skin,

and there, in the height of the storm, we, poor helpless crowd, were obliged to await its progress and abatement. The wagon-conductor, Pullen, (a most amusing character, as well as a useful and obliging man,) was as much to be pitied as any one, since many who would not listen to reason were annoyed with the detention, and were very much inclined to quarrel with him for it. As for me, I could hardly bear to see the little flasks of brandy handed about among the few to whom it could be distributed, while the weary, thirsty, shivering soldiers stood by looking on. The violence of the hail and rain decreased at last, and we essayed proceeding, but had not gone far before we were obliged to descend from our vehicles, as one of the passes had become dangerous, from the softness of the earth in consequence of the rain. Well may it be said,

"God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb*;"

many who might have caught cold in moving from one room to another less heated, awaited the passing of the wagons up to their insteps in water, and went on their journey with damp feet, and with rain-drops pattering through the tops of the wagons.

Wet, weary, and hungry, we reached Sly Kraal at last. Here we were to rest till Monday. As I have before observed, had a wagon, or tank, with water, been permitted to accompany the troops on the march, it would have been shorter by two days than it was.

The kindness of Providence is manifested in providing the South African traveller with wood that is not the less capable of ignition from being wet. Our tents, saturated as they were, were soon pitched; but we were again obliged to sleep in the wagon, which we did most soundly, after a welcome meal of carbonatjee†, brown bread, and warm negus. The sun burst into the wagon in all his glory the next morning, and although within so short a distance of Graham's Town I cannot but admit that I was glad of one day's rest before my *entrée* into the capital of the frontier. We had, indeed, been so thoroughly knocked up, that though refreshed by sleep, the having time for ablutions, and the selection of clean linen, was a great treat on such a journey. The Sabbath of the twelfth of March was thus passed in camp. The ground we had taken up reminded me of the grouse moors in Scotland, and in the wildest parts of Yorkshire, and we were told there was abundance of game about; at dinner, indeed, we were regaled with some hare-soup, sent to us from the mess-tent. As we approached the end of our journey I could not but acknowledge how much better we had got through it than I had anticipated; and, accustomed to judge of things by comparison, to seek content, in fact, by measuring my own case with that of those who were worse off, rather than those who had more apparent luxuries than myself, I felt thankful, in spite of the harass and fatigue I had encountered, for all the benefits bestowed on us; and while I pondered gratefully, as I rested on cushions spread on a mat within the shadow of the tent, I learnt that a poor woman had been confined the evening before, just as the wagons came to their resting-places. I went

* There was much discussion a year or two ago as to the author of this line. Is there any doubt of its being Sterne's? True it is placed in italics in his works; but so are almost all his impressive passages.

† Meat toasted on a wooden *prong before* the fire, or broiled on the ashes.

to visit her immediately, though the sight would have been enough to make one weep, had it not been for the cheerful voice of the poor soldier's wife herself. She sat up in the wagon, with her husband's cloak and a blanket under her for a bed, a small red handkerchief round her neck, her new-born infant in her arms, and three other children gathered round her. But, oh! the kind voices and ready hands which helped and cheered her! and, instead of repining at her fatigue and trouble, she looked up at the sky, and observed, "it was a blessed gladsome day." I left her, satisfied that that wretched vehicle contained lighter hearts than many a darkened room, whose closed shutters and costly draperies shut out the noise of the uncaring world, and the glare of a too saucy sun from the heirs of vast possessions.

On Monday, at six o'clock, we again started on the last day's march, and reached the hill above Graham's Town a little before nine A.M. Here we were met by crowds of Hottentot women; some of them young, rather pretty, and decidedly graceful. They came bounding on to meet the drums and fifes, and with their red handkerchief head-dresses, gay-coloured clothes, and glittering ornaments, they formed a picturesque group, as they danced on in front of the battalion, to the great entertainment of the soldiers. At the very top of the hill the band of the Cape Mounted Rifles awaited our approach; their appearance, in their plumed shakos and scarlet trousers, had a very shewy effect. A little further on we were met by the band of the 91st, (attached to the first battalion,) and that of the 75th; and thus, in this gay order, we entered Graham's Town, the bands relieving each other, and playing the liveliest airs. Here a Hottentot woman tossed her arms aloft, and spun round to the tune of "Nix my dolly, pals," there a driver snapped his fingers to "Rory O'More." These two tunes, and the "Sprig of shillelah," seemed their especial favourites; and if the dancers did not move with the stateliness of Taglioni, or the airy grace of Cerito, they certainly rivalled them in the activity of their limbs and the steadiness of their heads; for they whirled round and round, like the Dervishes in the Arabian Nights. The sun illuminated the town, lying within its sheltering circle of hill and mountain, the rabble shouted welcome, and all looked glad as they approached their destination, (although only a temporary one for some of us,) and the well-spread breakfast-table, and cleanly appearance of the apartments provided for us, truly gave promise of "ease in mine inn."

Graham's Town is not worth describing. The only accommodation for the troops is very inferior; and there are so few officers' quarters that most of the latter are obliged to hire houses of a wretched description, the rent of which always exceeds the allowance made by Government. This town was founded in 1817, by Colonel Graham, the first person who held the appointment of Commandant of Caffraria, which is now superseded by the office of Lieutenant-Governor. Graham's Town is a great straggling place, irregularly built, and in a dirty and disorderly state.

PERSONAL ADVENTURES AND EXCURSIONS IN GEORGIA, CIRCASSIA, AND RUSSIA.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. POULETT CAMERON, C.B., K.T.S., &c., EMPLOYED ON A SPECIAL SERVICE IN PERSIA.

(Continued from page 409, No. 184.)

CHAP. VI.

SAINT PETERSBURG—CONCLUSION.

DAYLIGHT was just breaking, the daylight of an extremely raw, bitter, moist, foggy, vapoury, Scotch-misty, execrable sort of day in point of climate, emblematic of all the detestables of England and Russia combined, that our diligence drove up to its Messagerie in the celebrated magnificent street of the Newfskoi Prospeckht. However on any other occasion I might have felt disposed to admire its general noble appearance, and the superb structures it contains, a variety of reasons concurred to prevent my doing so on the present occasion. In the first place, there was scarcely light sufficient to enable one to discern anything beyond fifteen or twenty yards distant; secondly, I was extremely fatigued; thirdly, the intense cold cut through both cloak and pelisse, and seemed to pierce to the very marrow; and fourthly, and lastly, I was as hungry as the d—l. The whole of which said causes, (especially the last) conspired to render me in a mood by no means likely to lead to my installation as a saint in the Gregorian calendar, and would equally have disposed me to be utterly regardless of even a much more brilliant scene than the one before me.

After a cordial farewell of my fellow traveller, who, for the short period of the remainder of his stay in the capital, returned to his old quarters at the residence of the Reverend Mr. L——, British chaplain at Saint Petersburg, I called a drotchsky, and drove to the residence of Mrs. Wilson, in the Galerney Oulitza, an establishment which, if not possessed of the more gaudy appurtenances of the various hotels in the city, I had been informed, was remarkable for English cleanliness and comfort.

Having experienced the united benefits of a sound sleep, and hearty breakfast, I proceeded to report my arrival to the British Ambassador, Lord Clanricarde, he being my greatest authority here, and thence to perform the same duty at the residence of the Commandant-General of the city. By the first I was received with warmth and cordiality; by the second, with a stiffness and solemnity, so entirely different from that which I had previously experienced from any other Russian official with whom I had hitherto been brought in contact, that I hastily ran my eye over my buttons and appointments, to ascertain if anything was out of place in my uniform! but no, everything was exact to the letter, my servant, a steady old veteran, had been vigilantly on the alert to prevent even the possibility of such an occurrence; spurs, and sabre, shone like polished mirrors, while everything was strapped, brushed, hooked, and buttoned, beyond the remotest chance of a flaw, and had his Excellency taken a foot rule in the one hand, and a volume of orders on dress in the other, I might have defied his utmost scrutiny.

For several days succeeding I was occupied in delivering and sending

the various letters of introduction with which I was provided, and on the several visits made and received in the course of this progress, I was equally worried and surprised, on observing a similar bearing in all with whom I had any communication. Ah! how I thought of good old hospitable, frank, friendly, and hearty Moscow, and in the comparisons which I mentally instituted between the two cities, every invidious observation a splenetic imagination could suggest was liberally applied to the modern capital.

To all this, however, there was one exception, and like most exceptions the very reverse of the general rule; this was in the family of my friend L——, every member of which, including even an enormous Newfoundland dog, rushed to greet dear Stephen's British friend. Here, again, all around me was English, language, books, and music, while, as at Moscow, I was ever received with the cordial welcome of an esteemed relative, instead of the polite, though distant regard of a casual stranger.

Madame L—— was extremely anxious regarding her son; and to the assurance of his health and safety, I was enabled to add a great deal regarding his attention to his regimental duties, and general steadiness of conduct! The latter intimation, delivered with all the requisite gravity becoming such an important piece of intelligence, elicited a burst of laughter from the two young ladies of the family, the youngest of whom, a beautiful blonde, observed with a malicious smile, that my information was very agreeable, considering that when with his regiment at St. Petersburg, their brother was the wildest being in the whole corps, and, they had subsequently heard, by no means much improved by his sojourn in the Caucasus, where, they understood, he was the foremost in every species of wild frolic and mischief, in which he was alone surpassed by an *English officer*, who had by no means diminished the character for eccentricity, usually established by his countrymen in the course of their travels!

This was a wincer, but I quickly assured her she must have been misinformed, that when *I last* saw him he was wholly intent upon his military devoirs, &c., &c. Indeed, when *I last* saw him, I could fairly asseverate to the truth of both the statements I had made, considering I had left him in the following society, not the most conducive, it must be confessed, for any excess of social intercourse, the more especially considering the circumstances under which they were placed at the time: Item—1 Serjeant and 14 artillerymen: Item—2 Subalterns, 7 Serjeants, and 120 rank and file, forming the head-quarters of two companies of infantry: Item—1 Serjeant, and 18 Cossacks of the line: the whole quartered in a field-work, in which the exhibition of a nose, above the parapet, incurred the risk of being made a target for at least half a dozen rifle balls, should their active and vigilant adversary so far distinguish them as to honour the post with their especial surveillance.

After the warm and friendly hospitality of my friend's family circle, I did not like to question them relative to the reason of the marked, and singular difference in the conduct of those in St. Petersburg, to whom I had been equally recommended, which, I had some apprehension, might, perhaps, have been productive of pain, but the following morning an opportunity occurred of explaining the real cause of *this apparent frigidity*.

Strolling down the Newfskoi Prospeckht I suddenly heard my name shouted, and on turning to ascertain from whence this unexpected salutation issued, a drotchsky, drawn by two splendid horses, dashed up to the side of the trottoir, and I found myself warmly welcomed by the young Count de N——.

"Est-ce-que vous avez été presenté?" was almost his first question.

"Presented to whom, where, or what?" Explanation quickly followed, and I found it was contrary to etiquette, for any stranger to be received into the society of the capital, till he had first been presented by his Ambassador to the Emperor.

This piece of information was the very reverse of agreeable, implying, as it struck me, that according to my reception by the monarch, would be that pursued towards me by his subjects, and considering I had recently come from an embassy, which all the world were, at this time, well aware was constantly bickering and snarling with that of his Imperial Majesty, for aught I knew to the contrary, he might feel disposed, maugre my military character, to hold me responsible in my own person for the sins of my liege superior and confreres of the diplomatique; the conclusion of the young Count's information, however, acted as a remedy for all evils, and this was the intelligence of the arrival, in St. Petersburg, of M. Rodofinikin from Teflis; the sudden and unexpected demise of his father, the celebrated statesman, having rendered his presence necessary in the capital upon his consequent accession to the family estates and property.

To hail a drotchsky, and spring to the seat as it dashed up, was the work of a moment, and directed by the Count, the asvashtichk, or coachman, drove to the residence of my kind and excellent old friend.

He was at home, as well as his amiable lady, and the joyful and cordial welcome which I experienced from both, had such an event been possible, would have even surpassed my expectations. In the course of conversation, reverting to the invariable kindness I had everywhere received throughout Russia up to my arrival at the capital, I could not forbear, in sheer spirit of spleen, making some very invidious comparisons between the latter, and the rest of the empire.

Both Monsieur and Madame smiled at my observations, as the former good-humouredly replied, "You have forgotten, my friend, one old and established maxim, which I should have imagined so experienced a traveller as yourself never would have lost sight of, 'when at Rome to do as Rome does.' Great cities in their courts and society are, almost throughout the world, invariably the same; you have hitherto traversed a route where the appearance of a stranger is of rare occurrence, and where the old-fashioned notions relative to hospitality, and kindness to the passing traveller, are still retained: here, on the contrary, they are found as in other European capitals, and the restraint of which you complain, while causing a momentary annoyance to impatient Englishmen like yourself, ever disposed to be angry when anything runs contrary to their own preconceived ideas and wishes, has at least this one great advantage, that it guards our families from the introduction into their domestic circle of improper characters, since each Foreign Minister is held responsible that he presents at the Imperial Court none but those who are strictly entitled to the distinction."

I was silenced at all events by this plain reasoning, if not convinced; however, such is either the feeling produced by first impressions, or the extreme reluctance of human nature to admit oneself in the wrong, that throughout the entire period of my stay in St. Petersburg, I never thoroughly overcame the feeling of surly dislike and ill-humour which possessed me on my first entrance, and which, indeed, in reference to our national peculiarities and prejudices, I should have felt myself wanting in patriotism and proper English feeling, had I wholly discarded.

One of my first visits in the way of business, was to the two grand cathedrals of St. Isaac and our Lady of the Kazan. Thrown down by order of the present Emperor, in consequence, it is asserted, of the carelessness with which it was originally constructed, which placed its votaries during the service, in constant dread of its falling, the former is now fast rising, and when completed, it is asserted by the Russians, will be the finest monument of its kind in the world. The walls are of the richest and finest white marble, the which form a contrast equally striking as beautiful with the red porphyry pillars in the interior, each rather more than sixty feet in height.

The cathedral of our Lady of Kazan is a chaste and elegant building, and regarded by all ranks in the capital with the utmost veneration; the altar itself, with the plate for the church service, is of the richest description, and inlaid with jewels, while the railing which divides the communion ground from the body of the church, is formed of the richest silver fretwork; a slight, very slight dash of eastern imagery about the whole renders it additionally attractive, while the effect is heightened by flags, banners, and similar trophies of military glory suspended around. Perhaps the most interesting object throughout, is the simple yet handsome sarcophagus erected over the spot where repose the ashes of the celebrated Kutusoff, the Russian Fabius, and which not inappropriately are covered with a canopy formed of French eagles and standards captured during the invasion and retreat of 1812.

From the cathedral of the Kazan, I strolled to the celebrated line of buildings on the banks of the Neva, known by the name of the English Quay, (which, with the Newfskoi Prospeckht, form the fashionable promenades of St. Petersburg,) so termed from the generality of the houses in this part of the capital being occupied by the British merchants settled in the metropolis, as also from its being the spot whereon the English Factory is situated.

If ever a body of men could be found reflecting the highest lustre of honourable fame upon their order, their country, and themselves, it is the British merchants of St. Petersburg, through whose high integrity and unblemished character, is greatly to be attributed the regard and esteem everywhere entertained throughout the Muscovite empire, for English faith and English honour,—a feeling, let it be added, in which none more sincerely participate than its powerful ruler. Nor is their public reputation less honourable than their private worth of character in every way estimable; and as regards myself personally, deep and lasting are the obligations for the most hospitable and invariable kindness I shall have ever to acknowledge from Messrs. Cayley, Barnes, Plinkey, Anderson, &c., &c., and others of my compatriots.

Parallel to, and in rear of the English Quay, is a very narrow street, called the Galerney Oulitza, but more generally known by the name of

the English Back Line, though why or wherefore I never could ascertain, unless it is that it is so loaded with British families, that I was unable to discover, during the whole period of my stay, if a single native inhabitant was resident in it.

Here was Mrs. Wilson's establishment, in which I had engaged my apartments, the adjoining suite being occupied by the Count de Mastuzewic, so well known in the circles of Melton and London*.

It was down this street the insurgent soldiery retreated on the suppression of the celebrated *emeute* on the accession of the Emperor Nicholas;—and a more unlucky or inconvenient position for such a manœuvre cannot well be imagined, since in length averaging about six hundred yards, its breadth scarcely exceeds five-and-twenty feet; and when it is reflected that the extremities were flanked with batteries of field-pieces, which plied their iron shower upon the broad mark presented by the dense and helpless mass of columns, the three regiments being mixed together in one irretrievable *melée* of slaughter and disorder, the whole seems apparently conceived as an experiment for ascertaining how far the efficacy of grape and canister in its death-dealing work could be carried.

Dining one evening at Mr. Cayley's, Captain, now Colonel de B., of the Chevalier Guard, whom I met there, very politely offered to have his squadron out for my observation the following morning. It may readily be conceived the offer was gladly accepted, this officer being considered the smartest and most dashing in his distinguished regiment, and his squadron, *par consequence*, its division *élite*.

At the appointed hour I repaired to the barracks, and, accompanied by their commander, proceeded to the quarters of his squadron, where the men were drawn up awaiting our arrival. They formed a noble spectacle; tall, powerful, and well proportioned, their height averaging at least six feet two of English measure, while their admirably-fitted snow-white uniforms, and glittering helmets, in their rich simplicity, was admirably adapted to display them to the highest degree of advantage.

They went through the sword and carabine exercise, and that with such a degree of precision as to time, it really appeared as if arms, legs, and weapons, all moved together by some hidden spring. From the parade we proceeded to the stables, where, on the word being given, every horse was "peeled," and I had thus the opportunity of viewing each in succession, with the utmost minuteness. They certainly were of the first description, and so very far superior to anything of the kind I had hitherto previously beheld in the armies of the Continent, either in those of France, Austria, or Prussia, as to cause me a considerable degree of surprise; but with respectful deference to the high and distinguished authority of the Marquis of Londonderry, I do not think they will stand comparison with those of our Household cavalry.

That gallant General saw the Chevalier Guard on the parade, where, it must be admitted, their appearance is imposing in the extreme; but had he, similarly to myself, observed them without their clothing, or appointments, I feel convinced his opinion would have been different.

* This nobleman is now no more; but I believe there are few Englishmen who became acquainted with him either in London, Paris, Naples, or St. Petersburg, that will not deeply and sincerely regret his loss.

In one respect, however, they possess a most decided advantage, which is, in numerical strength; for while our united three regiments can barely muster one thousand men and horses, the four corps of Russian Cuirassiers of the Guard fall very little short of four times that number.

In the evening, accompanied by a nephew of the French Ambassador, the Baron de Barante, who, similarly to myself, had recently arrived at St. Petersburg, I proceeded to the Grand Opera. It was my first visit to this establishment, notwithstanding I had previously heard a great deal of its magnificence, the authenticity of which, if the truth must be told, with the reminiscence of Paris, Milan, and Naples before me, I had been very much disposed to believe as extremely apocryphal. I was therefore regularly posed, when, on entering the interior, the *coup d'œil* which struck upon my astonished vision at once exhibited the description I had previously heard pourtrayed, so far from being overdrawn, fall immeasurably short of the reality!

If I was bewildered, my French friend was disgusted; all his visions of the superiority of his beloved Paris, which he came fully prepared to vouch for, vanished at once, and *sotto voce*, in something very closely resembling bitterness of spirit, he whispered me, "the Academie Royale was nothing in comparison."

The performance was, Auber's beautiful ballet opera of the Bayadère; and while the music and dancing rivalled that of the San Carlo,—La Scala,—the Academie Royale, and the other great theatres of Europe, in scenery and costume the whole united would have fallen infinitely short of the present display in point of gorgeous and magnificent arrangement.

At the end of the first act, a young Russian naval officer, who occupied the stall on my left, observing that I was a stranger, politely accosted me, and imparted a piece of interesting intelligence, which immediately had the effect of putting me upon the *qui vive;* this was, that the Emperor having signified to his Council that morning the formal announcement of the approaching marriage of his eldest daughter, the Grand-Duchess Marie, with the young Maximilian, Duke de Leuchtenberg, the whole of the Imperial family were to be present at the Opera this evening, by way of introducing the young Prince to the Russian public.

My informant had scarcely concluded, before a stir in the house, followed by a burst of applause from the audience, announced the arrival of their expected Sovereign, accompanied by the Empress, the Grand-Duchesses Marie and Olga, and the young Maximilian de Leuchtenberg.

Nearly twenty years had elapsed since I beheld him, during the period he was in England, and, incongruous as it may appear, that lapse of time had infinitely improved, instead of deteriorating from, his personal appearance. His frame, though colossal in its make, moulded in nature's finest proportions, well assimilated with his erect, noble, and military carriage, bringing forcibly to mind an observation which I had once heard made by a Persian regarding him, viz., that if any human being was ever qualified for a Monarch by the exterior advantages of majestic figure and high and kingly bearing, it was the Emperor Nicholas.

The young Duke wore the undress uniform of the Hussars of Kieff, of which splendid corps a recent ukase had appointed him the Colonel. He bore a striking resemblance to his late lamented elder brother*, both being pronounced as possessing a strong likeness to their noble and gallant father, Eugene Beauharnois, Viceroy of Italy.

If the welcome accorded to the Czar may have had as much policy as loyalty in its greeting, not one living being, I feel assured, was there in the whole of that assembled multitude, who did not throw his whole heart and spirit into the shouts which saluted the Empress and her daughters. The countenance of the former, mild, radiant, and benignant, resembled in its sweetness of expression that of a ministering angel, as with the Grand-Duchesses she repeatedly and gracefully acknowledged her cordial reception by the audience.

Of the latter, the eldest, betrothed to the Duke de Leuchtenberg, and since married, possesses altogether the features of the Romanoff family; but the youngest, Olga, of the highest and most perfect description of blondine beauty; it is impossible to conceive a more finished picture of female loveliness, unsurpassed, perhaps, but by that of ONE (now, alas! no more), whom she is said very closely to resemble—her grandmother, the late beautiful, ill-fated, and high-minded Queen of Prussia.

Almost every member of my family perished in the wars of Napoleon, and circumstances connected with the fate of two of them, the nearest in point of blood and kindred, have not given me any great reason to be personally very partial to the reminiscences attached to his career, magnificent and glorious as it was, but the only time I ever felt disposed to execrate his memory was, when at Berlin, I stood beside the sarcophagus which covers the revered remains of HER, whose young heart became withered, crushed, and broken on witnessing the miseries inflicted on her country by his ruthless and iron sway.

The following morning a stronger frost than usual exhibiting symptoms of the permanent setting in of winter, I drove to Isaac's Bridge, a point to which all strangers are recommended to proceed, from the superb panoramic view afforded thence of the entire capital; nor is the traveller disappointed, for if ever he beheld a city of palaces stretched before him, that city is St. Petersburg.

How beautiful is the Neva; its tranquil waters covered with the vessels, and bearing the flags, of all the nations in Europe, anchored alongside that princely English quay. Beyond, again, observe that line of magnificent and unrivalled buildings, the Offices of State, in which the Admiralty stands the most conspicuous; and from thence let the eye turn to the Imperial palaces, the lofty churches, triumphal arches, and other great monuments everywhere visible, among which are two remarkable as meriting particular attention; the first of these is the equestrian statue of Peter the Great, which, uncommonly well executed, is celebrated at once for the singularity of its pedestal, and the attitude in which the horse is pourtrayed, the former representing a bluff rock, and the latter as rearing on its summit, having appa-

* Eugene, Duke de Leuchtenberg, first consort to the present Queen of Portugal, Donna Maria da Gloria.

rently only on reaching the verge of the precipice been checked by his rider.

The second is the column erected to the memory of the Emperor Alexander, which, for combination of grandeur and simplicity, cannot be surpassed by any in the world; the base is of richly-carved bronze, from whence the shaft rises, of dark red granite, composed solely of one single stone, eighty-four feet in height, the largest ever yet discovered in the world. It was found in the Imperial Mines of Finland, and at considerable expense, and after immense labour, transported to the capital.

On returning from my stroll, I found a note from Count O——, of the General Staff of the Guard, (to whom I had brought a letter from his brother, commanding one of the regiments in Georgia), informing me that a grand parade was to take place on the following morning of the whole of the troops of the Imperial Guard by the Emperor in person, attended by the Duke de Leuchtenberg, and that, although I had not been presented (oh, that infernal presentation!—I groaned in bitterness of spirit), an orderly would be sent to my quarters, for the purpose of conducting me to the ground, and escorting me to a situation from whence I could view the spectacle to the highest advantage.

Punctual to the appointed hour, my guide was in attendance, and we galloped off to the parade, on arriving at which, prepared as I had been to witness something in the way of military display I had hitherto never previously beheld, the highest anticipations I could have ever formed, would have fallen immeasurably short of the, I may term it, sublime spectacle presented by the mass of magnificent soldiery before me, in which it appeared the remotest corners both of Europe and Asia must have been ransacked to bring together its noblest and choicest chivalry. The powerfully-built Cuirassier, the stalwart and sinewy Hulan, the light and active Hussar, the gigantic Grenadier, the agile and vigilant Rifleman, each in their handsome and admirably-fitted uniform, offered a contrast at once singular and striking to the mail-clad Circassian, the demi-European attire of the several Cossack corps, and the gorgeous costumes of the various Asiatic contingents.

A burst of music from the different bands now announced the arrival of the Emperor, attended by his son-in-law elect and a numerous and brilliant Staff. His presentation of the former to the soldiery I was not near enough to hear, but I ascertained from my friends afterwards that it was contained in the following simple, yet expressive phrase—"My friends, I present to you my fifth son."

The assembly of this morning was merely intended as a parade, and beyond marching past, nothing in the way of any movement took place, much to my regret, as I had been informed by several foreign officers present the Emperor handled this immense body of men with the facility that many would a single regiment. He certainly both looked and rode a fitting leader to his guard: his gigantic and martial figure, on his bright and full-blooded bay charger, rendering him by far the most conspicuous figure amid the whole of that gallant and brilliant array.

It was on this occasion I witnessed for the first time an alteration in *the heavy* cavalry equipment, which, if followed up, in the event of a

general war, is likely to be productive of a corresponding degree of change throughout the whole system of military tactique, especially as regards the infantry. I allude to the system recently introduced into the Russian Guard of arming the Cuirassier regiments with lances, with which the whole of those corps are now provided, the weapon being of a longer and heavier description than that carried by the Hulan or Lancer.

I was the only English officer present, but there were several Austrian, Saxon, and Prussian, strangers like myself, and in our conversation relative to this important innovation, I believe among the whole of us there was not one dissentient voice, that, with horses well-trained, and the riders possessed of the requisite nerve, infantry, as at present armed and organised, would be utterly unable to withstand them *.

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* I have perused with much attention and interest the writings of Colonel Mitchell on this subject, which from time to time have made their appearance in the United Service Magazine, and without altogether ranging myself on his side of the question, must confess that the justice and accuracy of many of his conclusions are fully borne out by intelligence I have gathered from many distinguished officers who have served in the recent Polish, Turkish, Persian, and Caucasian wars. I have already alluded to the utter extermination by the Turkish cavalry of a division of infantry of the army of Field-Marshal Diebitch at Dervish-keuy, in the passage of the Balkan: had this corps been brought up while on the move by a sudden and unexpected attack, it might have been said they were in confusion at the onset, and that the square was incomplete, or but half formed, with the many various reasons of a similar nature usually assigned on such occasions; but in this instance the troops were formed in position, in two distinct squares, *en echellon*, nearly an hour before the Grand Vizier, the late famous Mahomed Redschid Pasha, (who commanded the Turkish army in person,) ordered the Spahis to advance. The first which received their impetuous onset was broken, and ridden through on the instant; and after carving *ad libitum*, till scarcely a Muscovite was left standing, they re-formed, and rushed upon the second, which, although the struggle was fiercer and longer protracted, eventually shared the fate of the other. I may also revert to another instance relative to this subject, though of a wholly different nature. The Portuguese cavalry, I am led to believe, is a branch of that army which has never yet stood particularly high in military estimation, either in the zenith of the fame of that Power, or the more recent periods of the Peninsular campaigns, and the late civil war; but on the last final and sanguinary assault upon the Lines of Oporto, 25th July, 1833, during that memorable siege by Field-Marshal Bourmont, when his massive columns, covered by clouds of caçadores (riflemen), vainly sought to carry the batteries of Lordelo, (which formed the key of his adversary's position,) from the difficult nature of the ground, and the carnage occasioned amid his ranks by the fire of the besieged, a regiment of cavalry, (the 4th, or Chave's Dragoons,) headed by the famous Lerochejaquelin, the Vendean Chieftain, dashed forward, and, reckless of the heavy loss they sustained, charged right down, and by a flank movement gained the rear of the field-works, the one on the extreme right of which was almost carried, when at this critical moment a rifle-ball pierced the side of their noble leader, who fell desperately wounded. The dragoons lost heart at this disaster, occurring, as it did, almost in the very instant of success, and, wheeling about, retreated as suddenly as they had advanced, sustaining a very heavy loss in their retrograde movement, and actually leaving the bodies of eight men and horses in the battery which formed the scene of their daring exploit. Captain Glasscock, commanding the British squadron in the Douro at the time, has characterized this movement in his Sketches of the Siege of Oporto, as one of the rashest actions ever attempted; but that gallant seaman should have remembered, all things are comparative, and some of Britain's exploits on the ocean, in the way of boarding, and cutting out, &c., &c., would be equally as astounding in the estimation of the Hungarian, Turkish, and *Persian soldiery*, and other nations of horsemen, as the

While to arrive at an exact statement regarding the *bonâ fide* general amount of the Russian army is wholly impossible to ascertain; the actual numerical strength of the Imperial Guard alone is very difficult, from the contradictory statements given by the officers themselves, in which the aggregate varies from forty to eighty thousand men! As far as I myself could judge, on this occasion the parade mustered about 6500 Regular Cavalry, of all arms, 20,000 Infantry, 2000 Sapeurs and Artillery, 3000 Cossacks, and 1000 Irregulars, making in all an average of from between thirty-three to thirty-five thousand, and in this opinion Colonels Von L—— and De M——, of the Austrian and Prussian services, who, like myself, had served for many years on the Staff, concurred.

However, the following state, though imperfect, may be considered a very fair estimate of the Imperial Guard, both as to actual numbers and detail.

CAVALRY.		
REGIMENTS.	Uniforms.	Average Total of Lances, Sabres, or Bayonets.
Four regiments of Cuirassiers, each 800 strong	White	3,200
Two regiments of Hussars, each 800 strong ..	Scarlet	1,600
Two regiments of Lancers, each 800 strong ..	Blue	1,600
One regiment of Dragoons	Green.....	800
Two pulks of Regular Cossacks, embodied chiefly from the minor tribes, each 600 strong	Scarlet	1,200
Contingents from the several great tribes, viz.,		
One pulk of Cossacks of the Don	Sky Blue	600
One ditto, Black Sea	Dark Blue, with Red Sleeves.	600
One ditto, Ourenbourg.....	Dark Blue	600
One ditto, the Line	Circassian Costume.	600
Circassian, Kirghis, and other Asiatic Contingents	A rich uniform national costume.	600
Total of Cavalry.....	.. ..	11,400
INFANTRY.		
Seven regiments of Grenadiers, composed of three battalions, each battalion 1000 strong	Green	21,000
One regiment of Marines (Equipage de la Garde)	Green	1,000
One regiment of Finland Riflemen	Green	1,000
One ditto of Veterans.....	Green	1,000
Total of Infantry	.. ..	24,000

feat in question of the daring partisan appeared to him, the more particularly as regards the latter people, who have a proverb, "that wherever the foot of man can *go, the hoof of the charger* will securely tread."

ORDNANCE.		
REGIMENTS.	Uniforms.	Average Total of Lances, Sabres, or Bayonets.
One battalion of Sappers	Green	1,000
Four troops of Horse Artillery	Green	800
Twelve companies of Foot Artillery.....	Green	1,800
Total of Ordnance	.. ..	3,600

Total of Ordnance	3,600
Total of Cavalry	11,400
Total of Infantry.....	24,000
Grand Total.....	39,000

This splendid force is, of course, an army in itself, possessing its own Etat Major, Commissariat, &c., &c., and, in fact, in lieu of terming it the Imperial Guard, a mere showy appanage of the Crown, it might with much more propriety be termed a "Corps d'Armée Elite."

I have previously mentioned the utter impossibility of arriving at any real conclusion regarding the actual amount of the Russian forces, the division of which is made into seven Corps d'Armée, (including one of reserve,) composed of four regiments of cavalry (light or heavy, according to the pleasure of the Emperor, or the Minister of War) and twelve of infantry, (the latter being formed of four battalions, each 1000 strong,) with an average proportion of two troops, or sixteen guns, of horse-artillery to the former, and from twelve to fifteen companies of Foot to the latter. These in numerical strength would form say 4000 cavalry, 48,000 infantry, and 2000 artillery, thus rendering the full amount of the various corps at 374,000 men.

This is exclusive of the armies of Ourenbourg and the Caucasus, the latter of which consists of 45,000 men, but having only one regiment of regular cavalry, the Nishnei-Novogorod Dragoons, and, from what I could gather regarding the former, about half that number. To these must be added 140 regiments of Cossacks, varying in number, but generally rated at between 70,000 and 80,000 men, and about fifty garrison battalions of Invalids. The grand total, therefore, of this immense establishment may be fairly supposed at between 600,000 and 620,000 men, without enumerating either the military colonies or the Cossacks of the Line and Black Sea, both of whom, from being engaged in one constant scene of never-ending warfare with the mountaineers of the Caucasus, may be said to be organised as a levy *en masse*.

A few days after the review, I proceeded down the river in a steamer to Cronstadt, having very kindly been furnished by Admiral Greig (whom I had had the pleasure of meeting at Mr. Anderson's) with a letter of introduction to one of his former Flag-Captains, Capt. N——, soliciting him to accompany me over the fortifications, and other objects of interest permitted by the Imperial Government to be visited by strangers.

I was politely received on arriving, and, my host's time being fortunately then unoccupied, we at once began our tour. Cronstadt is certainly the Malta of the North, and as ugly a looking place as an assailing party would wish to look at. Utterly unapproachable all round, with one single exception, from the extreme shallowness of the water, the entrance formed by this channel is garnished with a serried, double line of guns, gaunt and grim, through which any bold intruder would have to run the gauntlet, as the opening movement to any assault upon this formidable bulwark.

The citadel is of immense strength, as also the line of works known as the Rizenbank batteries, but both sink into insignificance beside the Castle of Cronschloth, and the Mole, which seem a realisation of artillery on the plan of the dense formation of an infantry square, so bristling is the array of guns which they present to view.

Cronstadt possesses three harbours; the first, for mercantile vessels, is a remarkably fine one, and securely sheltered. It is capable of holding, with the utmost facility, from a thousand to twelve hundred vessels, and in the summer time, I am told, presents a gay and animated spectacle, as, from the short period of the trade being open, it is then literally crammed with the ships of all the nations of Europe; but, owing to the daily, I may say hourly, anticipations of the setting in of the frost, similarly to those at St. Petersburg, all had quitted the anchorage two or three days previous, with the exception of five or six, who intended passing the winter there.

Indeed, the same fear compelled me to take my own departure earlier than I either wished for or anticipated, and for similar reasons I was obliged to return to the capital the second day of my visit, as, had I been fairly caught, a compulsory stay of some time would have been the consequence, and I should have been unable to have left till the period when the ice would have been sufficiently strong for travelling *en traineau**.

The other two harbours are exclusively confined to the use of the Imperial Navy, and bordering which are the magazines, offices of Admiralty, docks, rope-walks, &c., &c., the whole of which, in cleanliness, order, and regularity, cannot be surpassed by those of any nation in the world.

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* In 1835 the frost set in so suddenly that forty vessels were obliged to remain at Cronstadt the whole winter; it fell in one night only, and although several English ships, among the number of the *detenus*, made strenuous and unwearied exertions to get out by cutting the ice, it so rapidly increased in strength that all efforts were vain, and they were compelled to give up the attempt.

THE WAR WITH CHINA.

SERVICES OF THE NEMESIS STEAMER FROM 1840 TO 1843*.

THE war with China had a very questionable beginning, a somewhat inglorious career, and a most important termination: it commenced in forcing a contraband trade, was continued by a series of laurel-less triumphs over a weak and vain-glorious enemy, and was concluded by a treaty which places a vast and hitherto exclusive empire within the pale of civilization. The story is replete with interest, and we are happy to find its cause, conduct, and consequences, very ably depicted in the volumes before us. The work may be said to be of two-fold interest: on the one hand we have a detailed account of the services of the Nemesis, a fine iron steamer, ycleped Devil-ship by the Chinese—and on the other, an excellent historical view of the whole transaction.

Nurtured in the halcyon days of the East India Company's grand monopoly, we had long foreboded evil results from the uprooting of the established system, before sufficient precautions had been learnt to prevent the burning of our own fingers. Where the articles of commerce are of great intrinsic value, trade stalks like a giant, but a giant without armour, not invulnerable. Nay, we may carry the allegory still farther, and imagine the countless poisonous reptiles of the east, stinging the said giant to death, instead of courting his protection against their enemies. A considerable personal intercourse with both India and China, made us apprehensive that mischief would ensue on trade being thrown open, and we deplored the ill-judged liberality o. the cosmopolites. With these feelings, we eagerly seized on the announced detailed statement of the misunderstandings, by us rather deemed unfortunate misconceptions and mismanagements with the Celestial Empire; and the present book being to the purpose, we shall carefully examine the tangled thread as exhibited by Mr. Bernard, who had good opportunities of observing every twist and turn on the spot. We must, therefore, for the present, skip the voyage out, as being rather a nautical subject, and adhere more to the politics of the warfare.

The Chinese have their faults, as well as other nations, but since jealousy and conceit are their special characteristics, and it yet suited our convenience to trade with them; restricting that branch of commerce to a limited set of respectable and responsible people, such as constitute the East India Company, was just about the only way in which we could expect to carry on, with such a cunning, unprincipled set as we had to deal with in China. To render commerce permanent, there must be honourable principle on one side or the other, and as the Chinese attempts at chicanery had become proverbial, it was evident that the continuance of our trade with them was wholly owing to the elevated and steady good character of agents deputed by the appropri-

* Narrative of the Voyages and Services of the Nemesis, from 1840 to 1843, in the combined Naval and Military Operations in China: comprising a complete account of the colony of Hong Kong. From the notes of Commander W. H. Hall, R.N., with personal observations by W. D. Bernard, Esq., A.M., Oxon., 2 vols., 8vo., *London, H. Colburn, 1844.*

ately styled *Honourable* East India Company. We do not say this on mere hearsay, nor from any interested partiality; for we visited Macao in the days of its prosperity, we investigated the establishments, admired their good adaptation, and yet were not blinded by any participation in the benefits resulting therefrom.

The continued insults shown by the Chinese to the late Lord Napier, might have sufficed to evince that there was a determined opposition on the part of the Government, which required active measures either to oppose or to appease—strong warlike dispositions against them if we determined on opposing a Sovereign's regulations in his own kingdom—or stringent measures on our own traders, if we meant to appease the Celestial Empire. But, as Mr. Bernard very ably shows, we wavered between the two lines of conduct, like the ass between the two bundles of hay. Capt. Elliot also felt his hands fettered, and the key moreover in England; his powerless struggle over, the British flag was struck at our factories at Canton. But our opponents looked upon this rather as a triumph, because their object being the prevention of the introduction of opium, the repelling us to a greater distance was favourable to their said object.

Hence follow two questions—Was it compatible with the honour of the British Government to force a smuggling trade, and even if we could be brought to consent to this tarnish on our escutcheon, was it so eminently profitable to us as a nation, that Britain should persist in supplying this slow poison to the infatuated victims of the grasping avarice of a mere handful of unprincipled Englishmen? Would our coast-guard men scruple to deal with French or Dutch smugglers?

After a year's further wavering on our part, and after meanly clinging to Whampoa, when we had found it necessary to quit Canton, Capt. Elliot, on further insults received, distinctly ordered that

"all British-owned schooners, or other vessels, habitually or occasionally engaged in the illicit opium traffic *within* the Bocca Tigris, should remove before the expiration of three days, and not again return within the Bocca Tigris, being so engaged."

And they were at the same time as distinctly warned, that if

"any British subjects were feloniously to cause the death of any Chinaman, in consequence of persisting in the trade within the Bocca Tigris, he would be liable to capital punishment; that no owners of such vessels so engaged would receive any assistance or interposition from the British Government, in case the Chinese Government should seize any of them; and that all British subjects employed in these vessels would be held responsible for any consequences which might arise from forcible resistance offered to the Chinese Government, in the same manner as if such resistance were offered to their own or any other Government, in their own or in any foreign country."

The author here goes thoroughly into the question, as a surgeon probes a wound, and of course there is no other way of being useful to future generations, however painful to the present. The drug had been imported, under the Company's dominion, in small quantities, paying an established duty; but when the predilection increased to an alarming degree, it was no more than right for the Government to endeavour to put a stop to its introduction altogether. Mr. Bernard gives an amusing account of the spread of opium-taking, the party spirit it gave rise

to, and the *reform* discussions, on our illicit measures. There is no doubt but that this measure might have been effected in a more gentlemanlike way; but the Chinese never were *gentlemanlike* in any of their dealings. We have always known them as a vain, supercilious, deceitful people; but for our commercial interests we have flattered their vanity, have sent Embassies to the "Celestial" Empire, our Kings have corresponded with the Brother of the Sun and Moon, and yet when this suppositious deity condescends to look down upon the afflictions of his slaves, we persist in luring them on to destruction.

That remarkable character Lin, the celestial Robespierre, was now sent from Pekin, as special Commissioner to Canton, "to scrub and wash away the filth, and to cut up the opium-evil by the roots, and to remove calamities from the people." He seems to have possessed one good quality—clean hands, but, on the strength of this conscious honesty, he was unconscionably overbearing and violent, despising all who dared not go to similar extremes, whether for him or against him. Our conciliatory measures, therefore, only led him to impose harder terms upon the hated foreigners, and knowing that the shores of China were unaccountably left without any British man-of-war but the little Larne, he actually proceeded to demand, and obtained, an inventory of the arms in the various factories, and then to enforce his peremptory orders for the giving up all the opium in the various ships, whether in the *inner* or *outer* waters; he prohibited any foreigners quitting Canton. Moreover, he decreed that no ships arriving there to all eternity should bring any opium, under pain of the whole cargo being confiscated, and the crew put to death. Consenting to give up 1000 chests of opium, brought a requisition for 4000. The Larne boldly went up to the Bogue, but only to be insulted; and Capt. Elliot went up to the British Factory, in an open boat, but with the same result. Indeed, matters grew intensely worse, for Lin ordered all the native servants to quit the factories, and took the most decided means to starve all the foreigners, unless they ceded to him the *whole* of their opium. Capt. Elliot, feeling his helpless condition, inquired into the respective quantities required, and obliged himself to the cession of 20,283 chests of opium, besides entering into a bond together with the merchants, that they would never more deal in that drug. And only according to the performance of this contract he relented, though to make up the exacted quantity, a great deal had to be sent from Manilla and elsewhere. Meanwhile, the Portuguese at Macao contrived to carry on their underhand trade in opium, spiting the English all in their power to please the natives. At last, although the American trade increased, the Chinese felt severely the suspension of all commerce on the part of England, the tea hanging on, to the great defalcation of even Lin's own income.

At length, in September, the Volage, Captain Smith, arrived, and he found ample reason in the late and still increasing annoyances, for giving notice that he should blockade the port of Canton, which immediately brought the Chinese to their senses, and negotiations were entered into and concluded; although with the want of faith characteristic of that nation, the first temptation induced them to break the treaty, and the English ships were, in consequence, removed to Tongkoo Bay.

Matters had become still worse when the Hyacinth joined the Volage in October, so that when they were proceeding with Captain Elliot to Chuenpee a few days after, they were attacked by twenty-nine war-junks, which, of course, were easily defeated. Occasional warfare continued till December, when Keshen succeeded Lin. The new commissioner was fully aware of the great revenues that his master derived from the foreign commerce, amounting to ten millions sterling in the province of Canton alone; but he was not allowed to devote a sufficient portion of it to increase the defences.

Early in January, 1841, our combined operations opened upon Chuenpee, the eastern key of the Bocca Tigris, and were followed up by an attack on the western key, Tycock tow. The Chinese had never seen anything so formidable before, and were proportionately alarmed; while, from being unacquainted with the humane practice of giving quarter, they became desperate when their escape was cut off, and thus, in great numbers, brought death upon themselves. No sooner had Chuenpee fallen, than the Nemesis and a division of men-of-war's boats hunted out fifteen war-junks in the neighbouring bay, called Anson's. The victory here was still easier, thanks to Congreve rockets, and the dread inspired by the novel terrors of a steamer. Thus, at the expense of about forty wounded, we took, or destroyed, in one day, 173 guns, mostly of small calibre. But a proof of the light that is spreading among them is, that soon after, at the battle of Woosung, the Chinese imitated our paddle-wheels, though, ignorant of steam, the moving power within was the weight of several men walking up a large broad wheel, whilst this motion was communicated and turned in its direction by the interposition of a cog-wheel.

But return we to the conduct of the war, or rather to the precocious attempts at negotiation, for the very next day the Chinese had but to propose a truce when it was acceded to, and in one short week (the enemy strengthening their defences all the time) our victorious flag was hauled down from all the forts which we had so recently conquered both at Chusan and Chuenpee; Hong Kong being ceded to us, and the promise of a million of dollars to be paid to us per annum, during six years. Towards the end of January 1841, Captain Elliot and Governor Keshen had a meeting, in all due form, at the second Bar Pagoda, after passing the several forts where mutual salutes were fired, but though received with great politeness, no essential progress was made, since Canton continued to be a *noli me tangere* to our merchant ships. And the subsequent interview of these two officers in February, was even worse, since a further delay in signing a definitive treaty was granted, which helped the enemy to complete many defences, and pilings across the rivers. Warily as Keshen had behaved, the truth was so offensive to the Emperor, that he superceded the commissioner, and a proclamation was issued at Canton, offering 50,000 dollars each for the heads of Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer. Far from signing the treaty, the Emperor's edict was received on the 20th, for "entirely rooting out the foreigners:" and an intercepted dispatch revealed how effectually they were stopping up some of the channels that it was feared our men-of-war would avail themselves of.

A desultory river warfare now ensued, in which the Chinese were *driven abo*[illegible] chaff before the wind, and, with the only casualties of

six or seven wounded, we regained our Factory at Canton. But many a slip, &c. Already, on the 20th February, Capt. Elliot announced that trade might recommence, but the ferment was only crusted over, and on that day month, he was obliged to recommend that every Englishman should leave Canton before sunset. During this interim, the enemy had made great efforts, though some of the preparations we fortunately detected, so as to put us on our guard. About 11 o'clock at night, their fleet of 100 fire-rafts came dropping down the river, and *were* to have been followed by a possé of troops, while the forts poured showers of shot on our devoted ships. But they knew not the resolution of British seamen,—no sooner were a few of these fire-rafts ignited, than they were grappled and towed away from their intended course, and some of them stranding, set fire to the town. This unexpected distortion of their plan, scared away the troops, though the forts did their duty, but they were so warmly answered, that they exhibited but a crumbling mass at dawn. A similar attack on our ships at the Bogue, was deferred three days, and also failed. To complete our success, the Nemesis discovered the Chinese arsenal above Canton, and there destroyed their reserved war-junks and fire-rafts.

We are not told what occurred till the 24th of May, which was to witness another general attack on Canton, by a combined landing at Tsing-poo, above the mighty city. By the evening of the 26th, we possessed all the heights and the river defences of Canton. Sir Hugh Gough had arranged for the assault of the hill within the walls, with such confidence of success, that when within an hour of the intended bombardment, he received intimation of Capt. Elliot's having again relented, and listened to the enemy's proposal of peace, he was much disappointed, as well as our united naval and military forces, who had undergone great labour, and were just about to play away upon the treacherous foe. Six millions of dollars had been offered to ransom the town, and it was stipulated that all the Tartar troops should evacuate it, and retire to a distance of sixty miles. These were found to amount to no less than 45,000. This truce was not a national peace, but referred solely to the city and river of Canton, wherefore the projected attack on Amoy was soon thought of again.

Meanwhile, a week's exposure on the heights around Canton, had condemned numbers to death, though they scarcely felt ill, until they reached Hong Kong. Besides this source of disease, there were many appertaining to that hilly island itself, since the chief habitable part is on the northern shore, deprived of the beneficial sea breezes and southerly monsoon, while the thermometer during the whole of July, wavered only from 92 to 84, including day and night, a temperature suitable only for its rice-grounds. Added to this, the site of the town is quite flat and low. British enterprise, however, is showing itself in full force, for the improvements that have taken place in the shape of roads, drains, and buildings, are quite astonishing; and the Chinese artificers and agriculturists throng there, feeling the benefit of our superior laws and regulations.

A new era began on the 10th August, owing to the arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger, appointed sole Plenipotentiary and Chief Superintendent of the trade in China; and Sir William Parker as Admiral. The celerity of their progress from London, sixty-seven days, seemed

to pervade all their arrangements, and inspired everybody with renewed hopes and vigour. The proclamation intimated, that in order to secure a satisfactory peace, mercantile considerations must not interfere with the strong measures which it might be requisite to adopt towards the Chinese Government. The Prefect of Canton now condescended to go even to Macao to wait on his Excellency, but was refused an interview as of inferior rank. This struck the ceremonious nation with awe. The season being already far advanced, the preparations for attacking Amoy, situated about 300 miles to the northward, were now hurried on so, that the expedition set sail on the 21st, leaving only a small squadron at the mouth of the Canton river. The astonished Amoyans were told, that the terms proposed by Capt. Elliot last year at Tientsin must be complied with, and that the garrison of Amoy must march out and surrender the place as a pledge to the British. No less than 500 guns had been mounted on Amoy and the neighbouring islands, of which Kolingsoo might be deemed the key, but in an hour and a half fell to our gallant attack, the ships having ran close inshore before they fired a gun. By five o'clock, and the cannonading began only at half-past one, all the outer defences were taken, and the rest quickly followed. This was very different work to that of the undecorated lads of the Peninsula!

The expedition being required to sail northward, it was decided to be satisfied with keeping possession of Kolingsoo; but even this cost us many valuable lives from the unhealthiness of the rice-plantations. The monsoon beginning unusually soon, the fleet was partly discomposed by it on the passage to Chusan; but the place was reconnoitred on the 26th of September, when it appeared that the Chinese had been indefatigable since the evacuation of it by our troops a few months before. The 1st of October saw the town and forts again in our possession, notwithstanding their increased efforts, and the experience they had gained; and the islanders were so decidedly more determined than their countrymen to the south, that our people could never venture in safety beyond the walls.

The next enterprise was Chinhoe, which the Chinese esteemed almost impregnable, and the 10th of October therefore taught them the more impressive lesson. The Imperial Commissioner could not stand the blow, and after sending off his official seals to the Emperor, drowned himself. This mark of devotion affected his Majesty, but he still refused to believe that "the foreigners" were the better men: not so his subjects, notwithstanding all the desperate-looking preparations for resistance made at Tinghai. And when we proceeded to Ningpo, two days after, all the authorities fled before we reached, so that our troops actually protected the respectable classes against the ravages intended by their own rabble. Had our forces admitted of farther subdivision, it is difficult to guess how far we could have penetrated into the celestial empire, but the necessity of planting a garrison at each fortified town, had left us only 750 bayonets when we entered Ningpo. The situation was tantalizing, for canals and rivers would thence have carried our steamers and small-craft to whatever part of the interior we might wish.

Much irregular *foray* took place, throughout the winter and spring, always terminating in the loss of the Chinese. Early in May it was decided to evacuate Ningpo, as occasioning an unnecessary division of

our troops, now that Chapoo was to be attempted. This town consisted partly of Tartars, and they also constituted a portion of the garrison, which, though utterly defeated, cost us thirteen lives, besides about fifty wounded. This however was chiefly owing to some of our small detachments imprudently persisting in attacking a large building, in which a strong party of Tartars had desperately sought refuge. The principal object of destroying the public stores being accomplished, our troops were re-embarked, and then the fleet proceeded for the Yangtze, not without a reconnoitre of the river being first obtained, which was very essential, and when the channel was buoyed off, twenty-five miles up to Woosung, the steamers placed the sailing vessels in the desired positions, not by towing them astern, but by being lashed alongside of them. The Chinese Admiral was the first to show the white feather, which threw all the rest of the junks into confusion. On shore they made a better stand, so that they were occasionally induced to rally. To follow up the panic, some steamers were next day sent higher up the river Woosung, and immediately both forts and war-junks fell into their possession, though they spared but one of the latter to carry off the brass and copper guns from the former. In the evening more reinforcements joined from India; and on the 19th our combined forces proceeded up towards Shanghai, whose first battery that fell mounted no less than forty-nine guns. When the town was entered by our troops, the authorities had abandoned their charge, and again the invaders became the protectors of private property: of this there was a great deal, both public and private, ashore, and afloat, the internal commerce carried on here being only second to that of Canton. The trading junks amounted to many hundreds, and to give an idea of their masting, one of the largest spars was found to be 11½ feet in circumference, some distance above the deck, and 141 in length; and the yard belonging to this taunt mast, was 111 feet long.

The profusion of guns in all the Chinese batteries was such, that at Woosung and Shanghai united, we found 360, besides those in the war-junks. Before proceeding from hence, towards Nankin, Sir H. Pottinger issued a proclamation, recapitulating our principal grievances, and laying down, as the basis of a future treaty, *compensation* for our expenses, *equality* between the two nations, and *insular territory* confirmed to England. At this very time the Emperor issued a counter proclamation, representing the injustice of the foreigners in forcing the "opium poison" on his subjects, and, after the treaty of Canton, resuming hostilities against Chusan and the other towns which they had attacked; so that he commands the barbarians to be swept into the ocean! We, however, proceeding on fact, were leading 70 sail along the Yangtze towards Nankin, a distance of 170 miles from Woosung, and were told that we had no farther warlike preparations to overcome, as the natives flattered themselves that the difficulties of the navigation would prove sufficient defence. Herein we were mistaken,—but why the ships did not co-operate in taking Chin-keang-foo, as they had so ably done on all former occasions, does not appear; yet the Admiral headed one of the parties on shore. From there being many troops encamped outside the town, we made too sure, it seems, that there was no one to contend against within, and we landed about 7000 men. But there were 2400 men hidden in the town, and the half of them

were Tartars, who literally fought for their hearths. This led to our losing far more men than the place itself was worth, although its conquest gave us a commanding tone. Tartar desperation is truly fearful, and rather than subject their families to the imagined horrors, when they found resistance utterly vain, they killed their wives, their children, and themselves. The strictest orders were given to prevent the pillage of private property, though of course the public stores were destroyed. But the worst of all enemies now arose—disease; nor did it cease till the return of cool weather; its ravages were dreadful.

Early in August a humane summons was sent to Nankin, as a precursor to the approach of our fleet, and the two Commissioners offered a large ransom for the city, yet evidently wanted to gain time. Our troops, therefore, now reduced to about 4000—owing to the garrison left at Chin-keang-foo, our losses, and the sick on board—were landed, and the artillery placed so as to open at a minute's notice. But Keying saw the danger of his position, and he honestly warned the Emperor of the real state of affairs. He, however, contrived to gain time till the 29th of August, when the treaty was finally signed on board the Cornwallis, the Commissioners now going afloat, instead of requiring "the barbarians" to wait on them. The terms also could admit but of one interpretation: twelve millions of dollars in repayment of our expenses, besides the six millions for the opium, and three for the debts, and moreover freedom to trade with five ports. Now let us beware of giving any excuse for a recommencement of ill-will, and an importation of spurious tea; let us remember that during the Company's charter, their mark was considered by a Chinaman as sufficient guarantee of the genuine quality of the article, consequently we should be jealously alive to the honour and amenity of all the commercial people allowed to settle there. The fact is, that the bad conduct of a few individuals has cost the nation a great deal eventually both in life and treasure; and but for circumstances almost miraculous had effectually destroyed our interests in that quarter.

The Emperor's ratification arrived on the 15th of September, the fleet did not quit Nankin till the end of the month. Towards the close of October, the whole of the fleet had finally quitted the Yangtze Keang, and were assembled in the beautiful harbours of Chusan, when the triumphant men-of-war, and the attendant transports, gave a striking animation to the scene. The general satisfaction of having brought the war to so important a close was, however, clouded by the dreadful sickness among the troops, which arose from their deleterious encampments. This was followed by the riots of the rabble at Canton, which so many considered as an organized rupture of the peace. But Mr. Bernard, who exhibits a very clear view of the whole transaction, imputes the whole affair to a mere local disturbance, and a natural consequence of the war. And sums up thus:—"There have been no grounds whatever for supposing that there will be any probability of another collision with the Chinese, to whose moderation and good faith since the terms of peace have been settled, too much justice cannot be done. When we consider the wonderful changes which have been brought about in so short a period of time, and these, too, in the face of a nation so proud, the most prejudiced and the vainest in the world, we cannot but look back with wonder at all that has happened, and

stand firm in our belief, that Providence has yet greater things in store for China, mainly through the instrumentality of England."

The gallant Nemesis had now completed her services in China, and sailed for Calcutta, regretted by the whole European community, and *respected* by the Chinese. She is henceforth embalmed in naval story by the notes of Captain Hall, her commander, and the excellent narrative of Mr. Bernard. There are numerous passages of high feeling and stirring interest; but we have been chary of making extracts, as well from the difficulty of selection, as not to forestal the gratification which the reader of the book itself will unquestionably experience.

Thus terminated the war in China! A war commenced in a series of encroachments and annoyances, and terminated by one of the most remarkable moral consequences which ever followed hostilities. From a system of selfish segregation, China has opened her eyes, as from a mesmeric sleep; and the important results to humanity which may flow from a peaceful and more unrestricted intercourse with her vast population, will compensate for our having engaged in the warfare under such questionable bearings. The veil of Chinese non-intercourse with the rest of the world is thrown away, and unnumbered millions will be benefited: even Tom Moore's prediction will be fulfilled ages before it could have been thought possible.

Who knows if to the West we roam
But we may find some *Blue* "at home"
Among the *Blacks* of Carolina—
Or flying to the Eastward, see
Some MRS. HOPKINS, taking tea
And toast upon the Wall of China!

THE RETURN FROM FOREIGN SERVICE.

To those who have never seen service, or been present with the Peninsular army for a series of years, it would be rather a difficult task to make them comprehend the feelings of an officer upon his regiment being ordered home. There are many, no doubt, who would say it was a lucky "turn up;" but there are many, I know, who would have a contrary opinion. Years of hard fighting, fatigues, and privations, tha; we now wonder at, had nevertheless a charm that in one way or anothet bound us together, though it severed some; and, all things consideredr I am of opinion that our days in the Peninsula were amongst the happiest of our lives.

Nothing tends so much to enjoyment in this life as variety,—I mean at a certain age,—when the mind is free from the care of domestic anxiety; you then have no one to think of but yourself. If you lose a friend in battle, you say—"It might have been my own lot; I am sorry for him, but perhaps my own turn will come next." So it is, no doubt, in private life; but then it wants the stirring impetus which carries the soldier through all dangers and difficulties, unshackled as he is, or ought to be; for no soldier should have a wife, *much less a family!*

With feelings such as I have described, or attempted to describe, I was on the eve of quitting the 1st battalion of the Connaught Rangers but before doing so, I resolved to spend a few days with my old friend

and companion Capt. Graham. He was attached to the 21st Portuguese Regiment, quartered in a large convent half-way between Leomil and Lamesso; and here, for the first time, I had a full specimen of the manners and habits of the priesthood of Portugal. I had, it is true, met them occasionally before, and always found them pleasant, agreeable companions; but I had little idea of the depraved state they lived in until I became, in a manner, an inmate of the convent where my friend was quartered.

Dinner was about to be announced when some five or six priests entered, each carrying under his arm a small pig-skin of wine. They were all merry gay lads, and looked as if they had—which I have no doubt of—tasted the contents of their *fardau*. All were agreeable men; they talked upon all subjects; but the fair sex "had the call." My friend asked where the others were who had promised to come. He was told they were on duty; but what that "duty" was I could not exactly define. Be this as it may, dinner was scarcely over when three monks entered the apartment. One, who seemed to be the provider, was loaded with an enormous pig-skin of wine, which he carried on his back; and so soon as the door was flung open, he, with some difficulty, placed it in a corner, and then, with his two companions, joined our festive board.

Now, at the time I am speaking of, I was a very young lad. I had, nevertheless, seen something of the world; I had mixed in society, high and low; I had read books—some of them moral; some, the contrary; but in all that I had ever seen, read, or heard of, I never could suppose that, amongst any set of men—much less priests, so great a scene of blackguardism could be amalgamated together as I witnessed on this night. Songs of the most indecent kind were sang, attitudes of the most indelicate nature were resorted to, in order to give effect to those songs: but still the fellows were so pleasant, that, if you could forget they were priests, it would have been well enough; but it is disgraceful to see men in this calling adopt the manners and habits of the most profligate; by which means they not only disgrace themselves, but the religion they profess.

It was, as well as I remember,—for *then* I could not be exact as to the hour,—about four o'clock in the morning when a summons reached the "high priest" that "mass" was to be performed, and the "Host" carried to the dwelling of some person that was dying. The evening's, or rather morning's, work was thus interrupted, and all those on duty were obliged to scamper off. However, those who were not on the muster-roll remained; and we were about to *begin the morning*, when a Serjeant of Graham's regiment entered, and told him—he being on duty—that the "Host" was about to pass, and that the guard was already drawn out to pay it those honours which were exacted from them.

It may be here necessary to remark, that in Portugal the troops not only "present arms" to the "Host," but fall down on their knees as it passes. This order was strictly enforced by Lord Wellington, so far as regarded the British troops, with the exception of *kneeling*. I was once on duty, when a procession passed, and the man who was at the head of it, fulfilling, I suppose, the functions of some saint, was neither *more* or less than the blacksmith that shod my mules! I, as a matter

of course, presented arms with my guard, but the fellow laughed so immoderately, that he was near being unhorsed.

When Graham turned out his guard to receive the "Host," and his quondam friends, the "Headsman" was so intoxicated as he passed, that he nearly fell downright on the troops that were arrayed to pay him due honour.

This picture of the Romish priesthood in Portugal, may be supposed by many to be an exaggerated one; but it is no such thing. What I have written is true, and those men I met with in this convent were most indubitably the gayest set of drunken fellows I ever associated with before or since.

I left the convent the next day; my head was confused from the liberal potations of wine which I drank, but the priests were as steady as rocks, and ere we all parted, they gave me a friendly invitation to pass a week with them; but I had not time to do so, and I never saw them again,—nor is it likely I ever shall.

I took leave of my old regiment, and, with two hundred and sixty-five dollars in my pocket, bent my way towards Lisbon. My old friend D'Arcy accompanied me, and my man, Dan Carsons, took charge of our baggage-mule, which carried our kits. This, indeed, was a sort of sinecure to him; for, to say the truth, we were not overstocked with much extras.

Little occurred worthy of notice until we reached Lisbon, and there we met with our companion, Simon Fairfield, so well known to the army. Maurice Quill was also there, and as they were both, like ourselves, waiting for a passage home by the first fleet that was to leave the Tagus for England, we thought we could not do better than "club" together.

It was a rare circumstance to meet two such characters, and our time passed away agreeably in learning those anecdotes which have been told of both. Much has been related of Quill, but Fairfield was immeasurably his superior on some points. In the first place, he sang beautifully, while Maurice could not sing at all; and if Quill possessed that extraordinary humour, which it is so well known he did, poor Simon Fairfield was an overmatch for him as a punster.

Our stay in Lisbon was but short, as in a few days after our arrival the fleet was in readiness to sail for Portsmouth. But short as our sojourn was, it was of sufficient length to nearly empty our purses. That sink of profligacy and nest of sharpers, the Saint Carlos gambling-house, was the constant resort of all the idlers in Lisbon; and in a few days I and my friends were completely eased of all our loose cash. But we had one resource left, and, in the shape of a horse each, which was the same thing as ready money, we determined to try our luck once more at the gambling table. Accordingly, the horses were sent to the fair, were sold, and brought a "fair" price. Mine fetched one hundred and twenty-five dollars; those belonging to Hill, D'Arcy, and Adair, all of my corps, were also disposed of at a "fair" value. Poor "*Fair*"field had no horse or mule. He had an old jackass,—his companion for years,—which brought to the general fund only fifteen dollars. A sort of council of war was now held as to the line of operations we should follow, and it was unanimously agreed that D'Arcy, being a good judge of the game, should be the purse-bearer, and play according to his own

judgment to any amount he might think proper, for the profit or loss of the entire party.

Matters were so far arranged, and we were ready and panting with anxiety to have another trial with the bankers of the San Carlos tables, when Hill, a young man of sound sense, hinted that, to prevent any mistake, and not to leave all on the "hazard of the die," we should deposit a certain number of dollars each for the purchase of our sea stock. This hint was so replete with *rationality* that we all acquiesced, and fifteen dollars "*par tête*" was regularly pouched by Hill, who was understood to be our caterer. He laid in a capital stock of wine, brandy, fowls, and meat,—and so far all went on right. The wine and brandy he purchased from the far-famed Signor Cavizoli; but if he paid high for them, they were of excellent quality.

Meanwhile D'Arcy, who conducted his department in the capacity of Chancellor of the Exchequer, was regular in his attendance at the gaming table. He marked with much circumspection the gains and losses of the numbers on his cards, for and against the banker; but his caution was of no avail. In the first night's play one hundred dollars had been scooped from him by the Portuguese banker, leaving a surplus of about seventy-five more at his disposal. As this was our last stake, and as the fleet was to sail the following day, (I wish it had sailed ten days sooner,) we all went to San Carlos to witness the luck of D'Arcy. Before him lay seventy-five dollars, and before him sat the banker, ready and willing to relieve him of their weight. For the first half hour he played with some success, but afterwards the tide of luck was against him. Not one of the party interfered *pro* or *con*. Again he made a rally, and, like a ship at sea who has weathered the storm and begins to right herself, he went on, as it were, sailing before the wind. But in a moment of exultation, and having, as he thought, calculated to a nicety the certainty of success, he staked the entire of our stock in trade on the turn of the card. He was right,—the card turned up in his favour,—and he was a winner of three hundred dollars and upwards. I looked on quietly, and expected to see him take the money or double the card, (which means "double or quit,") thereby insuring his stake, at the worst, or doubling it in the event of success. What then was our astonishment and dismay when we saw him "*cock*" the card, and heard him, in a loud tone, addressing the dealer of the pack in the single monosyllable, "*Cock*." Now the meaning of the word "*cock*," and "*cocking*" the card, that is to say turning up one of the corners of it, implies, that you will have, if you gain, three times the stake on the table, but if you lose, you lose all. So it was with D'Arcy; the wrong card turned up, and we, one and all, turned out, went home to our beds, sailed for Portsmouth next day, and I never wagered a shilling at a gaming table since. Perhaps it was the best "turn up" I ever had.

Our passage home was pleasant and short. No incident worth relating occurred; and in twelve days after we left Lisbon we found ourselves off Spithead. The number of Jews which crowded the vessel was astonishing. They all sought for gold, but amongst us it was a scarce commodity. One solitary guinea was all I possessed, and I believe I could say as much as any of my companions. For this guinea I received, from a Jew, thirty shillings; and it was then that I really began to lament the loss of my "*specie*" in Lisbon. It was, however,

of no use to repine. We had, after a good deal of peril, arrived once more on our native shore. We saw ourselves, on landing, hailed by our own people, and though last, not least, had an order on the agent for seven months' pay! We were all spendidly dressed, with braided coats, handsome forage caps, rich velvet waistcoats, appended to which were a profusion of large silver Spanish buttons,—some wore gold ones,—and our pantaloons bore the weight of as much embroidery as poor Fairfield once said, would furnish a good sideboard of plate! Thanks to the old German tailor in Lisbon, (I forget his name,) for this. If he charged high, he gave everything of the best quality; but as we landed, and saw the garrison of Portsmouth in their white breeches and black gaiters, and their officers in red coats, long boots, and white shoulder belts, we must have appeared to them, as they did to us, like men who formed a part of an army of different nations.

We experienced much difficulty in the removal of Adair from the ship. He had been badly wounded in the knee at Salamanca, and we were obliged to construct slings to enable us to lower him into the boat. We at length succeeded, and got him on shore; and once landed, we were assailed by the different waiters and attendants belonging to their respective hotels, to give "their house the preference." Poor fellows! they little knew the scantiness of our purses, or they would not have been so obsequious. We, however, pitched upon one, the "George," and, as a matter of course, ordered a good dinner, good wines, and everything befitting the heroes of the Peninsula. It was nevertheless necessary to put our heads together, and see if we had the wherewithal to pay for what we had ordered, and pay for our seats up to London. We consulted, put our remnant of cash on the table, and found ourselves wanting in the scale! Hill, an Englishman, and his family known to the hotel-keeper, said he would manage the matter. "I fear it will be up-'Hill' work," said Tim. He accordingly spoke with our host, told him of our lackage of cash, and settled all by giving an order on our agent, M'Donald, of Pall Mall, for the amount of our bill. The landlord even offered to advance us any sum we might require, but we refused his offer, having no need of it, yet we were not the less obliged by his good nature and confidence. Next day we started for London, where we took up our abode with our friend "Mrs. Tait," of the "Hungerford;" Fairfield "roosting" at his old *perch*, the "Northumberland."

The evening of the day of our arrival, there was to be a grand fête at Vauxhall. I had never been there, and expecting to meet, as we did, a great crowd, we thought our Peninsula dress would attract too much notice, so Hill wrote a note to his tailor, Mr. Adeney, Sackville-street, Piccadilly, requesting he would send his foreman to us, and, if possible, let Hill and myself have a dress-suit,—that is to say, black coat, vest, and trowsers, in time for the gala. In less than half an hour, not the foreman, but Adeney himself, *in propria persona*, was with us. He came fully prepared with all those essentials so necessary in his profession, such as parchment measures, scissors, &c., &c., &c.

The process of measurement having been gone through, Adeney asked at what hour we wished the clothes. We answered, at six that evening, if possible, (it was then eleven). You shall have them at four," was the reply; and at four, to the minute almost, we had them.

This is the way they do business in London. Our tailor, at the time I speak of, was worth some 20,000*l.*, yet he was not above his business, and carried his book of patterns in his pocket. In Ireland, a man worth the fourth part of this sum would "DO the fine gentleman," instead of *making*, as Adeney did, two fine gentlemen. But the Irish are all aristocrats; a poor devil of a peasant, without shoe or stocking, will talk of his *family!* whether they be of the Murphys, the Dumphys, or Roarks; the consequence is, that Ireland is in a state of beggary, not owing to any misrule, or "Tory oppression," as the cant phrase has it, but owing to the vanity and extravagance of the people. During the period of the war in the Peninsula, and for that matter all over Europe, the landholders in Ireland could have made, and did make, immense sums of money; but if they did, they squandered it all away. It was a service of danger to be on the public road (in those days,) on the evening of a market or fair. A dozen—or perhaps more—of those farmers, (self-styled "*gentlemen farmers*,") after discussing the merits of several tumblers of punch, would sally out, mount their horses, (some of them worth 100*l.*) and run races on the high roads, galloping without heed to and fro, to the imminent risk of their own lives, as well as the lives of those persons they might meet or overtake on the highway. Some of those men having made and drank divers tumblers of punch, would make the *last* "tumbler" himself, by either breaking his own or his horse's neck, in attempting to jump over a turnpike-gate! It was a common saying at this time, "If I leap the gate, will I be free of the 'pike?'" The invariable answer was, "You will, and more power to your elbow!" If the gate was cleared, as it generally was, a burst of applause followed; if, on the contrary, the man broke his neck—by no means a rare occurrence—a pleasant "wake," and "big funeral," made amends for the loss of the defunct farmer. This is the way that Irish farmers are now poor, and not by "Tory misrule."

Land let, by Tory landlords, as well as by Whig landlords, at from 15*s.* to 1*l.* sterling, the acre,—that land producing from six to ten barrels the acre of wheat,—that wheat sold at 4*l.* sterling the barrel! was not a very "grinding" system on the part of the owner of the soil, or—what is worse—not a "grinding" system on the part of the landholders. If they "*ground*" their corn, nothing is now left to them but the chaff; and for this misconduct on their own parts,—not the misconduct of the landlords,—every shop-boy or itinerant brawler, now "chaffs" away at the different political meetings, with which the country is overstocked. But I must leave Ireland, and proceed to Vauxhall Gardens.

I had expected to see, and also to hear, a great deal. When I say "hear," I mean as regarded the musical part of the entertainment; but I was greatly disappointed in this branch of the fête. The orchestra was not good, and the fire-works only a shade above mediocrity; however they were less annoying than the "fire-works" we had been in the habit of seeing in Spain, and the novelty of the scene amused me much. The gardens were crowded by people of rank, but the groups of drunken sailors, and women of not the most unexceptionable character, was a strong contrast to what I afterwards saw at the Tivoli Gardens in Paris. While traversing the dark walks, Miss Burney's *novel was brought* forcibly to my recollection; but I saw no Evelina [illegible] *However, the* songs of Taylor and Mrs. Bland were well

sung in the style which belonged to each, and were not only loudly applauded, but loudly *encored*. Taylor's "Grand Panorama of London," was received with bursts of applause; and Mrs. Bland's "Oh! no, Mr. Jeremy," was equally successful.

Six of us retired to one of those arcades, (I forget the name that appertained to them,) and asked for something to eat. A slice of ham, to which was added bread and butter, was brought up, and as quickly despatched. I had before heard of a "Vauxall slice," but never witnessed it till then. To be plain, there was not two ounces of meat sent to us for our consumption. We had often been on short rations, but never paid so dearly for them before. The charge was 5*s*. each, to which I must add, by way of addenda, a glass of brandy-punch.

Upon our return home, we found Adair waiting for us, and in the act of dressing a couple of lobsters for supper. He prided himself upon his culinary knowledge in this branch, and would by no means allow the interference of any cook, no matter how *au fait* at *her* or *his* vocation. On the table stood the tin conjurer, as it is called, and at the head of the table sat (for he could not stand,) Adair, who was the real conjurer. Both conjurers were formed of the same, or nearly the same metal. The one of "tin" was of metal, and Adair a man of "mettle." They might thus be termed brothers, not quite as closely allied as the "Siamese twins," but nearly akin. So soon as "Adair" had scooped the meat from his second lobster, he thought the dish not capacious enough for his friends. He rang the bell and called for another.

"Sir," replied the waiter, "lobsters are very scarce and very high in price now, and we have but one left in the house."

"Scarce and dear! what does the fellow mean?" said Adair, turning to me. "Pray, Sir," said he, addressing the attendant, "what do you call *dear?*" "Half-a-guinea each lobster, Sir."

"Then bring me one more; I am a perfect glutton when I get lobsters;—quick—quick!"

The waiter disappeared, but did not return so soon as Adair expected, and he rang the bell in a furious manner. The waiter was soon on his legs, and brought up a remarkably well-featured lobster.

"Pray, sir, what has kept you away so long?" demanded Robin, (we always called Adair 'Robin,') "*I* and *you*, it would appear, have changed places." "How so, Sir?" said the man, with the greatest respect. "Because *I*, not *you*, am the *waiter!*"

The pun was completely thrown away upon our attendant, whose name was Kain. "Remove that table," said Adair. The man essayed to do so, but was unable to move the table; and *I*—for once in my life—perpetrated a pun. I turned round to Adair, and said, "It is manifest that *Kain* is not *Abel*." "Robin" was much pleased with the pun; but whether it was the high price of the lobsters, or the high flavour of them that stuck in his throat, I cannot now recal to my recollection, but I should say the former; for he turned round to me and said, "*Le prix de ces omares est cher*." The waiter, not understanding one syllable of French, and but few correct ones of his vernacular tongue, addressed Adair, and said, "Do you want him, Sir?" "Want *who?*" demanded Adair. "Why, Sir, were you not asking for the priest from St. Omers that put up here last night, and is in the next room just now?"

CONSPIRACY OF THE RUSSIAN NOBILITY, AND REVOLT OF PART OF THE ARMY.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "MILITARY STRENGTH AND CONDITION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE."

(Concluded from No. 185, page 503.)

THE great Union was now divided into a northern and southern department, and each of these again into a number of subdivisions, and all the various elements which composed it concurring in the same immediate object, yet as widely dissentient as ever in their ulterior views, it was impossible that under these circumstances some jealousy and distrust should not arise. The members of this powerful association appear to have consisted of three very distinct classes of men; the first, the least numerous, but the most active and the one that gave its own tone to all the proceedings of all these secret societies, was composed principally of young men, acting under the most generous and disinterested convictions; they wished to raise the whole of the Russian nation to the same social station as the inhabitants of the most favoured lands, and to procure for all the Sclavonic nations civil and religious liberty and toleration in the widest signification of the term, and to an extent which hitherto has not yet anywhere proved practicable, whatever it may hereafter. They were mostly men belonging to the higher aristocracy, possessed of large fortunes, which most of them proposed sacrificing by giving freedom to all their serfs, the only source of their revenues, and there appeared to reign a noble emulation amongst them in their endeavours to divest their proceedings of any shadow of personal ambition. They were republicans and democrats, but men whose peculiar position proved the sincerity of their opinions, and gave no room to the suspicion which always involuntarily obtrudes of the motives of those levellers who, in the process which they propose of levelling all classes, will rather bring down others to their own standard than have to descend.

Pestel, the most influential leader of the whole society, was the soul of this ultra-party, which comprised the men of heart and action, and though neither distinguished himself by family or by fortune, was looked up to by all on account of his energy and his talents. The three brothers Bestoujeffs, two of the Mouravieffs, Bestoujef-Rumin and Mouravief-Apostol, Batenkoff, Kakovski, Schoiekouski, Odoïefski, Wolkoff, Arbovsoff, Volkonski (Prince Sergius), Kouzmin, Stchepin Rostovski, were amongst the most ardent of the number of these disinterested patriots and reformers; their courage when the moment of action came was equal to the motives which inspired it, and amongst the host of conspirators alarmed, vacillating, and withdrawing, when the dangers of the struggle were before them, their gallantry did not belie the boldness of their words or the magnanimity of their intentions, and we find them all falling the victims of the great cause in which they had engaged.

The oligarchists constituted, however, the greatest majority, and

included in their ranks so large a number of conspirators that the government, after the explosion of this long-prepared conspiracy, found it impossible immediately to punish all concerned in it, the labours of the committee of inquiry having proved that there was not one noble family of note in the empire guiltless of participation in it. Although naturally this part of the report was kept as strictly private as possible, as well as many other circumstances of interest, and that so much of it as the public have been allowed to get at is interspersed with a seasoning of calumny, and with the foulest aspersions which the malice of policy could invent, those who choose to be at the trouble of carefully investigating such minutes of their proceedings as are accessible, will be able to gather from the admissions of the commissioners themselves a confirmation of all the statements we have made.

There was also a portion of members who might be rather said to approve of the proceedings of the rest than to take part in them, and who in short flattered themselves that without incurring the risk of failure they would profit by the success of their brethren—such were Michel Orloff, Mamonoff, Van Wiesen, and an innumerable host besides. The activity and the genius of Pestel excited amongst this class and amongst the oligarchists some jealousy and apprehension, and they succeeded in inspiring with their suspicions even many of the ultras of their party. Pestel was busily occupied in the south, and one of the Mouravieffs had been appointed president of the northern circle, but on the plea of checking the ambitious views of Pestel they elected Troubetskoi and Obolenski jointly to the presidency with him. Prince Troubetskoi, who represented the oligarchical and the passive division of the conspirators, and who was at last made Dictator, though raised up avowedly to check the ambition of Pestel, was himself a man ambitious as he was vain, but he was endowed with qualifications which turned upon him the eyes of the majority whose opinions he represented, and gained him their confidence, and amongst others, with that sort of courage which leads a man fearlessly into dangers and abandons him when face to face with them, but which, until it tried, is just as imposing as if it were genuine.

According to the reports of the commission and the pretended evidence of some of the guilty parties, from 1823 to 1825, many atrocious plots were laid to murder the Emperor Alexander and all the Imperial family, which were always frustrated by some providential interposition, or abandoned very unaccountably when the moment of execution came. It would appear that this extreme measure, if proposed, was never carried, since there was no want of opportunities to carry it into execution, and that the very men to whom this design has been attributed were precisely those who afterwards proved their unflinching resolution. We have heard it on the contrary asserted by those who dare to whisper anything on this subject, in contradiction with the dictum of authority, that the amiable qualities which distinguished Alexander alone proved his safeguard, and that if he had been personally more of the despot, even though the tyranny of his reign had been infinitely less, that he must inevitably have perished,—since all the more enthusiastic of the conspirators, who would eagerly have struck down the tyrant, could not bring themselves to sacrifice the

victim which they judged necessary to the destruction of the despotism. We the more readily believe this statement, because it agrees with the character of the class of the members of the conspiracy who proved themselves to be the only men of action engaged in it, and because it perfectly tallies with the conduct of the association and accounts for it.

At last the face of affairs was changed by the death of the Emperor Alexander at Taganrok, which there is much reason to believe was occasioned by natural causes, though we should be sorry to vouch for the fact. It is at least certain, that it took the conspirators unawares, and scattered at inconvenient distances over the empire. The refusal of Constantine to accept of the Imperial crown, and his resignation in favour of Nicholas, of whose character the Union seems to have formed a very correct estimate, obliged them to take some decisive resolution, for which purpose the northern circle was called together at St. Petersburgh, but in the face of this necessity the majority of the conspirators, including Troubetskoi, displayed their pusillanimity, and proposed to abandon their designs and dissolve the association. This proposition was indignantly opposed by Batenkof, Bestoujef, Kakovski, Obolenski, Stchepin, and Arbusoff, on which Troubetskoi, fired with their enthusiasm, recovered his confidence and shewed so much ardour that he was chosen *Dictator*. In the deliberations which took place on this emergency it was agreed on all sides that for the present the utmost change that could be effected was the establishment of a limited monarchy in place of a despotism; but this was not the ultimate object of perhaps any of the conspirators, and all were bent on subsequently obtaining a republican form of government, in lieu of that which they now found necessary preparatory to an ulterior transition, but the continuance of which was considered as too dangerous in the existing condition of the peasantry and army, even in the opinion of those who wished for a republic in which the aristocratic and popular elements should be properly balanced. To the far greater number who wished for an oligarchy it was naturally still less agreeable. The conspirators had become by this time too well convinced that both the army and the people would remain perfectly insensible to any appeal in favour of liberties, of which even the faintest instinct seems dead in the great mass of the Muscovites, but they imagined that they perceived in the present posture of affairs a golden opportunity, and they displayed great ingenuity in the manner in which they decided to take advantage of the occurrences of the moment.

As soon as the death of Alexander had been announced, Constantine had been proclaimed, and many of the regiments of the army had already taken the oath to him, the announcement of the resignation of Constantine in favour of Nicholas (which had never been made sufficiently public,) it was determined to contradict, and, by persuading the army and the mob that Constantine was under restraint, and that Nicholas was usurping, to paralyze the march of Government, and snatch the reins of it out of the Emperor's hands. It was supposed that in this emergency, Nicholas, to secure the crown, would gladly have subscribed to the conditions which they should impose, of calling together, by a decree of the senate, deputies from all the Governments of the Russian Empire, for the purpose of making organic changes in

the constitution of the State; of inviting the Polish deputies to confirm by their concurrence the union of the two countries in a federative form, and of acknowledging the authority of a provisional Government chosen by the conspirators, until the deputies of the Empire should have fixed on the form of constitutional government which was judged best adapted to the wants of the country; and until the Emperor should have taken oath to it. In case that Constantine, whose fickle temper was well known, on receiving the intelligence of the popular movement in his favour, should have suddenly taken into his head to change a resolution which he had been persuaded into by those who knew his want of confidence in his own ungovernable temper, or perhaps rather in the perfect sanity of his intellect;—in case he should thus have been tempted to verify the falsehood of the conspirators, they had decided that a sufficient number of them should adhere to Nicholas to balance the two parties, and thus enable them to force one or other to the adoption of a constitution. If, on the other hand, Nicholas resisted and succumbed, having the power in their own hands, they resolved to make use of the name of Constantine, under the title of provisional government to call together provincial deputies, and form them into two legislative chambers, and to establish also independent provincial parliaments with similar local rights, to change the military colonies into national guards, and to place the fort of St. Petersburg in the hands of the municipality of the city. As soon as some organization had thus been given to the new government, and that it should have possessed itself of the resources and the means of power, it was in contemplation to have elected a female of the Imperial family to the constitutional throne,—less danger being apprehended from the ambition of a woman than from that of an Emperor, who might find in the ranks of the army tools always willing and able to overturn a state of things which did not rest on the broad basis of the popular opinion. These projectors seem to have forgotten that they might possibly have fallen on a Catherine.

It was also proposed to proclaim the eldest son of Nicholas, as during a long regency time would be afforded so far to consolidate the new form of government, that when he became of age to attempt anything against it, the young constitution would have been found to have acquired consistency to resist before the young sovereign had gained strength to overturn. It would appear, however, that nothing as to their future course was finally decided upon by the members of the Union, who were only unanimous in their approbation of the immediate steps to be resorted to, to wrest, before it was too late, the absolute power from the hands of Nicholas, whose conduct has since justified the apprehensions they entertained regarding his future rule, but which it must also be admitted that their own may, in some measure, have influenced.

On the 14th of December, 1825, it was known that the oath of fidelity to the new Emperor would be administered to the troops and to the authorities, and that day was fixed for the outbreak of the revolution in St. Petersburg. The Dictator, Prince Troubetskoi, having under his orders Yakoubovitch and Colonel Boulatof, was to take the command of the insurrection, and to appear for that purpose, with all the influential unionists, on the Isaacs Plain, whither all the

conspirators who had gained over their regiments should repair with them.

When the eventful morning dawned, no sooner were the troops ordered under arms by their Colonels to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Nicholas, than they were addressed by such of the conspirators as served in their ranks, and told that Nicholas was usurping, and their legitimate Emperor in irons. The Marines of the guard wavered, and at the command of their General laid hands on those who harangued them; but the presence of mind and eloquence of the brothers Bestouseff, turned the tide in their favour, and the whole battalion followed them. The Regiment of Finland also declared for Constantine; the Grenadiers of the Guard were also gained over, and a part of the Regiment of Moscow immediately declared itself as soon as the two Bestoujeffs and Prince Stephen Rostovski harangued them. But here the alarm had already been given. Generals Friedricks, Schenschin, and other officers of high rank, had gathered round them the Grenadier company, with the standard of the regiment, and exhorted the troops to obedience. All who did not hesitate seemed disposed to obey, but the Bestoujeffs and Prince Rostovski, without a moment's hesitation, pushing aside the bayonets directed against them, dashed sword in hand into the midst of the grenadiers. After a momentary scuffle, during which they cut fiercely about them, they possessed themselves of the standard, and then all resistance vanished;—the two Generals, the Colonel, and several soldiers, were lying bleeding on the earth,—the conspirators unharmed. The regiment no longer hesitated, but followed with loud acclamations these daring leaders, who led them straight to the Isaacs Plain. As they marched along they were joined by a few of the conspirators in plain clothes, but armed to the teeth, although concealing their weapons under their clothes. On reaching the Isaacs Plain, however, they found that none of their confederates were awaiting them, and during the whole day they saw nothing of the chiefs, whose province it was to direct the insurrection which had been so successfully begun, and to whom they looked forward as the central authority which was to rally and unite all the isolated efforts which were to have been made simultaneously with their own. Of all those who had spoken so enthusiastically the night before, not one appeared to second the movement,—they had all fled the danger. As for the Prince Troubetskoi, the Dictator, who should have directed all,—whilst the revolted regiments were hailing Constantine and the Constitution on the spot, and at the hour at which he had given their leaders rendezvous,—he was taking the oath to Nicholas.

The Emperor was suddenly informed of the revolt of his troops, and as defection after defection was announced to him his position was truly alarming, because it was impossible to tell the extent of the danger, or to know who was for him and who against him. His coolness and presence of mind, however, never deserted him. Those regiments which had unhesitatingly taken the oath to him, were formed either before the Winter Palace or in the court-yard of that spacious edifice; and here he addressed them, and pointing out his Empress and his children from the balcony, made them renew their oath of fidelity to himself, and swear to protect his family. He then marched

against the rebels. The revolted regiments were formed in line with their backs to the Senate House. They were passive and irresolute, because the conspirators, who every instant expected the appearance of their confederates,—devoid of all intelligence of what was passing, and having no ulterior orders,—knew not how to act. The Emperor sent to summon them to take the oath of allegiance, but they answered by fierce cries of "Constantine and the Constitution!" Count Miloradovitch, the favourite veteran of the army, whose body was as covered with scars as his breast was with decorations, now rode up to the mutineers, but he was not allowed to harangue them; he was shot down, and stabbed by the bayonets of the soldiers, who were reminded that he had once deceived them. It has been said that Kahovski fired the shot which struck him from his horse; but this is very uncertain, although beyond all doubt he killed with his own hand the Colonel Srurla, who came on an errand similar to that of Miloradovitch. The Emperor now ordered the regiments which had embraced his cause to open their fire, but some refused, and others obeyed but imperfectly, firing over their heads. In the meanwhile, however, Major-General Benkendorff was just in time to secure the artillery at the barracks, where the conspirators arrived too late, and brought it to the Isaacs Plain at the opportune moment; and his conduct on this day is said to have been the dawn of his fortune, and to have given rise to the confidence which the Emperor reposes in him. The artillery was immediately ordered to fire on the rebellious, but still quiescent masses; and there followed a scene of merciless and cruel massacre, when round after round of grape and canister were poured from a murderous distance on men who had ceased to resist. Before evening the mutineers were cut down, disarmed, and secured, and those conspirators who had taken an active part in the insurrection, were either slain, taken, or tracked in the retreats where they sought in vain for concealment. Whilst this was taking place in the north, in the centre of the Empire, Pestel was arrested at Moscow. Too suddenly surprised to be able to make any resistance, when overpowered he evinced no anxiety for anything but his "*Rouskaya pravda*," or his great work on Russian jurisprudence. His equanimity never deserted him, even to the gallows on which he suffered, and he died with sealed lips, though tortures are said to have been employed to wring from him his secret. The conspirators, instead of any immediate attempt to deliver him, were only aroused to make a tardy and ineffectual effort after the news of the failure of the insurrection in St. Petersburg had taken place.

In the south of Russia the brothers Mouravieff had been arrested at the same time that Pestel had been secured in Moscow; but they were speedily delivered by Bestoujef and Kouzmin, and raising boldly the standard of revolt, they entered Vasilkof. Having gained over a regiment of the line, they then marched forward to occupy a position from whence they could most speedily effect a junction with such troops as they hoped their confederates would succeed in seducing. The enthusiastic Bestoujef made a vain appeal to the reason and religious feeling of his soldiers. After mass the chaplain read to them the Russian Republican Catechism, of which Bestoujef was the author, and in which he proved by numerous quotations from the word of God, that all men were equal in the eyes of the Almighty,

and that nothing could be more offensive in his sight than the enslavement of man by his fellows. But they remained careless and indifferent to all the ingenious comments which were made upon this text, as involving a subject on which they neither knew nor wished to know anything. To move and animate them it was found necessary to promise them double pay, and to allude to the rights of Constantine, which immediately aroused an interest in them which they seemed incapable of feeling in their own. To the cry of Constantine and Constitution they marched forward, however, under the command of the elder Mouravieff; but in the south as in the north the great mass of conspirators sought shelter from the storm which they had helped to raise, and pusillanimously held back; whilst the insurgents were yet too feeble to attempt anything, they were overtaken on their march to Telessie by the vanguard of General Geismar's forces. The conspirators, without hesitation attacked the enemy; the Mouravieffs charged right upon the Imperial artillery, but the elder brother was desperately wounded by a grape-shot, and Hippolyte, the younger, fell dead at his side, by the first discharge. Their soldiers fled; in vain the devoted leaders strove to rally them. Mouravieff and Bestoujef, who were wounded, Mathew, the second brother of the former, and Kouzmin, were given up by their own men to the victorious troops. Kouzmin, unwilling to survive the wreck of their hopes, succeeded in snatching a pistol from one of their guardians, and discharging it at his own head, splashed the Mouravieffs with his blood and brains. Thus terminated this vast conspiracy: in the north, in the centre, and in the south, the same courage was displayed by the few who had engaged in it from patriotic motives, the same pusillanimity exhibited by the majority, whose narrow and contracted views were bounded by mere interest of caste, or that unalloyed self-interest which is the immediate root of it.

Amongst those of the conspirators who had taken a prominent part either in the Union or in the unsuccessful attempt directed against the Government, the least to be pitied were those who perished by the hands of the executioners. Though they were made ignominously to expiate their failure on the gallows, and though calumny and falsehood pursued them beyond the grave, their sufferings, at least, were soon over; and some day when the colossal system of iniquity which they made a vain but glorious effort to overturn, shall have become so unbearable to those whom it oppresses, as to lead to its destruction, their country, and all those over which the tyranny shall afterwards have spread its withering influence, will learn to regard with veneration the graves of those who, however visionary their ideas, devoted themselves to the cause of their fellow men, and to look with admiration on the spirit of the generous few which, amidst the universal selfishness and corruption of a race of slaves, rose up like the phosphoric bubbles which ascend from the rank and sweltering marsh, as bright, as transient, as unlike the slough from which they have sprung, and alas! that we must add, as useless.

If the admiration of posterity be indifferent to the dead, let us hope that the anticipation of it may, at least, have proved a consolation to these *dying enthusiasts*. Those who perished publicly were few in number, but very many disappeared from the light to which their eyes were probably soon closed for ever. The police do not

acknowledge to know anything about them, although visibly arrested by its agents; no one dares press any questions regarding their fate, nor would they obtain any satisfactory answers if they did. The Russian despotism is pushed so far that there are agents of authority who are anxious to save the presiding power, even the remorse, of cruelties and crimes, and those who have rendered themselves obnoxious to it, disappear from before its eyes, or die in their prisons, just as an emperor *or his minister could have wished*, and yet without his having ordered it. Others, again, were sent to the mines of Siberia; their fate is known to be horrible, but at least it is certain. Amongst these was the Prince Troubetskoi, the craven Dictator, who, whilst his brethren were striking the blow, had penetrated amidst the staff of the Emperor Nicholas, where he demanded to be allowed to take the oath of fidelity to him. He remained amongst them—the hare seeking refuge amongst the hounds—for many hours; the livid paleness of his countenance denoting his guilt, whilst his incoherent protestations of attachment to the new sovereign rendered it still more contemptible, and were only interrupted by his fits of fainting as the discharges of cannon and musketry broke upon his ear. He nevertheless escaped to the house of the Austrian Minister, whence the next day the wretched man was dragged before the Emperor. Baulatof, who was to have been second in command, as soon as the insurrection was proclaimed, ran to betray all his associates, beating his breast like the penitents in the churches, and throwing himself on the Emperor's mercy. Prince Odoievski sought refuge in the house of his uncle, the senator Lanskoi, half frozen, after spending a Russian December's night concealed under the arch of a bridge: he was instantly betrayed by this worthy relative. Troubetskoi was exiled to Siberia for life, a chain on his leg, his head shaved, a parti-coloured dress, and deprived, not only of his title, but even of his name, for he is now only distinguished by a number, being civilly dead in the eye of the law. Coarse food, hard labour, and stripes, without a prospect of relief, save in the grave, have succeeded the luxurious life of the wealthy magnate, and the aspiring hopes of the dictator. Sixteen years, a large portion of which he spent labouring in a mine, which have elapsed since he departed on his weary journey, have brought no amelioration in his condition, excepting that for which he is indebted to the heroism and attachment of his wife, who long after by dint of supplications, of tears, and entreaties, wrung from Nicholas the permission to share the exile of her husband, but on those hard conditions, that if she went she should only retain of her immense fortune a sum equivalent to about 250*l.* per annum, and that she should not be allowed to return. The noble woman sacrificed both her fortune and her liberty unhesitatingly, and fulfilling the noblest mission of her sex, came like a ministering angel to soothe the anguish of the captive's exile. She has since written, and appears resigned to her gloomy fate. The Princess is driven to perform the most menial offices; for the pittance which she has been allowed to retain is said to be all swallowed up in bribing the guardians of her husband into humanity. It is a remarkable fact that the Princess, who up to this period had been childless, has been, since sharing her husband's exile, blessed, or rather cursed, with a large family—we say cursed, for what must be

the anguish of the noble woman to know that she has given birth to slaves, the Emperor having sternly refused her prayer to be even allowed to educate them, or to raise them from the class of serfs—thus visiting the sins of the father on those unborn when he offended. Prince Troubetskoi is considered as a monument of the Emperor's clemency, and it is admitted that he has not been so severely treated as many of his more *perverse* confederates.

Such was the termination of the only conspiracy made by any class of the Russian nation; all others since the time of Peter having been mere Oriental seraglio-revolutions. It was planned and carried into execution under auspices more favourable than it can be supposed will ever exist again, until time shall have raised up a fresh class, or inspired those which are now utterly inert, with a consciousness of their degraded situation, and the wish to ameliorate it. If the whole nobility, however, unanimous and organized, could not then make head against the Imperial power, incessantly watched, daily enfeebled, and still further demoralized, it is idle to suppose that they will succeed in doing so now or at any future time; and the prejudice entertained in Western Europe that the Emperors of Russia are now in any way influenced by the fear of their nobility, is just as idle as the hope that they will ever realize that supposed apprehension.

If we contrast this conspiracy with the one which placed Alexander on the throne, we may read a useful lesson on the subject. The first was an attempt at a national revolution, the overturn of a system, which has now less chances of success than ever; the latter was a mere change of the despot, a revolution, which is as likely to take place to-morrow as it was when Paul was murdered. It would almost seem as if the difference in the opinion of despotism with regard to the enormity of the sin committed *against the despot* or *against the tyranny*, were visible in the respective treatment of the men who had offended against the one, or who had menaced the other; for the assassins of the father of the present Emperor, all died in their comfortable beds, and only the Michael Palace in which the deed of blood was committed, seemed to have fallen seriously into disgrace with the Imperial family, being shunned by them, and abandoned as an abode for bats, and a guard-house for soldiers.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR THOMAS PICTON, G.C. .

THE LOST JOURNAL.

(Concluded from No. 165, page 512.)

Expedition to the Scheldt under Lord Chatham.

1809.

8th.—The brigade retired to Tibi, and on the 10th to Venta Gerado, or Chirrou.

14th.—Marched with a division of the brigade to Elda: the road from Venta Chirrou to Elda, having Agost to the right, and Mont Forte to the left, is good. The weather very cold at this time for four or five days, colder than it has been at any time during the winter; the mountains covered with snow; and at Venta Chirrou and Elda there was ice an inch and a half thick, with a horrid cold wind blowing.

19th.—At daylight marched through Sas to Castalla, with Colonel du Plat's brigade. The road tolerably even, but in some places between Sas and Castalla very stony, and almost all the way sandy and heavy.

The whole army, excepting the Spaniards, were now in the plain of Castalla, with the advance under Lord F. Bentick at Biar. The first division, to which I was at this time attached, and the Sicilian brigade, took up a position two miles from Castalla, on the road to Ibi, and bivouacked for the night. Next day the first division, with Captain Thompson's brigade, moved to Oneil, and I joined my brigade in the town.

(*Note.*)—In June last year, a battle was fought about a quarter of a mile from Castalla, in which 9000 Spaniards under O'Donnel, were beat by 3000 French, with the loss of killed, and prisoners. The bones were strewed over the vineyards where the slaughter had taken place, in great numbers, so much so, that a party of our soldiers was sent to bury them; and on removing the sand only two or three inches deep, half-corrupted bodies were discovered. One would have thought that if the French did not choose to bury the dead after the battle, that the neighbouring people would have done that last office to the bodies of their countrymen who had been slain in their defence. The country people speak of it in a most doleful tone, mixed with great indignation, as if anxious to avenge the disgrace.

The weather is horribly cold and wet.

April 1st.—Weather the same.

11th.—The French had assembled their forces, and this day drove the Spaniards out of Villena, and alarmed our advance at Biar.

12th.—Marched with a division of the brigade to the advance at Biar. Towards mid-day the French came out of Villena, about 6000 or 7000 strong, and attacked us in the Pass of Biar. We retired in beautiful order, as they gained the heights upon our two flanks, which they did in very fine style. We occasionally took up positions with the artillery, and opened upon them, and thus fell back till we met the army in the plain of Castalla.

13th.—At noon the French attacked the heights to the left of Castalla vigorously, at the same time they advanced their cavalry round by Oneil to the front of Castalla, ready to attack our right. But the

attack on our left was repulsed, with great loss to the enemy. The artillery was then brought up, supported by the greatest part of the line, and cannonaded them for four hours, doing immense execution, when night coming on, the troops were withdrawn. Two hours longer daylight, and the advantage vigorously followed up, must have annihilated the French force. They lost, on both days, according to the general opinion, near 3000 men killed and wounded, while our loss amounted only to about 600.

14th.—Marched to Alcoy, and got in there by three o'clock next morning. The following morning we moved outside the town, and bivouacked.

16th.—The army advanced to the Pass of Abeyda, reconnoitred, and returned the same night.

* * * * * *

July 23rd.—After easy marches of sixteen and twenty miles a day, we arrived at San Carlos, near the banks of the Ebro, where we waited for about a week, while a bridge was thrown across. At length, the eventful time arrived when we were to cross this celebrated river; and on beholding the bridge about which *so much fuss* had been made, we found merely a raft composed of two boats fastened together, with a platform on the top; and with this contrivance the army was to cross the river!

The infantry all embarked at San Carlos, and went round Balaguer by sea. The advance, cavalry, artillery, and provision-train, went by land.

Marched from Amposta, where we had crossed the river, and halted at Cambrils, a distance of upwards of forty miles at one march. The other brigades halted at Ospitalet, eight miles short of Cambrils. We commenced the march at one o'clock in the morning, and arrived before eight in the evening.

30th and 31st.—At daylight in the morning Tarragona was invested for the second time; but no ground broke before it.

August 1st.—Marshal Suchet had retired to Barcelona, seeming to wait our convenience, until we should have landed some cannon with which to pepper him, and open batteries on Tarragona, when he might be at liberty to return and attack us. However, Lord William Bentick only kept the place closely invested, having the troops chiefly beyond Tarragona, and his head-quarters at ——, until Marshal Suchet, fearing the garrison and the place would be obliged to surrender for want of provisions, having purposely left only a small supply, collected all the troops he could muster, amounting to 28,000 men, made a movement to relieve the place, in which he succeeded, we retiring to Cambrils and the Col de Balaguer as he advanced; and shortly after he withdrew the garrison, and blew up the place, as was his original intention.

It is supposed that the news of Lord Wellington's having taken San Sebastian, and defeated Marshal Soult, was the cause of Suchet's abandoning Tarragona, thereby saving the garrison, rendering the place of no value to us, and being ready for a still further retreat, should it be necessary.

The Duke del Parque was obliged to march his army to the inhabited country near the Ebro, in order to subsist it on our retiring to Balaguer; *and after the* French had withdrawn again from the neighbourhood of

Tarragona, General Clinton, with his division, was sent to occupy it, and the rest of the army marched back to invest Tortosa, in conjunction with the Duke del Parque. The Ordnance transports were at the same time ordered round to Alfacques Bay.

27th.—My birth-day, which was spent on board ship off San Carlos, having been invalided since the 8th.

Our demonstrations against Tortosa turned out to be a mere *ruse de guerre*. The Duke del Parque marched with his troops to join Lord Wellington.

Sept. 1st.—The French having taken up a position on the Lobregat, Lord Wm. Bentick established his head-quarters at Villa Franca. Our army was now reduced to about 14,000 men*, including British, Sicilians, and Whittingham's Division of Spaniards. Besides these there were some 6000 or 7000 Spaniards, under the several Chiefs, viz., Capons, Manso, and Sarsfield, who acted in concert with us, issuing from the mountains upon the flanks and outposts of the French, occasionally making a few prisoners: but these were of no manner of use as a regular force to act in line with ours, because they could not subsist themselves for a day except when scattered about the villages; therefore they only augmented our numbers, without increasing the real strength of the Allied Army,—*as it is called.*

12th.—Our advance, and two regiments of Spaniards belonging to Manso, were posted ten miles beyond the main body of the army, which was at Villa Franca, and within six or seven miles of the French, who probably being enraged at having some of their outposts carried off, (which had once or twice happened,) and at being bullied by so inferior a force, they collected 18,000 men at one point, and at about eleven at night "poured like a torrent" upon our unfortunate post, and, as may be said, actually cut the men to pieces, taking two 6-pounders and two 4-pounders that were attached to it.

The French then pushed on, and early in the morning drew up opposite to our army, and almost in an instant made dispositions which turned our left flank. We now commenced and executed one of the most beautiful retreats that can be imagined, covered by the reserve division, Major-General M'Kenzie, the cavalry, and a brigade of light artillery. The reserve division retired by brigades, one brigade remaining in line to the right and left of the road, which was left open for the artillery, and when another brigade had taken post in a similar manner, some distance to the rear, the first brigade passed through it in column, and passed on to take post as before. Our regiments were frequently obliged to form square to oppose the enemy's cavalry, which it is said amounted to between 2000 and 3000; and they were frequently repulsed by the fire of our batteries: but our handful of intrepid cavalry charged them so repeatedly and successfully that they were not in a condition to molest the march at all; and their vast inferiority in every respect (save in numbers) was made very manifest. The circumstance of our taking some officers prisoners, among whom was a Lieut.-Colonel, without losing one ourselves, although under the disadvantages of a retreating army, must be nearly sufficient of itself to establish this. The famous cuirassiers were beaten as bad as any of their other dragoons,

* Cavalry in British pay, 600; Sicilian, 200; artillery, 28 pieces.

losing some prisoners. It gave us all great pleasure to observe the excellent conduct of the Sicilian cavalry.

At — o'clock the French halted, and suffered us to prosecute the remainder of the march to Tarragona without molestation, and after a day or two retired altogether to their original position near Barcelona.

Note.—Although, perhaps, the circumstance of posting the advance so far from the main army, and thereby subjecting it to the fate which it actually suffered, might be thought a piece of bad generalship on the part of Lord William B., yet the manner in which he afterwards conducted the retreat, in the very teeth of so superior an enemy, without losing a particle, reflects the greatest credit on him.

17th.—It was now reported that Marshal Suchet had praised the steadiness of our troops in his *General Orders;* holding them forth as a general and worthy example to his own: and desiring that whenever any English prisoners fell into their hands they should be treated with the greatest humanity. This was truly noble in Suchet!

Soon after this His Excellency Lord William Bentick returned to Sicily, and left the command of the army to General W. Clinton, much against the latter's inclination. Nothing worth remembering occurred to the end of the year 1813; the troops having remained quietly in their quarters at Villa Franca, Vendrellas, Torre del Bara, and Tarragona.

Letter from General Picton.

"Pavo di Concilia, on the Frontiers of Portugal, 28th August.

"My dear Sir,—I have been in this country since the month of January, and generally on the frontier. I am now with the Third Division, which I command, and am within six miles of the river Coa. Lord Wellington's army is not considerable enough to carry on offensive operations in a disadvantageous country; and Marshal Massena, notwithstanding his numbers, has hitherto shown no disposition to molest us. Our head-quarters, Alverea, is not more than sixteen miles from his at Aldea Dobispo, and yet we have had mere trifling affairs of advance posts, which lead to nothing serious. The desertion from the French army is great, as well amongst the foreigners as the native French, who are no longer actuated by the enthusiastic spirit of the Revolution; and you may easily conceive their military operations have lost much of that vigour and impetuosity which grew out of that irresistible spirit. Unless Buonaparte continues to rule with an *iron arm*, his despotism cannot last long,—nothing but excessive fear can support the pressure of his interior regime. What a miserable state they have brought themselves to, after all their exertions in favour of liberty. The war in this country will yet cost him great efforts and immense sums of money. The Peninsula now is in that situation that nothing is to be procured either by plunder or execution, and all operations must be carried on "à force d'argent." The Spanish Government, equally corrupt and nugatory as the old one, has long since been put down; but there is an unconquerable spirit of resistance, which shows itself throughout the whole Peninsula, which it will require much time and great efforts to get the better of. All small detachments are cut off by the independent bands of guerillas, who show great courage and talents for that destructive species of warfare. The peasants in *this* country have latterly shown a similar spirit; and you can have no idea with what rancorous spirit the business goes forward.

"The French troops have not been paid for near twelve months, and of course cannot be restrained from plunder; and, under these circumstances, the peasantry fall upon them, and massacre them in all directions. This is a miserable kind of warfare!

"Lieut.-Colonel Collins is here with me, and requests his best regards to all your family.

"Believe me to remain, my dear Sir, your very devoted,

"Thos. Picton.

"*Mons. Mons. Begorrat*, Trinidad, West Indies."

1814.

January 1st.—Commenced the new year at Vendrelles. The half-pay system found to be a great bore.

February 4th.—The reserve division marched to Villa Franca.

7th.—Marched from Villa Franca through the pass of the Ordal, crossed the Lobregat at Molinos del Rey, and halted within a league of Barcelona. It is really very gratifying to hear the encomiums that are passed on our troops on their first appearance in a village or town, "*guapos bonicos*," and such like epithets, are in everybody's mouth.

The plain of Barcelona is extremely fine; the flat part of it adjoining the sea, is appropriated exclusively to the production of corn, while more inland, when it begins to become hilly, it is partly in vineyards and partly in corn, and the richness of the soil everywhere is wonderful. From a hill, which the French have named Mount Napoleon, and where they had a telegraph, there is a magnificent view of Barcelona, Mount Juich, and the plain, as far as it extends on every side, to considerably beyond Malarô. At the foot of this hill stands the village of Seriá, and near to that Gracia, both composed of "*casas di capupo*," belonging to the nobles and rich people of Barcelona. These houses display a considerable degree of magnificence, and having alcoves on each side, and frequently a fountain and a small garden in front, are calculated to form a very agreeable summer residence in this warm climate; but, with only two or three exceptions, the architectural style (which one might naturally expect to be good in the neighbourhood of so large a city,) is anything but superior or classical, and invariably on entering one is disgusted by seeing the lower story of the house used as stables, kitchen, &c., with outhouses which cannot be avoided, in order to arrive at the staircase; and which also does not often correspond in magnificence with the outward appearance of the house.

17th.—Marched to Martorel to intercept the French garrison of Lerida. The Governor-General, Lemark, had evacuated the place, in consequence of a *forged* capitulation (not very honourable) between Copons and Suchet, which was carried to him by an *Aide-de-Camp* of Suchet's, who had left the French service a short time previous to this. The conditions of the pretended capitulation were, that the French should be allowed to march into Barcelona, with arms, baggage, &c.; but were at Martorel *made prisoners of war*, allowing them to keep their baggage.

There are the curious remains of a Roman (or Carthaginian!) bridge over the Lobregat, the arch of which has been lately built up by the Spaniards; but the foundations are ancient, and at the opposite end of the bridge is a triumphal arch entire, built by Hannibal in honour of his father Hamilcar.

I felt indescribable pleasure in viewing these remains of so great antiquity, and more especially being the memento of one of my most admired of all the ancient Generals. On a stone in the centre of the bridge was an appropriate inscription.

March 1st.—The troops remain in the same position before Barcelona.

31st.—It being resolved on to break up our position, I exchanged out of Williamson's company with Lawrence, and came to Villa Franca to join Campbell's.

April 2nd.—Fernando passed through the cantonments of our army before Barcelona, and was received with the honours due to his rank, to the great gratification of the Spaniards.

April 3rd.—He passed through Villa Franca.

13th.—The anniversary of the affair at Castalla; and on this day we received the order to commence our march to join Lord Wellington.

14th—Marched from Villa Franca, over the mountains, by an extremely bad *bridle*-path, to Igualada, passing through the village of Capillares, where there is an extensive paper manufactory. The infantry went by way of San Sadoni, occupying two days' march.

16th.—March from Igualada to Cervera by a "Camino Real." The country mountainous, and with scarcely one solitary village. Cervera is a very ordinary place, although a city. The chief and only thing which raises it above the rank of a common "pueblo" is, that it can boast of a college built by Philip the Fifth, and has at times numbered 1500 students, (it now numbers about as many soldiers.) In consequence of the war, there are at the present period not more than seventy.

18th.—We this day marched through a beautifully-cultivated country.

19th.—Continued the march towards Lerida. The country in a rich state of cultivation.

20th.—Arrived at Lerida, which is a species of Ciudad, and not so richly populated as Alicante. The French are by no means favourites with the inhabitants here. The castle is not impregnable, being commanded.

The people are particularly civil and obliging to us, and the ladies, who are particularly fascinating and beautiful, manifest by no means an indifferent feeling towards "*las tropas Inglesas.*" For myself, I am lodged comfortably, and very respectably quartered with a widow, who prides herself in the enviable possession of a beautiful daughter, Maria Antonia Piñol,—a perfect Venus de Medici, with the advantage of a pair of most languishing dark eyes, and jet black hair, equal in profusion to that of the celebrated "Eve," in the Palais Pitti Gallery at Florence. Heigh-ho! I *almost* regret having seen her; being already —I know not how to *describe* the sensation.

21st.—Drums and trumpets have awakened me from my love-trance, and I "tear myself away" from my fair charmer, Maria, to continue my solitary march in a most love-sick and desponding mood. Previous to parting, however, I presented her with a locket, embellished with a device, a heart pierced with arrows, accompanied with the following "sentiment" in Spanish, and which I thus translate*:—

This heart is emblem, love, of mine,
To beauteous Marie ever true!
For thee *mine own* doth only pine,
Pierced by young Cupid's arrows through.

22nd. Marched on to Fraga; continued our march on to a miserable village called Peñalva, where there is a manufactory of common bottles and drinking glasses, *but very little to drink* in the place. After crossing the river at Fraga, we ascended the side of a mountain, the

* The original manuscript description of our hero's arrival and sojourn at Donna *Pinol's is given* in Spanish.

summit of which is a level plain for several miles, without meeting with a single house or drop of water on the road, the whole barren and uncultivated. Fit spot for a desponding lover.

23rd.—Arrived at Bajaralos, also a poor village; still no water on the road; and still a barren waste.

24th.—Arrived at Pina on the Ebro; a miserable town, and the valley of the Ebro not so fine as I was led to anticipate. There were 150 Spanish cavalry here, one of whom suddenly and *treacherously* attacked Major Elwin as he was quietly returning home from his dinner; the Major received three sabre wounds. These "cavaliers" also stole an artillery mule out of the stable, threatening the sentry with death if he gave the alarm.

25th.—Moved on to a village, the name of which is not worth remembering, about an hour's march from Pina; still on the Ebro.

26.—Arrived at Saragoza, where many people had assembled to see their friends, the English, enter their town; they, as usual, received us extremely well with "Viva los Ingleses," "Viva Inglaterra," &c.

28th.—Marched on to Alagon and Cabanas, crossing the great canal of Arragon.

29th.—Arrived at Cortez; thence—

30th.—Tudela; the road this day ran parallel with the canal of Arragon for a considerable way, and we were very much pleased with the picturesque appearance of a packet-boat, which passed us in a contrary direction. It was very gaily painted, and had a large state cabin in the centre, and resembled those which ply in Holland, particularly on the canal between Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, &c. It was drawn by a mule at full trot, and had, moreover, a mast and large sail, which impelled it forward with considerable rapidity. There were many passengers on board, who, as they glided swiftly past us, waived their hats, calling out, "Viva los Ingleses," "Viva Inglaterra," and in Spanish, "Long live the mothers who gave birth to such men," a compliment which we deemed no less complimentary to ourselves than to our fair countrywomen, and which never having been previously paid us, became the subject of some very interesting conversation among us afterwards.

About a league before arriving at Tudela there is a royal palace, where the canal commences; it is called, "La Cabera del Canal." We have a beautiful view down the Ebro, which at this place has one or two falls or rapids, one of which, directly opposite the king's country seat, is made to glide over an artificial dam. As the residence of a private gentlemen this would be extremely pretty, but for a monarch it is of a very shabby character.

Tudela is an ancient town on the banks of the Ebro, not very large but, at this time, containing a very ample population of pretty women in the true Spanish style, and here we halted two days to reconnoitre.

May 3rd.—Marched on to Caparosa, a most villanous place, neither pretty women nor agreeable men; we were informed, that Lord Wellington's cavalry and horse artillery had been quartered here. Judging from appearances, they must have had a most agreeable and delightful time of it, and a fine opportunity for cavalry and artillery practice *ad libitum*.

4th.—Arrived at Tafalla, a decent old town, and surrounded by very singular turretted walls.

5th.—Halted at Pamplona, the capital of Navarre; it is by no means so large, but in point of beauty and regularity of the streets, far exceeds Saragoza, and every other town I have hitherto seen in Spain. The esplanade forms a fine walk shaded with trees. The Spanish Governor would only permit one battalion to remain in the town (fearing we should run away with it.)

Its fortifications and citadel are according to the rules of art, but the blockheads of brutes would not even allow the English General to see the latter. There were very few of the principal inhabitants remaining in the town when we passed. I must not forget to notice the military monument to Count Gages, which is erected in one of the churches, with a very handsome modern front to it.

6th.—Arrived at a very small place called Betelu, which stands completely "in nubibus." Immediately on leaving Pamplona, the road begins to wind among the mountains, affording the finest scenery imaginable. A short distance before coming to Betelu we arrive at the highest point of ground over which the road passes, the entire way from Cataluña, by following the course of the Ebro; we must, consequently, have been always ascending, from which circumstance, some idea of the height of the land may be formed. We now descended from this place towards the sea, in the same line which required our ascent in the whole way from Cataluña. The magnificence of the scenery from hence to Tolosa is indescribable.

7th.—Arrived at Tolosa. This place being very full of all kinds of people we were very badly lodged, and were, consequently, very glad to get out of it and proceed on to—

9th.—Oyarzum; thence—

10th.—Crossed the Bidassoa a little beyond Irun, and entered the French territory without French leave; halted at a small place called Bidart, two leagues beyond St. Jean de Luz.

11th.—Moved on Arbonne, where we remained about a fortnight, and were then sent back into Spain to embark the battering train at Neuteria, near Passages.

June 1st.—This month was employed in embarking the stores and selling the horses and mules; several companies were now assembled here.

July 1st.—The company embarked in the Marshal Wellington transport at Passages.

5th.—The convoy sailed from Passages, and bent their course towards Santander to call in for some other ships.

10th.—The additional ships came out of Santander, in no very great hurry, while we were *sitting upon thorns*, having already *lost* a fair wind for England *on* their account; would that we could have placed it *to* their account at Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, for now that they *did* come out the wind became contrarywise.

12th.—As might be expected, *still* in sight of Santander; studied the character of Socrates and Xantippe, and resolved on patience; consequently,

13th.—The wind veered round slightly, and we began to make some *progress*.

16.—Wind dead foul, and what presented a disagreeable perspective, the cook reported our sea stock "falling short." I whistled for a change, and—

19th.—Fair wind, which carried us past Ushant.

20th—The wind continued to favour us, and we got into Plymouth harbour at night.

21st.—Landed at Plymouth, and had, once more, the agreeable satisfaction of making, and consequently, *eating* breakfast in the English manner; and, moreover, the greater pleasure of finding my old opinion confirmed, and which ought, henceforth, to be inscribed in capital *gold* letters, that our own country, dear old England, (God bless her!) excels every other.

The women do not walk so well as the Spanish women, nor, *perhaps*, so well as the French; nor are their feet so small as those of the former: nor are they, in most instances, so neatly "calzadas." It is true, that the Spanish style of walking, in some degree, approaches to a "demarche fière," as the French would say; but still it shews off the figure of a fine woman to advantage, and which is certainly to be admired in preference to the French *petit pas* quick march. I wish herein, however, to make no allusion whatever to our ladies who have received an education.

I anticipated to have seen every countenance insipid, or difficult in expression, after the "piercing black eyes" I had been accustomed to sigh to; but the contrary was the case; every woman, although, in fact, but of the middling class, I thought well-looking. The ruddy complexions and blue eyes of the fairest "Catalanas," I now perceived, fell far short of the delicate rose-coloured complexions and soft winning blue eyes of my fair countrywomen. They appear coarse in comparison, and the same may be said of the "Viscaynas;" another circumstance also forcibly struck me, the fine, delicate, and *truly effeminate* soft tone of the voice in both old and young, while I found them, in comparison, taller than the "Espanolas."

August 1.—Arrived at Woolwich, when Campbell's company disembarked and marched to Colchester, while I march off to London to get a new "turn out," saw the "grand" jubilee in honour of the peace, and accompanied myself to the Opera house.

12.—Arrived in Shropshire, and spent a very happy time in campaigning at field sports, &c., which perfectly re-established my health, and on the—

18th—Accidentally shot a countryman in the leg, mistaking him for game.

November 9th.—Arrived at Newcastle, and joined Boyer's company stationed there, and was not long in discovering, that the quarters were anything but agreeable.

December 25.—Eat my Christmas dinner with Colonel Ramsay and his amiable family at Tinemouth Castle.

December 31st.—Midnight. Took leave of the old year, and entertained the new one with a bowl of punch, and wishing the world as happy as myself, perused the following letter from General Picton, dated—

"Asparen, Lower Navarre, January 20, 1814.

"My dear Sir,—Your letter, of the 18th of November, reached me here the day

before yesterday. I had been under the necessity of giving up my command, after the battle of the Pyrenees, and returning to England, on account of extreme ill health; but the waters of Cheltenham, having, as usual, set me up again, I determined to contribute my part to the accomplishment of this eventful contest, and I flatter myself, that I am not far removed from that desirable event, of which the whole world has so much occasion. We are here between the rivers Neva and Adour, waiting most anxiously for the season to enable us to commence the operations of a campaign, which, from all appearances, must bring about a general and permanent peace. We are well received every where by the inhabitants of this country, and we all ride about unarmed with as much unconcern and security as if we were in the centre of England. The people here are an uncommonly fine race, perfectly well disposed, and uncorrupted in every respect. It is the best settled country I ever saw, and almost resembles a continuation of villages; the houses are so thickly scattered over the surface of a luxuriant, well cultivated mixture of arable and pasture grounds.

"The existing government of France has no friends *here*, and the *Chief* is held in utter detestation by every one. We arrived here at the period of raising the last great conscription, and all the Basques profited of our arrival to escape it, so that this part of Navarre is filled with the most numerous and athletic young men to be met with in any part of the world.

"Marshal Soult still continues in command of this army, but so weakened in morale and composition, as to oppose very little resistance when seriously attacked.

"They abandoned all their fine fortified positions upon the Pyrenees without scarcely a struggle to defend them. The *spirit* of the Revolution has wholly evaporated, and has been replaced by a rigid unrelenting discipline, which has wholly lost the affection of the soldiery, who appear well disposed for a change, which, I think, may be hourly expected.

"There is not a family in France which has not to lament some of its bravest sons, sacrificed to the endless ambition of a Ruler to whom they are attached by no tie of affection, or ancient prejudice; and many who had the good fortune to escape the horror of a Muscovite winter, perished mournfully the following year, under the rigour of a wintry season, without hope or succour, in the north of Germany. They see no end to such miseries except in the destruction of their author.

"If Buonaparte does not make peace before the commencement of the campaign, I think *he must fall*.

"I am much concerned to find that they are going on in the same senseless system of innovation and *empiricism* in your magnificent colony. The sanctified hypocrites, who are at the head of the system, are too powerful to be resisted, and can at any time raise the *war-whoop* against any one who has the appearance of opposing what they call the '*Interests of Heaven*.' Time alone can correct the inveterate rascals.

"I give you much joy at having rid yourself of an employment which occasioned you much embarrassment without any remuneration. You have, I am sure, the 'mens conscia recti,' behind which, an honest upright man will always entrench himself whatever may happen.

"With best wishes to Mrs. Begorrat and all your family,

"S. H. Begorrat, Esq., "Trinidad, West Indies." "Very faithfully yours, "THOS. PICTON."

REMINISCENCES OF BILUCHI AND BRAHOI CAMPAIGNS IN UPPER SINDH AND CUTCHI, DURING THE YEARS 1839 AND 1840.

BY CAPTAIN POSTANS, BOMBAY ARMY.

(Concluded from No. 185, page 550.)

HERE it was learned that the Brahoi tribes had anticipated us, inasmuch as a strong party were already through the passes, and were then diligently employed in laying waste the country, and at no great distance. A short march was made the next day to Kunda, and hardly had the troops [illegible] their arms, ere a native of the place (which had

been visited the day before by the enemy, and cruelly plundered,) rushed into camp, with the intelligence that a strong body were even now advancing to repeat their spoliation, not knowing, probably, of our presence. The irregular horse, under Capt. C., were immediately in motion, seconded by the 40th, the 38th being left to protect the camp and baggage. After crossing a few fields of high grain, the Brahois were discovered sneaking off, having taking the alarm, escorting a long string of camels, with which they intended to carry off their spoil from the wretched inhabitants. Every inducement was made to them to surrender, and our guides and interpreters warned them to do so; but to this they only replied by firing on the irregular horse, and killing two of our men. The troopers, seeing this, were no longer to be held back, but charged the party, and cut up a considerable number; for those who asked for quarter were found to ensconce themselves in bushes, and deliberately fire on their preservers. The camels were captured, and, with the loss of two men killed of the irregular horse, who were alone employed, and three or four wounded, camp was regained. In another two marches, over desert tracts, with but a very insufficient supply of water, the detachment reached Gundava, the former capital of that portion of the country, and once a place of size and importance. Here they found the whole of the inhabitants outside the town, in a pitiable state of misery and destitution, it having been completely pillaged and gutted by the Brahois the preceding day, who had carried their booty, under a redoubtable leader, into the Gundava Pass. It was moreover ascertained that the 25th Regt. was within two short marches, and a report or two of artillery, which were plainly heard, told that some skirmishing had occurred. Kotria, at the foot of the Gundava Pass, was next reached, and the following day the 25th closed up, having only received a slight annoyance from the enemy to their rear-guard, which a round or two of long shots had settled. Kotria, so memorable for the destructive effects of its climate on our troops stationed there during the ensuing hot season, has been elsewhere described*. The 25th Regt., N.I., and guns, with a small party of horse were left in possession, and the 40th and 38th hastened on to Dadur by the route of the western hills, on which beacons nightly blazed, as warnings of our movements. Intelligence having been received that the young Khan of Khelat, with 5000 or 6000 fighting men, was expected to appear against our small post, and to pillage the town of Dadur, to protect the latter was impossible, as our weak party would find plenty of occupation in holding their own until the relieving detachment could reach them. The incidents of one night's forced march, which was that of forty miles into Dadur, where a most serious mistake was nearly happening, from the 40th and 58th becoming separated in a series of ravines, during impenetrable darkness, deserve to be recorded. The calls for assistance from Dadur became every hour more pressing, in consequence of the appearance of the Brahois, as anticipated, and a continued series of attacks on that post by their whole strength, which, though defeated by the gallant conduct of the garrison, and by a dashing sally of Skinner's Horse, headed by Captain M., were so harassing that the troops, only mustering about three hundred men of all arms, could not be expected long to sustain them. The relieving

* See United Service Magazine for September, 1843.

columns pushed on with all possible speed by forced nightly marches, and the last (that alluded to) occupied twenty-four hours. The country between Mihisir and the point to be gained lies through tremendous defiles, called, from their similitude to the pass, the "Smaller Bolan," and then along the foot of the hills, through ravines so deep that an army might be completely hidden in them, and where only one camel has room to proceed. At about the middle of the night, after threading one of these water-courses, the leading portion of the column reached a ford, which, though ordinarily only knee-deep, to the utter consternation of all, was found to be so swelled by a mountain torrent that it was quite impassable. There was every reason to believe that the enemy, knowing our high-road lay through this, had, a few hours previously, cut an embankment, and let the water in, purposely to impede our progress,—and so it proved. To advance was impossible, and it was absolutely necessary to retrace our weary steps, and seek a fresh track; but, whilst deliberating on the measure, and meditating the turning back of a string of camels, two miles in extent, in an apparently inextricable position of confusion and difficulty, the guards and troops scattered by the nature of the ground, and the night so dark that it was impossible to distinguish a yard before us, sudden sparks of light, as if from the matches of the Brahoi matchlocks, with murmuring of a large body of men, appeared on the opposite side of the ravine, and the guides, well acquainted with the midnight attacks of these people, which they call "*Shub rezee*," (or pouring out at night,) decided that the enemy had led us into a difficulty, and were preparing in force to attack us, taking advantage of our totally defenceless position. A few men of the 40th, who were all that could be collected at the moment, were formed up as a last resource, opposite the expected point of attack; and one or two, indiscreetly enough, were preparing to fire, when, most fortunately, a horseman galloped up, with the intelligence that the party opposite and behind us, who had caused the alarm, was the 38th Regt., who had lost its way, and wished to know what to do! One single shot fired by either party would have ended in a general discharge; for both were deluded with the same belief, and it is probable our troops would have done to each other much more mischief than could the whole Brahoi force combined, nor, under the circumstances, could any blame be attached to either. There are those who will recollect the escape from the impending miseries of that night, and the joy occasioned by a release from a fearful catastrophe. Had the enemy, on the other hand, taken the slightest active measures, the column must have been sacrificed, for it was in such a position, and with such a convoy, totally helpless; this latter was the curse of our troops throughout the war, and increased the harass and anxiety to a degree unknown in other countries. How was it possible for less than 5000 men in the present case to protect themselves and a string of beasts reaching two miles in extent, against an active and determined enemy, in a country where they were threading ravines and defiles, with only the prospect of the sky above them, and obliged to march during the night?—yet there were not more than 800 infantry and 200 horsemen.

But to proceed. After a delay of about two hours, the return to the latter road was effected, and by 11 A.M. the next day, the column *reached* Dadur; having had the satisfaction on approaching that place, *to see the Brahoi* encampment, with the chief's tent and standard, at

the foot of the distant hills, whilst the resounding *nigara*, or royal drum, gave note of warlike preparation, and that the Brahois were not inclined to abandon their position at the approach of the reinforcements. The mere handful of men at Dadur had admirably held their own against a series of unceasing attacks for four days and nights; by throwing up a breastwork, and digging a trench, the enemy were frustrated in their attempts to get at them, though it was necessary to be constantly under arms and on the watch, these Brahois being proverbially sly and treacherous in their proceedings. Some old buildings and a great deal of brushwood, which had been incautiously left too near the position, gave cover to their annoyers, who being repulsed in one or two combined attacks, continued to harass the garrison by sniping shots on all who showed their heads above the breastwork.

Scarcely had the reinforcing column come to their ground, their tents being yet in the rear, when it became evident that the Brahois, then distant about two miles, their camp being pitched close to the mouth of the Bolan Pass, were in motion, and meditated mischief. The guns, two light howitzers, were now brought out, and dispositions were made by the force just arrived to receive the enemy, who were soon seen to be moving down in large and irregular bodies of horse and foot towards the British troops; but on arriving within a short distance of our position, and perceiving our preparations to meet them, the Brahois filed off to the left, as if anxious to turn our flank, then again halted, and their further movements appeared undecided. It became evident, however, after waiting a short time, that to continue this state of affairs would only be to expose our men to continued vexation and annoyance, and keep them, after a long and fatiguing march, continually under arms; it was therefore decided, as the better plan, to turn the tables, and advance on the Brahois, bringing them to action, leaving the garrison to protect the rear. This was done, and as our column proceeded, delivering a few rounds of spherical, case, and round shot, the enemy slowly retreated, always inclining to the left, as if to draw us from their chief's head-quarters, where they had left their all in property, wives, and children, and for whose safety they were evidently afraid, whilst we had every reason to believe that one unfortunate British officer (the late political authority at Khelat) was a prisoner in their hands, and near the same spot, for whose safety we could not avoid feeling the greatest anxiety. This movement of the Brahois produced the effect they intended, as it obliged our troops to constantly move in the same direction, lest they should be outflanked; the distance from us of very long shots was preserved, and at length the enemy closed to the hills, into and up which, as we neared them, they precipitately retreated, whilst a dense mass of those they had left in camp, were seen to be making the best of their way over the hills in the rear. A large nullah, or water-course, conveying a rapid stream to Dadur, had now to be crossed ere the chief's tent could be gained; one of the guns was upset, and it was necessary, therefore, to wait and form up into something like order, ere a push was made for the enemy's camp through a thick jungle of brushwood, which a large body of Brahois only evacuated as our troops advanced, firing upon us in retreating, but doing no mischief.

The Khan's tent was at length reached, and we found the retreat of the whole body of the enemy had been so precipitate, that they had left

everything behind them, even to the smallest article of use or value. But the sad sight of this day was here presented, however, of the ill-fated officer in their hands, nearly naked, and manacled hand and foot to two large camel-baskets, lying on his face, with a deep cut in the back of his neck, which had evidently been inflicted by his guard in the act of retreating; he was quite dead, poor fellow, though still warm, and presented a sight that justly roused the indignation of every soldier present. Poor Lieut. L.'s fate, whatever may have been his omissions of prudence or foresight, called for sincere commiseration, and the incident is only referred to here as connected with the campaign, and to remark that he was lamented in his fall, and borne to his last resting-place by the officers of the 38th N.I., who all knew and esteemed him for his many private virtues. One of his servants, a native of Bengal, was found weeping over his master's body, but could give no information as to the particulars of his death; he had left him for a moment under the charge of his guard (who always kept strict watch over their prisoner,) to prepare some food, and on his return he found the guard had fled, with the others in the advance of the troops, and that his poor master was murdered*. The poor fellow's intense sorrow and fidelity, spoke volumes in his own as well as his master's favour. To sum up this day's proceedings, the whole of the property that could be collected was conveyed to camp as lawful capture, though of no value, the only really important portion being a large collection of dispatches and private letters for the troops, which had been from time to time pillaged from the messengers deputed to convey them during the march, where many a missing document of private as well as public importance, was found opened, and perused by an unfortunate Munshie, with a smattering of English, whom these Brahois had captured for this especial purpose.

On returning to camp, the troops had thus been under arms, and incessantly marching for forty-eight hours, a greater portion of the time under a fierce sun, without a particle of refreshment, and disappointed at not closing with their enemy, or realizing the wish expressed by one of the 40th Grenadiers, "that there would have been a bit of a fight that time at any rate." The exertion of all hands on this occasion, whether European or Native, deserved the highest praise; and if real hard work and endurance ever entitled British troops to honours, the detachment whose movements have thus been rapidly sketched, fully deserved them. The Brahois retreated up the Bolan, and made their appearance again in front of Kotria.

A striking proof of the inveterate murderous propensities of the Bilúch, was evinced shortly after the events above described. Ruhmut, one of the worthies alluded to as formerly associated with Jani, had attended the march of the detachment in the capacity of guide, (for which he was well fitted,) having, in consequence of his many promises of an amended life, been taken into pay and service by the British Government. After the work was over at Dadur, he obtained permission to visit his native village on the other side of Cutchi; and journeying for that purpose, he overtook a Hindú trader, who was pro-

* The murderer was afterwards executed, and confessed that he had received no orders to commit the deed, which was unpremeditated.

ceeding in the same direction to purchase camels, Ruhmut ingratiated himself with this man, using the certificate of his service of the British as a proof of his honesty; and finding that the unsuspicious wretch had a considerable sum of money about him, suddenly fell upon, robbed, and murdered him. The circumstance shortly after became known, and the villain Ruhmut was seized, heavily ironed, and imprisoned, with a view to his trial and execution,—the authorities being now fully convinced that it was hopeless to attempt to reform such a miscreant, whose sole vocation was bloodshed and violence. As this man's subsequent history and adventures are closely interwoven with those of his companion and bosom-friend Jani, they may be told together. This latter being condemned to hard labour in irons, as before described, refused positively any and all efforts made either by persuasion or force, to put his blood-stained hands to work, and he was at length permitted to remain for some months a closely-guarded and solitary prisoner. On the breaking out of the Khelat rebellion, Bijar Khan was considered, by his communications, to have merited such consideration at our hands, that he was, with the Boogtie chief, released from the fort of Bukkur, and, together with all the hostages, sent back to his old possessions, for which certain services were to be performed; but he made a primary point of procuring the release of Jani, for whom he promised to become responsible.

Behold, again, therefore, this redoubtable robber free as the wind. Shortly after this occurred the murder committed by Ruhmut, and Jani therefore found his old friend a prisoner, and apparently an inevitably doomed man; but to desert him in this perplexity was not consistent with the strong bond of Bilúchi amity between them; and to the consternation and surprise of all, though how effected could never be traced, Ruhmut suddenly made his escape, despite of the precautions of double guards and heavy irons; and it was soon evident that the country would be swept as usual by these worthies, and that the native report of the impossibility of Bilúchi reformation was, after all, the true one. Bijar Khan and all the influential chiefs denounced, or appeared to denounce, these two miscreants, swore not to harbour or assist them, and requested the authorities to be unsparing and unceasing in their attempts to capture them. Parties of horse were immediately out, and a high reward was set on their heads. The escapes of those robbers now became quite romantic, for their brethren, fearing our vengeance, had really refused to assist them, and they were left to their own cunning devices. The first occasion wherein they had a narrow thing of it, was the sudden arrival of their pursuers at a village of poor cultivators, (where the robbers were resting,) whose fears were acted upon by threats of fearful vengeance if they sheltered not the pursued, for the time was short, and to mount and away was impossible. The plan was therefore adopted of hiding themselves in a neighbouring grain field, turning their yabús loose in the village; the pursuing horsemen reached the locality where they knew they must be hot in the track of their object, but they saw only two loose horses; and the villagers shouting and pointing beyond, telling them that they had only to spur on to overtake the robbers who had just fled, the misled troops galloped furiously through the village, and left Jani and Ruhmut to come from covert quietly, mount their steeds, and be off in an opposite direction.

A *second time intelligence* was received of Jani and Ruhmut being

in a certain village, and a night march recommended and adopted. The very hut in which they lay concealed was positively surrounded by a party of men, and escape appeared hopeless. The horses of the robbers were grazing outside, and they were evidently quite unprepared for an attack. The foremost suwar dismounted, and entered the hut, where Jani himself was seated, coolly smoking his pipe, surrounded by a few choice companions. The ruffian was not at all dismayed, but sprang to his feet, cut furiously at the suwar, and rushing past him, and throwing himself in his saddle, he positively managed to make good his escape to the neighbouring hills, wounding the foremost of his pursuers, and completely eluding shots, thrusts, and attacks of the whole party. The attention of all being attracted towards him, left the rest plenty of time to be off; and the affair proved a perfect failure; but, strange to say, these wretched men carried their crimes so far, as at length to rouse even the indignation of their own tribes, and to this, alone, they owed their destruction, for it appeared as if all the means we could have employed for their capture would not have succeeded. Jani was suspected of intriguing with the wife of a Dúmki chief, who had sworn, that if he could establish the fact of his wife's infidelity with the robber, he would sacrifice her and her paramour to his revenge and wounded honour. The opportunity was not long wanting. The old trick of pretending to go on a distant journey was adopted, but suddenly returning, Ruhmut and Jani were found to be in the chief's own house regaled and feasted by his wife; the thing was too palpable to admit of doubt, and surrounding the house with a strong party the injured husband called on his enemies to surrender, but he was answered by taunts and threats. Ruhmut guarded the door, and no one was found sufficiently daring to dispute it; a murderous fire was then opened upon the windows and openings of the building, and lastly it was fired; the inmates seeing that their doom was sealed quietly yielded to it, and the woman with her two miserable companions were burnt together and destroyed. A finale more in keeping with the lives of Ruhmut and Jani could hardly be imagined, and thus perished these wretches, to whom, for well-attested deeds of blood and cruelty, our most redoubtable Newgate Calendar heroes must be confessed to have been quite second-rate characters. Jani's sword, for some time in the writer's keeping, was a frightful curiosity, and though in the East human life is not the valuable commodity that it is with more civilized nations, this formidable weapon was the terror of all who beheld it.

To pursue the history of the robber clans farther would be unnecessary. Bijar Khan's sagacity prevented his again committing himself. The Murrees and Boogties sent deputations to acknowledge their obedience, and they were wisely left in the same independent position they formerly possessed, though it is a curious fact, that Major B., the defender of Kahan, was the only Englishman the Murrees would treat with, and he rode alone into the hills to bring the party to the Chief Political Authority, who waited to receive them. The chiefs solemnly entrusted their deputation of representatives to Major B.'s hands, and told him that his honour was the best and only guarantee they would accept for the safety of their embassy; nothing more strikingly illustrative of the effect of high and courageous bearing on barbarous minds could possibly be evinced. Valuable presents were made to the Murree and

Boogtie deputies, and they returned to their wilds, it is to be hoped, fully impressed with a sense of British generosity, and satisfied of our good faith.

The active campaign against the Brahois and Bilúchi, in Cutchi, closed with an attack on the whole Brahoi force by the Kotria detachment, as well conducted as it was decisive and brilliant in its execution and result. After the retreat from Dadur, the young Khan descended into the Gundava Pass; Khelat had been re-occupied by General N., and the insurgents were, therefore, driven to the hills, pitching their camp in a strong position in the above pass. The Commandant of Kotria, Colonel M., resolved to attack them, having previously made every possible overture to induce the young chief to surrender and leave his claims to the decision of the Government, which were met only by subterfuges and even annoyance. Having received our order from Sukkur, which was conveyed by an officer, riding express, a distance of about 140 miles, through bodies of the enemy, in about 18 hours, a march was made early in the morning, and the enemy's position, distant about six miles from the British camp, was assailed at daylight; a severe action ensued, and the young Khan himself barely escaped. Our loss was one officer and some few men killed, from a strength of one regiment, two detached companies, and two guns; that of the enemy very great, with a large number of prisoners. The behaviour of the native troops, who alone composed the force on this occasion, was represented as beyond all praise.

The large force under General B. shortly after took the field in its march to Quettah and Candahar. In its way a detachment failed in the reduction of the Khujuck Fort of Sibi, owing to a mistaken disposition of the attack by concentration on one point, a narrow gateway, which was overlooked by houses where the Khujucks, with tiers of matchlockmen, poured in a destructive fire, whilst the leading sections were assailed by large bodies of swordsmen. In this way three officers and fifty men were killed and wounded without the possibility of returning a shot, (the Commandant, Colonel W., of the cavalry, one fine young officer of artillery, and one of infantry, were killed in this disastrous affair); the force retired by order, and whilst making a fresh arrangement for attack the enemy sued for quarter, and during the night the place was abandoned. Khujuck had three gates, and if—instead of concentrating the whole strength on one, where the troops had to advance along a narrow causeway, and then move by a berm under the wall to the gate and round a tower, where no rush could possibly be made, and where there was hardly room for more than a section—the three gates had been simultaneously assaulted, the result would have been very different. And thus ended the Bilúchi and Brahoi campaigns in Upper Sindh and Cutchi during the years 1840 and 1841: posts were formed, and more important events above the passes subsequently continued to occupy the attention of all from that period until the late brilliant actions of Sir C. Napier, on the eastern bank of the lower Indus, where the tribes of Bilúchis, combined, in overwhelming numbers, to meet the shock of our small but determined forces, and suffered a defeat as signal as it was deemed by them impossible.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF MILITARY PUNISHMENTS, IN AS FAR AS REGARDS NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND PRIVATE SOLDIERS.

BY HENRY MARSHALL, DEPUTY-INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF ARMY HOSPITALS.

THE officer who is entrusted with the execution of a sentence of corporal punishment, usually complies with the suggestion of a medical officer, when he recommends that a soldier should be taken down from the halberts. Martinets of the old school have, however, not only disregarded the suggestion of a medical officer, but even reprimanded him for his interference in favour of a man who was undergoing punishment. I once attended a corporal punishment, and suggested at what I considered due time to the commanding officer, that the punishment should be suspended; but no attention was paid to my recommendation. The following case is a remarkable example of disregard to the suggestions of a medical officer. Dr. G——, Surgeon to the — Regt., officially attended the punishment of a soldier in an island in the West Indies, who had been sentenced to receive five hundred lashes. When about two hundred and fifty lashes had been inflicted, Dr. G—— recommended that he should be taken down; but the commanding officer lost his temper, and censured the Surgeon for interfering; he at the same time declined to suspend the punishment. Nay more, while the punishment was going on, he continued to reprimand the medical officer for interfering, and finally ordered the Adjutant to put him under arrest, which was done, and he remained under arrest, until, in consequence of an appeal to the General Officer, through the principal medical officer, he was liberated, having been confined for about ten days.

A medical officer, who is officially present at a military punishment, is placed in a most unenviable situation, being in some measure held responsible for the consequences of the injury thereby inflicted, which responsibility is obviously unjust, inasmuch as the punishment is too uncertain in its operation for any medical officer to ascertain the boundaries of danger. Moral feeling, age, strength, nervous irritability, climate, previous disease, organic defects, and other circumstances, many of which it would be impossible for the most skilful and the most careful to detect, may render a punishment fatal, which had been intended to be but moderate or lenient. No medical officer can answer either for the immediate or ultimate consequences of this species of corporal punishment. Inflammation of the back, or general fever, may occur after a very moderate infliction, which may terminate fatally, notwithstanding the greatest diligence and attention on the part of a well-informed conscientious medical officer.

Every officer, upon becoming a member of a court-martial, swears that he will duly administer justice according to the rules and articles of war, without partiality, favour, or affection, and he further adds, "*If any doubt shall arise, which is not explained by the said Articles or Act, then according to my conscience, the best of my understanding, and the customs of war in like cases.*" A medical officer who is present at the infliction of corporal punishment, enters, I presume, virtually into a

similar engagement, namely, to do his duty impartially, and in the absence of specific instructions to be guided "*according to his con' science, the best of his judgment, and the custom of war in like cases.*' Under such circumstances, it may be asked why should medical officers bear a heavier responsibility, when untoward circumstances follow corporal punishment, than the members of a court-martial, by which the sentence was awarded?

With reference to the responsibility of medical officers, I may here advert to two remarkable examples, for the purpose of showing that they should be particularly careful in regard to the duty of attending the execution of a sentence of corporal punishment. Two men belonging to the — Regt., in 1823, then stationed in Demarara, made an attempt to escape in a boat to the Spanish main, and having been pursued, they fired upon the party sent in quest of them. They were, however, ultimately captured, and being tried by a general court-martial, they were each sentenced to receive one thousand lashes. Before the proceedings of the court-martial were confirmed by the General Officer at Barbadoes, the regiment was transferred to St. Vincent's. The commanding officer of the regiment in question, Lieut.-Colonel L——, who appears to have been the senior officer in St. Vincent's, determined upon carrying the sentence into effect regimentally, instead of upon a garrison parade, when a Staff-Surgeon would have been directed to attend. The regiment was then under the medical charge of Assistant-Surgeon F——, who attended the punishment. On the morning of the day when the men were to be punished, the Lieutenant-Colonel was reported sick, and the command of the parade devolved upon Capt. A——. The punishment was carried into effect on the 5th February, 1824, and each delinquent received the whole amount of his sentence, namely, one thousand lashes.

Three other men were punished at the same time. Both of the two men in question died, the first on the 7th February, and apparently in consequence of collapse; the second died on the 14th, after a fit of ague. Sloughing commenced on the 12th, and by the following day the whole of the back and loins had become involved. The backs of the men were not much cut. Both of the men had been previously delinquents, and they were sentenced to remain for life in the West Indies, in which station they had served nearly twenty years. The other three punished men did well.

The fatal issue of the above cases having been reported by the Staff-Surgeon at St. Vincent's to the Inspector-General of Hospitals at Barbadoes, he forthwith officially recommended that Mr. F—— should be removed from the Army. He stated in his communication, that although one thousand lashes may be awarded by a general court-martial, it is never expected that the whole should be inflicted in a warm climate; as also that to stand by and see one thousand lashes inflicted on men who had served long in a tropical climate, evinced great want of feeling and judgment; it betrayed, he added, neglect or ignorance, or both, to a considerable degree.

The Inspector-General admitted that Mr. F——'s former services and character were creditable, and that perhaps it would be unfair to dismiss him for what he may call an error in judgment; but still the Inspector thought it right to *do so*, for the purpose of depriving him of the *power of committing a similar* error.

It seems never to have struck the Inspector that by admonishing and instructing Mr. F——, he might have, in all likelihood, as effectually obviated a similar untoward result as by dismissing him from the Service.

Mr. F—— was ordered to proceed to England, there to await the decision of the Commander-in-Chief, and during the month of June, 1824, he was removed from the Service.

Mr. F—— having been dismissed without being heard in his own justification before a court-martial, I take leave to subjoin the following desultory observations.

No one doubts the right of the King to dismiss any of his officers from the Service, without offering any motive except his own will; but it must be admitted that this power may be used without sufficient examination, and consequently without that thorough understanding of a case which cannot be otherwise obtained, except by fully hearing all parties. Mr. F—— had entered the Service in 1815, and remained an Hospital Assistant until May, 1822, when he was promoted to the rank of Assistant-Surgeon, and attached to the regiment in question. An officer of the rank of Hospital Assistant is seldom required to be officially present at a punishment parade, and as Mr. F—— may not have joined the regiment more than a few months, when he was present at the punishment of the above-mentioned two men, he may perhaps have had little or no practical experience of the duties of a medical officer, when corporal punishment is inflicted. The duty, in fact, may have been quite new to him, and hitherto no instructions have been issued for the guidance of novices in that important branch of a medical officer's duty. He was no doubt present officially when the two men were punished, which punishment unfortunately proved fatal in both cases; but although

"It is generally supposed, that the Surgeon who is present at a military execution is responsible for its consequences; this is not legally true, and it is physiologically impossible: the punishment is too uncertain in its operation to allow of any medical officer ascertaining the boundaries of danger. * * * * No Surgeon can answer either for the ultimate or immediate consequences of this species of corporal punishment. He may indeed err on the safe side by interposing as early as possible, but there is no criterion by which he may be guided in forming an absolute opinion on the danger or safety of the punishment." (*Paris and Fonblanque*, vol. iii. 149.)

"Let a medical officer bear in mind, whatever his sentiments may be concerning the nature of the punishment, that he has nothing to do with the merits of the case; and *if the prisoner is able to endure the award, he has no business to stop the course of law or justice.* If he gives way to his feelings once or twice, he will find himself unpleasantly situated, unless he can show satisfactory cause for his interference." (*Forensic Medicine*, by Dr. J. Gordon Smith, page 403.)

Dr. Smith served long in the 12th Dragoons.

A Medical Staff Officer of my acquaintance, who, in the opinion of his commanding officer and the officers of the garrison, was too ready to recommend suspension of corporal infliction, came to be considered in some degree a nuisance in the station. He was ultimately removed to another garrison, in consequence of his being thought an impediment to the Service. I have elsewhere stated that medical officers, whose *feelings* were easily excited by being present at a corporal infliction

were sometimes temporarily superseded, and officers deemed more efficient directed to attend. It may also be stated, that some authorities allege that large punishments have been, and by implication may be, inflicted with impunity. "I have seen," says Dr. Gordon, "one thousand lashes received without complaint, and the back healed so rapidly that in about ten days the patient was dismissed cured." He adds also, that "the apprehension which prevails as to the *risk* and cruelty of corporal punishments, is in a great measure imaginary." Such statements, made by an old experienced officer, are calculated to induce an officer but little acquainted with this branch of duty to consider the infliction of a sentence of one thousand lashes as attended with little danger.

The fact is, as Sir Charles Napier states, that medical officers are placed in a most unfair and perilous position; the danger to which the life of the culprit, and the commission, or life, of the Surgeon are exposed, being a powerful objection to corporal punishments. Whether the medical officer leans to the side of lenity, or to what is considered severity, he is liable to be blamed, and there is no well-defined line between these extremes, by which he may be guided in the conscientious execution of his duty. A man's ultimate efficiency, or life, may be endangered by the infliction of a comparatively small punishment, as well as by a large chastisement; and it may be stated, as a remarkable fact, that the fatal cases on record have, in most instances, been the result of very moderate inflictions, some even under two hundred lashes.

I will conclude my notice of this case, by observing, that if Mr. F—— had been heard in his own defence before a court-martial, he might have been still a medical officer. He had no rule for his guidance, but the common practice, which, in all probability, he followed according to his limited experience, and the best of his judgment; under such circumstances it is humbly submitted, whether an individual instance of alleged error of judgment ought to be selected for punishment, unless it could be shewn, that it was more heinous than those which were commonly overlooked.

It may be asked, if it was never intended to inflict 1000 lashes in a warm climate, for what purpose is such a sentence awarded? The intention of the court-martial is known only by the sentence they pronounce; a medical officer has, at any rate, no other opportunity of becoming acquainted with it. He has no means of ascertaining their unofficial opinion, so as to be, in some measure, guided by it in the execution of his duty upon a punishment parade. When the *Code Pénal* was under discussion, it is stated that Napoleon expressed an opinion, that the laws ought to be concise, and leave much latitude to the judges and the government in the application of the penalty, "*because*," said he, "*men had feelings of compassion unknown to the law.*" The members of courts-martial always had abundance of "latitude;" but, in the exercise of their duties as judges, how often did their arbitrary sentences evince a want of the "feelings of compassion," a disregard of the principles of equity and utility, which should regulate the infliction of all punishments.

The chief causes of the tragedy in question were, first, the vicious system which then prevailed, in fixing no limits to the sentences of

General Courts-Martial; and secondly, to the barbarous usage of awarding punishments which were obviously calculated to endanger life. As it appears to have been deemed expedient to sacrifice one of the individuals concerned upon the altar of public opinion, it is not clear to me, that the Assistant-Surgeon had any very peculiar claims to be selected as the victim. Since the above was written, I have been informed, that Mr. F—— never attended a punishment parade at the head-quarters of the regiment, of which he was Assistant-Surgeon, until the 5th February, 1824, the day when the two delinquents in question were punished.

Where, it may be asked, is a medical officer, who is anxious to perform his duty correctly on a punishment parade, to seek for information and guidance? This branch of his duty is not practically taught in public hospitals, and a medical officer can hardly be expected to acquire the requisite information on this subject by instinct, or from works not in existence. Captain Basil Hall observes, that the tendency of strict discipline, such as prevails on board ships of war, and, I may add, in the Army, where almost every act of a man's life is regulated by the orders of his superiors, is to weaken the faculty of independent thought. This partial surrender of moral agency is not confined to the purely military branch of the Army; it extends, occasionally, to the different ranks of the medical department, and what effects deference to the wishes of an imperious superior may have, on the judgment and discretion of a medical officer, young in years, limited in experience, and without much firmness of purpose, I leave my readers to form an opinion. Instructions upon this subject, to be effectual and uniform, should emanate from authority, and they ought to comprehend the duties, not only of the military, but also of the medical branch of the Service. Unofficial recommendations or suggestions would do little or no good.

The other example is extracted from *The Duties of a Regimental Surgeon, answered by Dr. Hamilton*, 2nd edition, 1794, vol. ii., p. 65.

"Should a man," says the Doctor, "die in consequence of over-punishment, I am certain he might be tried by the laws of his country for his life. Such an accident, some years ago, did unfortunately happen in a regiment quartered in the west of England, where a man died in consequence of punishment. The surgeon, too easily, yielded up his prerogative, and forgot he was responsible, till his country called upon him to answer for his conduct. He was tried at the succeeding assizes for the county, and though acquitted, from several circumstances that appeared in his favour, yet he never spoke on the subject without considerable emotion, as I know, from my acquaintance with him afterwards, it cost him not only much anxiety of mind, but great expense and the hazard of his life. An enraged multitude sought him in every corner; but a precipitate flight to another kingdom prevented them from discovering him. Had he been found while their ferment continued, they would have taken the law into their own hands, and not waited for the verdict of a jury. Happily for him, the assizes were at several months' distance, and the minds of the people had time to cool, before he appeared on his trial, which his friends thought it highly expedient for him to do."

In the performance of their duty, with respect to punishment, medical officers may, therefore, not only incur the heavy penalty of being dismissed, or they may be tried by the civil law for murder,

should a case terminate unfavourably; but they are also liable to the resentment of individuals. Early in 1828, a private belonging to the — Regt., was tried and flogged for desertion. On being untied he was scarcely able to stand, he staggered forward as if he had lost his sight, and his features were fixed and death-like. He gained strength as he proceeded, and cast off the proffered arm of the guard that conducted him to the hospital. He was followed by the medical officer, who was certainly no favourite of the men. The punished man saw him, and he stopped short and fixed his eyes upon him. "Doctor," said he, in a composed though hollow tone, "why didn't you order me to be taken down before I got all? You saw I was not able to bear it as I used; if I was I would not have expected it. You didn't, Doctor, and you ought; but if you saw my liver through my bare ribs you would not. I know you, Doctor, and I would have you take care of me." "Move on, men," said the medical officer. "Get along, sir, how dare you speak to me?" He was marched to his ward, and the medical officer followed and dressed his back. "All right," said he, "lie down on your back." The words had scarcely passed his lips, when the punished man jumped from the bed, and with one blow felled him senseless to the other side of the ward. He then made a rush to leap upon him, but was seized by the orderly and hospital serjeant.

The subject of the above case "P. O'N," says my authority, who served in the same regiment with him, "from being looked on as a quiet, sober, well-conducted, young man—from being esteemed by his superiors as an intelligent and respectable non-commissioned officer, was literally flogged into the most hardened ruffian that ever wore a red coat. He abandoned every sense of self-respect, and flung propriety and good conduct to the winds, as if they were of no use to him —as things he had no more to do with."

The most common events that happen at the commencement, or during the early stage of the punishment of a man by flogging, are feigned or real fainting or convulsions. In some instances, the simulations of fainting or convulsions are sufficiently obvious; but in others, the causes of the symptoms are by no means free from doubt. Some men become faintish at the sight of the triangles, even before they are tied up, apparently from a peculiar nervous sensibility; I say peculiar, because the same men may conduct themselves, on occasions of danger, with great firmness and self-possession. I have seen a soldier faint upon his arm being tied up for the purpose of being bled—the view of the lancet completely unmanned him. Nay more, the mere dread of the degrading punishment of flogging appears to have extinguished life. A youth who had just left the plough-tail, and who belonged to the army of reserve, was selected to do duty with the — Regt., then stationed at Plymouth. On his slop clothing being issued to him, he found, on examination, that the buttons were marked with the number of a regiment; his impression was, that if he wore the coat, with the buttons in question, he would be a *regular* soldier, and the impression became so deeply impressed upon his mind, that all persuasion failed to convince him to the contrary. His conduct being considered next to mutiny, he was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to receive five hundred lashes. He was actually tied up, and would, no doubt, have been flogged, had he persisted in *refusing* to wear the button. The calm

reasoning, however, of General ——, together with the horrible and degrading position in which he was stretched out, constrained him to yield. He was then taken down from the triangles without receiving a lash, but, being much indisposed, he was conveyed to the hospital, where he soon after expired.

The sight of punishment has sometimes a remarkable effect upon young officers and recruits, which is, occasionally, so powerful, as to produce physical weakness and fainting. The Commissioners on Military Punishments state, that it is difficult to say, whether this effect arises from disgust or terror; but they infer "that such circumstances cannot arise without a very strong impression being made upon the mind, and that, from that impression, must be derived a confident hope of the efficacy of the example presented to the eyes." The "confident hope" of the commissioners is, I believe, completely fallacious. The failure of physical strength in commissioned officers, is not likely to arise from terror; nor does it appear to be a salutary influence on the minds of the men. Fainting is often produced without any strong mental conviction, being frequently occasioned by a kind of instinctive nervous impression, arising from a view of certain objects, such as the sight of blood, of a corpse, or a surgical operation. The feelings may be affected without any useful or lasting impression; for example, men have been known to weep at a tragedy, who, in the affairs of life, were noted for a ruthless disregard of their duties or the feelings of others.

ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL LORD HILL.

THOU art gone! and the bugle that oft hath awoken
Thy charger and thee, on the dread battle morn,
In deep hollow tones thy last requiem hath spoken,
O'er the grave
Where the brave
Assembled in silence a hero have borne.

Thou hast passed! and the cold earth is now closing o'er thee
Where slumbering often, repose thou hast found,
When the foes of thy country lay scattered before thee,
On the night
Of some fight
That Britain's proud banners with laurels had crowned.

No more shall thy spirit in gladness rejoice,
Enlivening the grave, or enlightening the gay,
Nor again shall thy heart beat at victory's voice,
In the gloom
Of the tomb
The vet'ran, the hero, lies mouldering away.

Though vanquished at length by all-conquering Time,
Unfading thy laurels, undying thy glory,
And while noble feelings exist in our clime,
Crowned with Fame
Shall thy name
Engraven remain on the tablets of story.

Brussels, 1844. F. W. B.

CAMPAIGNING IN INDIA.

BY A LATE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER OF THE 13TH LIGHT DRAGOONS.

[Concluded from No. 185, page 530.]

We now marched into barracks, about a mile from the fort, on a fine open plain, which had been vacated by a native regiment. Here the cholera left us, and the men regained their health and strength. We remained here about three months, and had not more than six or seven deaths, out of which two poor fellows were found dead,—one in his bed in the morning, the other in the line-guard tent during the day. In the mean time, the army was formed, amounting to about 6000 men, when we found that our destination was against the Rajah of Kurnool.

We marched from Bellary for Kurnool, on the 4th August, the place being about seventy-five miles distant; and at the end of three days, arrived at Adoni, a noted part of the country in the annals of old soldiers, for its black soil, and a place we commonly called "the Black Ground."

It was the intention to have remained here only two or three days, but the monsoons setting in, we were compelled to stop eighteen days, not being able to get our baggage off the ground. The place on which we were encamped had just yielded a crop of cotton, and resembled an English ploughed field from the looseness of its soil, and with the rains falling so heavily, we could not move. Night after night, and every half hour during the day, we had to turn out to picquet our horses, as the pegs to which they were fastened, head and heels, sprung as often as they moved. It would be impossible to describe the hardships the cavalry endured. The horses were several days together without being groomed, unless a five minute's rub by the native horse-keepers, for we could not attend to them, scarcely being able to catch half an hour's fine weather. When we quitted our tents, it was generally barefooted; for if we put shoes on our feet, we were very apt to stick fast in the deep mire and leave them behind.

One night in particular, during our stay here, was a truly dreadful one. The rain fell in torrents, the lightning was truly vivid, and the thunder awful in the extreme. The horses became frightened and restive, and out of upwards of three hundred, we had scarce twenty standing to their picquets at midnight. The whole camp was in an uproar. The horses, which are here naturally very vicious, were galloping about in all parts of the camp, with their heel-ropes and the pegs to which they had been fastened trailing after them; in some places half a dozen were fighting with each other, with their several heel-ropes entangled; and it was impossible, from the darkness of the night, to extricate them; in fact, it was as much as we could do to prevent our tents from being thrown down in consequence of the horses galloping over the tent-ropes; and after all our endeavours, some were struck, and the saddlery, arms, bedding, &c., exposed to the pitiless pelting of the storm; so we made ourselves as *comfortable* as tents swimming in water could possibly permit, and, as the soldiers say, "dug for daylight." Indeed, when the day broke, the camp appeared as if the enemy had

surprised us. Many tents were down, and amongst the rest that of the line-guard; and as far as the eye could reach, our horses were seen scampering over the face of the country. In some places five or six were knotted together by their heel-ropes, some standing, others like swine wallowing in the mud; several fast in the stream which ran at the foot of our encampment, and a few—very few, standing quietly at their picquets. The trumpeters went different directions and sounded the "feed," which had the desired effect of bringing some of the old stagers to their lines, and at length, after a hard day's work, we managed to get the camp into something like its former state.

During our stay at Adoni, our party mounted daily an advanced picquet of thirty men, and in the midst of all these heavy rains, they stood to their horses night and day, without shelter, not being allowed to unstrap the cloak from the saddles until sunset; and on making the rounds, during the night, to the sentries, our horses stuck fast in the deep ground, and we had to dismount to extricate them; and frequently, both man and horse came down and had a *pleasant* roll in the mud together. The sentries, who were posted on the flanks of the camp, could not walk about on their posts, but were compelled to stand like statues, during their two hour's duty on one spot of ground.

About the 24th, the weather cleared up; and the 28th, we were enabled to get our bandies or luggage-carts over the ground. The tents were accordingly struck, and we moved about six miles further to a fine open grassy plain, where the infantry had been encamped during our stay at Adoni; and here everything was again put in serviceable trim. We halted here one day, and then proceeded to a place called Coodomore. As we had now reached within about twenty-five miles of the enemy's fort, a body of cavalry was pushed forward to reconnoitre, and also a party of Sappers and Miners, covered by a strong body of infantry, to clear the way for the guns and heavy ordnance. We were at this time moving by what is termed "land-marks;" and it was a most beautiful sight to see our line of march. The force was divided into three columns,—artillery, cavalry, and infantry, with an interval of about half a mile, so as to be ready to form at a moment's notice.

Arrived at Coodomore, within about twelve miles of the enemy's fort, which we were only prevented from seeing by an intervening range of hills, the whole army formed their encampment together for the first time since leaving Bellary. Our camp extended above a mile in front. The Horse Artillery, European and Native, on the right, next the cavalry, European and Native; then the infantry regiments; and on the left the Foot Artillery, heavy ordnance, Sappers and Miners, &c. It was a truly stirring sight to observe the various regiments marching to take up the different positions marked out for them, the morning we formed at Coodomore. The bands of the various regiments playing—the soldierlike appearance of the troops—the heavy ordnance, with thirty or forty bullocks yoked to each gun to get them over the deep ground, and the stately elephant with the park of artillery, to assist in extricating the guns when they got into holes or ditches, formed a group worthy of the pencil. The sagacity of the elephant is well known; but I must here mention an instance in which they are made extremely useful to troops on a march in India. One or two elephants

follow the park of artillery for the purpose, as I have just stated, of assisting the heavy guns through the deep ground. The elephant wears a thick piece of leather over its broad forehead, and when its services are required, it kneels down, and placing its head and trunk at the hind part of the gun-carriage, it raises it with the greatest apparent ease, and clears it from any difficulty that may occur. It also, each day, with its keeper on its back, goes a short distance from camp, and returns laden with branches of trees, which it breaks off with the greatest ease, for its food. Formerly a ration of arrack was allowed to each elephant daily whilst on the march, but the keepers, whose duty it was to give it them, were in the habit of purloining a portion of it for their own use, and making up the quantity with water, which the sagacity of the elephant did not fail to detect; and in several instances the keeper's punishment was very summary, many of them having been killed by the enraged animal for the robbery. But to return to our order of march; next followed the desert-tracking camel loaded with our tents, and its wild-looking driver, with the tinkling bell attached to its neck; then came the bullocks laden with ammunition of various descriptions; and last of all, the bullocks carrying the bedding of the troops, and with the never-ceasing tinkle of the bells they wore, contributed to form such a singularly picturesque and romantic scene as is only to be witnessed on like occasions.

Having formed our camp, a strong advanced and rear-picquet was mounted daily, and at 9, P.M., the night-watch was posted, after which hour no person was permitted to leave the camp, the lights in the various tents were extinguished, and not a word was heard along the whole line, save the challenging of sentries and answers of the mounted patroles, as they made their hourly visits to the sentries. We remained here until the 16th of November, unannoyed by anything save the musquitoes, scorpions, and the long prickly grass, which penetrated our trowsers and was very troublesome. The troops enjoyed good health, but it was rather a singular fact, that, although we had previously lost but one officer, a Surgeon of Her Majesty's 4th Light Infantry, since commencing our march, several of the Company's officers, and amongst the rest our Brigadier-General, were at this place carried off by the cholera; and it was remarked by the men "That the cholera here went like the prize-money, all among the officers." One of the most awful scenes I have ever witnessed occurred at this place. One of the tents, during the march, was used as a carpenter's shop, where the saddle-trees for the regiment were made and repaired, as occasion required. Whilst the poor fellow who performed this duty was at his work, about mid-day, he was struck by one of the "hot winds," so common in India. It instantly deprived him of the power of speech. He was carried to the hospital, and the veins of both arms opened, leeches applied to his chest, and every remedy tried, but in vain. I saw the poor fellow laid on his guthrie besmeared with blood from head to foot, and in this state, within the hour, he was a corpse.

On the 16th an order was given for a party of the army to push on and take up a position near the fort, and the remainder to advance halfway and be prepared to act as a reserve, or as occasion might require. On the morning of the 17th we advanced accordingly, and pitched our tents without the range of the guns of the enemy's fort,

holding ourselves prepared for action at a moment's notice. The guns of the artillery were limbered up, horses were saddled, and bridles thrown across the hind fork, and the infantry had their arms piled in front of their tents; but nothing occurred this day to disturb our tranquillity. Various rumours reached us from to time to time, and, in consequence, a sharp look-out was kept throughout the night; but it passed without any alarm, and about 10, the following morning, orders were issued to saddle and mount. Shortly afterwards, the "boots and saddles" of the cavalry rang through the camp, and then the "general turn-out," when each man sprung lightly into his saddle and the troops formed, and now we began to think there was something to be done in earnest; and so it proved, for ere sunset many of both parties, but particularly the enemy, who had that morning risen full of life and hope, lay mingled with the dust.

Many offers of terms were made to the enemy, but all refused, and the gallant Colonel Wakefield of Her Majesty's 39th Regt., who was the bearer of the last offers, was treacherously stabbed in the back by one of the Rajah's party. The assassin was, however, bayonetted on the spot by one of the Colonel's escort, and the party retreated, bearing their wounded Colonel with them, who partially recovered the wound, but died shortly after, lamented by all his companions in arms.

After this treacherous violation of good faith, no further parley was held with the enemy, and the artillery advanced within range and opened a most destructive fire upon them, who, when driven from the position they had occupied, a Mussulman's burial ground of great extent, surrounded by high walls, a body of Rohillas advanced to meet Her Majesty's 39th Regt. and the 34th Native Light Infantry, who formed the advance. The enemy came on bravely and were received by these troops at the point of the bayonet, and after a short but desperate struggle, the enemy were driven back with a severe loss. In this encounter many of both the 39th and 34th Regts. were killed and wounded. The enemy now retreated to the position they had first occupied, hotly pursued by both cavalry and infantry. The swords and pistols of the cavalry told well, and the savage ferocity with which the 34th Regt. pursued and slaughtered their countrymen was remarked by the whole field; they did not even pass a prostrate body without plunging their bayonets into it, to complete the work of destruction. Our force continued to advance until they reached the burial ground before-mentioned, where the enemy now made a stand around the tombs of their ancestors, resolved, apparently, to make a last effort to turn the fortune of the day. Our guns made a partial breach in the walls by which this place was surrounded, and a Lieutenant of Her Majesty's 39th, who gallantly led a company of that regiment to the attack, was cut down in attempting to scale the wall, but his fall was fearfully avenged by his men, who, with undaunted bravery, fought their way over, and a dreadful slaughter ensued, more particularly on the part of the native troops. The enemy again retreated and made for the banks of the river Toombudra, which flowed rapidly by at a short distance, and our whole force now joined in the pursuit to the river's edge, into which the enemy plunged, hoping to escape from the other side; but our troops lined the bank and shot many in the water.

Lieutenant Cameron, who commanded the right division of the troop to which I belonged, with heroic ardour led his men into the river in pursuit, and although both deep and rapid, the men dashed boldly into the stream; but at this critical moment, an Aide-de-camp rode up and seeing the imminent danger to which the brave fellows were exposed, recalled them, exclaiming "D—n it, Cameron, are you mad!" We had proceeded so far, that it was more difficult to return than press forward, being upwards of fifty yards in the stream, supporting our horses with great difficulty. However, we did accomplish our return in safety, with the exception of one comrade, "poor Ned Cavenagh," who, with his horse, was borne down by the strength of the current, and next day his body was found about a mile below, washed ashore, and it is probable many others would have shared the same fate, but for the timely recall. Here the pursuit ended. Another division of our regiment, commanded by Captain Weston, went in pursuit and overtook the Rajah, and some of his principal officers, and made them prisoners. A rather laughable incident is related of a private trooper of the 13th, of the name of Goodwin, who, when they came up with the Rajah's party, very coolly knocked off the Rajah's turban, and took a twist of the long tuft of hair which hung down his back from the crown of his head, and thereby made sure of his prisoner. During the engagement, another trooper of the 13th, named Booth, by some means or other was thrown from his horse and had to shoulder a musket; whilst wandering about the field, he saw a party very busy around a small hut, and on approaching them, found that they were pocketing a quantity of rupees that had been discovered hid by somebody. He coolly pushed forward, and in the general scramble secured about twenty, with which he generously regaled his comrades after the fatigue of the day. Our force now re-formed, and advanced on the fort, which offered very little resistance; and about one P.M., our victorious troops marched in, and took possession of it, and in a few minutes after old England's Royal Standard was seen waving from the loftiest tower.

The Sappers and Miners were now set to work sounding, to see that no treachery was on foot for blowing up the place; and whilst so engaged, they found numbers of cannon and mortars, in an unfinished state, buried in the ground, together with stores of ammunition. It was rumoured that several French engineers, in the pay of the Rajah, who had been employed moulding guns, &c., had beat their retreat from the fort, *sans ceremonie*, on seeing the fate of the day. Many of our readers may not be aware of the kind of shot used by an enemy in this country, fired from their matchlocks, and to which destructive missile our men were exposed on this occasion. It is composed of two bullets, linked together by a small chain, about an inch and a half long, which, upon striking the body, cuts its way with most terrific effect. Numbers of them were picked up on the field after the engagement. They might very properly be designated chain-shot. A guard of infantry was stationed at the palace immediately on our entrance into the fort, to prevent plunder; but, nevertheless, numbers of our men contrived to bear away memorials of that day's conflict, such as pieces of stained glass, pulled from the splendid chandeliers, and other scraps, much more ornamental than useful.

The troops now returned to camp on the ground they had quitted in the morning, leaving a strong body of infantry to garrison the fort; to clean their arms, and talk over the events of the day, and to count their missing; our loss was comparatively trivial.

This was the 18th November, 1839, a memorable day for all parties. It was here that many had first dyed their maiden swords and fired their first shot at an enemy; and many fell, and never told the tale of glory they had assisted to achieve.

Early on the 19th, the troops were assembled to bury their dead. It was an affecting scene. One grave contained the bodies of the Europeans, our brave comrades, who had but the day before been full of life and hope, and eager for the fray, but who now rested from their labours in a warrior's grave. Three volleys were fired over them, and amidst the regret of their surviving companions in arms, they were left to their long repose. During the time we performed this solemn duty, another scene was enacting in a different part of the field. The native soldiery, comprised in our army, were also paying the last tribute to such of their comrades as had fallen, according to the rites of their religion. Their lamentations were loud and vehement, and those who had lost friends showad their grief by tearing their hair and covering themselves with earth, &c. How different from the staid, soldier-like, and mournful appearance of the Europeans, who "spoke not a word" at the scene of sepulture, but in their tents discussed the various good qualities of their fallen comrades. No noisy grief or outward show of feeling escaped them, but an inward prayer for the dead, and anon an expression such as, "Poor ——! he was a good soldier and a kind comrade." But amongst soldiers, particularly in India, where death makes such fell sweeps, this feeling is not long allowed to exist before it is called to some other object.

On the 21st we struck our tents, and the squadron of the 13th Dragoons that had been engaged, and such other troops as were not required for the protection of the fort, marched back to Coodomore to rejoin the body of reserve that had been left there. I have before stated that this place was distant about twelve miles from Kurnool, where the engagement took place. Even at this distance the reserved party could distinctly hear the roar of artillery, and stood prepared for action if called upon, which, I believe, was ardently wished for by all. On marching into camp, we were saluted with deafening cheers from our comrades, and here, over the arrack-bottle (glasses we had none), the engagement was again fought and re-fought, till each of the non-combatants had received a full, true, and particular account of the Battle of Kurnool, the effect of which was so decisive that the army was broken up, and the regiments dispersed to the various stations they had quitted on taking the field.

Here I must take leave of the army, and confine myself to what transpired amongst our own small party, who, having enjoyed a few days' halt, commenced their march back to Bangalore, a distance of near three hundred miles, after an absence of nine months, six of which had been spent under canvass, exposed to all the vicissitudes of weather, with but a mattress and rug spread on the ground for our beds, and our saddle-bags for a pillow, cholera in our camp, and an enemy in *front*.

On the 23rd of November, having halted a few days to refresh our horses and draft cattle, we commenced our retrograde march to Bangalore, *viâ* Ghooty. Nothing occurred on this march worthy notice, except a few more fatal cases of cholera. Two of our comrades' wives, who came a few days' march to meet their husbands, died of this dreadful malady, the very day they joined the camp. Sporting parties were made on halt-days, to chase the antelopes, which abound in this part of the country, but with little success. On the 21st of December we commenced our last day's march of sixteen miles into Bangalore, where the head-quarters of the regiment had remained during our absence. On arriving within about three miles of the station, we were met on our road by numbers of our comrades and the band of the regiment, who cheered us the remainder of the way; the latter, on our arriving near our old quarters, the barracks, struck up the animating airs, "See the conquering hero comes," "Britons strike home," and many other national marches and melodies. At the barracks we were welcomed with three hearty British cheers, and our comrades groomed our jaded horses whilst we partook of a substantial breakfast which had been prepared for us,—the first for many months. This and several subsequent days were spent in feasting and good fellowship, and in calculating the probable amount of "Batta," or prize money, we were likely to receive.

We had scarcely got settled before a welcome order for old England arrived, and in January, 1840, we were again in camp. The 13th Dragoons had been stationed here from 1819, a period of twenty-one years, without having once been called out for service, except on this occasion. Our route was now for Poonamalee, where my first day in India was spent. The march for the first ten days was very favourable, but about the eleventh, that exterminating disease, the cholera, again made its appearance amongst us, and in about ten days we had buried forty-five men, besides several women and children. Its ravages principally extended to that wing of the regiment that had not previously taken the field; of the other two squadrons we lost only four or five men—so much for habit. We continued our march until we arrived within about twelve miles of Poonamalee. It was the intention to have marched into barracks at this place the following day; but we received an order to remain in camp until the cholera left us. In consequence of this arrangement, we were detained under canvass about ten days longer, when the regiment was reported healthy, and we marched in.

During our encampment at this place we were turned out in marching order almost every morning, and as often expected it was for the purpose of moving into barracks. I recollect there was a small bridge about four miles from our encampment, on the road to Poonamalee, in which direction we moved each morning, and as often as we reached the foot of the said bridge the word was "Threes about," and we had the mortification to find that that day, as they say in Yorkshire, "the little pig would not cross the bridge." However, on the 5th February we actually did cross the bridge, and marched into Poonamalee.

After having refreshed our horses by a few days' rest, we were ordered to prepare to be reviewed by the Governor of Madras, Lord

Elphinstone, previously to giving up our horses to the 15th Hussars, who had just arrived from England, and were stationed at St. Thomas's Mount, about eight miles distant. We had some difficulty in finding a fit place for this purpose; but at length a spot was chosen, which resembled very much the bed of a river. The regiment formed about 6 A.M., and shortly afterwards his Lordship arrived on the ground, attended by a brilliant Staff.

Our gallant Colonel, Brunton, commanded, and a more dashing field-day was rarely or ever witnessed. Each manœuvre was done at the gallop, and the charges, both in squadron and line, elicited general approbation. This was the last mounted duty of the old 13th in India; and a few days afterwards the horses were given over to the 15th Hussars. And here I may be excused stepping aside to pay a justly-merited compliment to an officer who was truly the father of his regiment. Colonel Brunton was worthy, upon all occasions, of being quoted as a pattern to the Service; and the undeviating interest he showed in the welfare of the regiment won for him the affectionate esteem of every man in the old 13th.

I must, in justice to the gallant Colonel, relate the following unfortunate incident, which occurred during one of our preparatory field-days, previous to being reviewed by the present Earl Cardigan. I have before observed that the manœuvres of the 13th were always executed in a dashing style, which acquired for the corps the *sobriquet* of the "Gallopers."

During one of the manœuvres the skirmishers were ordered out, and on the trumpet sounding the recall, each party was making the best of his way to join his own troop, when two of them came in contact whilst at full speed, with such force as overthrew one of the dragoons, named Widdop, a native of Halifax, in Yorkshire. The poor fellow pitched on his head, and was killed where he fell. Colonel Brunton, who that day commanded, was instantly on the spot, and was so shocked at the poor fellow's sudden death, that although an old soldier, who had, no doubt, witnessed the horrors of many a hard-fought field during his services in the Peninsula, the tears literally stood in his eyes on beholding the fatal result of this melancholy catastrophe. Indeed, his attachment to his regiment was evinced upon every occasion, and upon none more especially than during the time they were subjected to the ravages of that deadly visitation, the cholera. Heedless of any personal considerations, he visited the sick and dying in all stages of the disease, cheering the men by kind acts and words of consolation. He took great pains on all occasions to exhort his men, especially during the march, to refrain from excesses. In despair at seeing the dreadful havoc the cholera made amongst them, the men became reckless, and too often indulged in drinking ardent spirits, which frequently led to their being attacked by the disease, and under such excitement death quickly followed. I remember one fine fellow, named Wells, who was lodged in the guard-tent, a prisoner, for being intoxicated, occasioned by this reckless feeling, and who died in a few hours, the victim of the very disease he had hoped to escape. It was under such circumstances that Colonel Brunton was frequently obliged to award punishments, in order, as he emphatically said, "If you will not save your own lives I will endeavour to do it for you."

On the 14th the volunteering, as is the custom with all regiments quitting India, commenced. First, for the 15th Hussars, who relieved us, next for the 16th Lancers, in Bengal, and then for the 4th Light Dragoons, stationed in Bombay. The bounty for each volunteer was twenty-seven rupees, or about three guineas. I shall draw a veil over this period; suffice it to say that many, for this paltry consideration, volunteered to remain twenty years longer in this country, notwithstanding the ravages the cholera had so recently made amongst us. About one hundred volunteered to the 15th Hussars, upwards of eighty to the 16th Lancers, and twelve or fourteen to the 4th Light Dragoons; and this, with upwards of one hundred men who had fallen victims to the cholera and other diseases, within the previous twelve months, reduced this fine old corps to about three hundred and fifty men. We were now in daily expectation of embarking for England. On the 20th of February we marched for Madras, and on the following day one half of those left embarked on board the True Briton, and on the 26th the remainder on board the Lady Flora, bound for "Home, sweet, sweet home." The voyage with the Lady Flora was very pleasant; we did not encounter a single rough day or night, and it was, indeed, more like a party of pleasure than a voyage from India, over the "deep, deep sea." We touched at St. Helena, where we remained three days, taking in water and sheep, and amusing ourselves by catching sharks, which are very numerous around this island, and then proceeded on our voyage. On the 21st of June following we cast anchor at Gravesend, and on the 22nd we disembarked.

Once more in happy England, that home so dear to the traveller, all the recollections of my past sufferings were now lost in the one absorbing thought of home. How many dear, fond recollections rush upon the memory at the sound on such occasions! If there be one degree of happiness greater than another, it must surely be that of returning to our native shores after years of absence, sickness, and danger. I could have fallen down and kissed the ground. My heart was full!

Five years had passed since I left my native shores, to dwell beneath the scorching sun of India; five years of such a dream-like existence, that now, (but for the remembrance of past events, which anon press vividly upon the imagination,) I could sometimes be tempted to believe that memory was but the handmaid of imagination, and that I was but indulging in waking visions, when recalling actual events.

"Plurima, quæ invideant pure apparere tibi rem."

ENGLAND'S WOODEN WALLS.

BY JOSEPH ALLEN, ESQ., AUTHOR OF "THE GREENWICH PENSIONERS."

NO. XXIX.

THE DEFIANCE*.—2.

THE Defiance, whose history we have yet to give, was a contract-built ship of 74 guns, and 1645 tons, launched in the year 1783 from the building-yard of Messrs. Randall and Co. The principal dimensions of this ship were as follows:—length of gun-deck 169 feet; keel for tonnage, 138 feet; breadth, 47 feet 4 inches; depth of hold, 19 feet 9 inches. Her qualifications are described as having been of a very superior order. She stowed her provisions well, and when sailing with the Channel fleet in September and October, 1796, beat all the line of battle ships, and kept pace with the frigates. "Upon a wind," says the Master's report, "spared them" (the line of battle ships) "main-sail and top-gallant sails, and sailing two or three points free or before the wind, beat them still more." At this time the Defiance's draught of water forward was 20 feet 5 inches; aft, 22 feet 5 inches; height of the midship port, 5 feet 8 inches. Her masts were stayed thus: "foremast nearly upright, main and mizenmasts rake aft."

The Defiance was, for the first time, commissioned by Lieutenant M. T. Hewitt, in Gillingham Reach, on the 25th August, 1794, for Captain George Keppel, but never went beyond the Nore while under that officer's command, which terminated on the 16th June, 1795. Captain Sir George Home, Bart., then superseded Captain Keppel, and the ship shortly afterwards sailed from the Nore to cruise in the North Sea and Baltic. Towards the end of September the Defiance anchored in Leith Roads.

On the morning of the 18th October, a mutiny of a very alarming nature broke out, and it is somewhat singular, that we have been unable to find any published account, direct or indirect, of this transaction, although its termination was sufficiently appalling to warrant a record. It appears, that the crew being very disaffected went aft in a tumultuous manner, and, in the words of the ship's log, "endeavoured to take possession of the ship;" but the Captain and officers at length succeeded in making prisoners of seven of the ringleaders, who were put in irons, and the rest of the ship's company then returned to duty. Sir George Home immediately repaired to the Commander-in-chief on board the Asia, Rear-Admiral Pringle, to report the circumstance; and it was determined, that the Asia's boats should be sent to remove the prisoners from the Defiance. For this purpose, a little after noon, the boats of the flag-ship arrived alongside, whereupon the whole ship's company re-assembled in a very excited state, and resisted the execution of the Captain's orders. The signal was then made for assistance,

* In the first part of the history of the Defiance, in the March number, the short career of a Defiance, built in 1664, was noticed. We have since ascertained that the ship in question was burnt in the Medway, by accident, in the year 1668. A court-martial was appointed to investigate the circumstances attending the loss; but the most remarkable fact connected with the trial is, that Mr. Pepys and Mr. Middleton, two Commissioners of the Navy, and civilians, were appointed to ships by commissions as Captains, signed by the Duke of York, to enable them to sit upon the court-martial.—Vide Memorials of Penn, vol. ii., p. 520, et seq.

when the Captains of the Asia and Jupiter (George H. Stephens and William Lechmere) repaired on board and enquired into the grievances complained of. The ship's company replied, that they wanted the prisoners to be released, who were not, they said, more guilty than the rest. This request was, of course, refused; but the men were suffered to remain on board the Defiance instead of being removed to the Asia. On the following morning (the 19th) the ship's company made an attempt to release the prisoners by force; and Sir George Home, feeling unable to prevent them, gave orders for their being given up. The people then returned to their duty.

Discipline, however, was not yet restored, and in the afternoon a strong party of the 7th, or South Fencible regiment, and several officers, arrived on board. On the 20th, at 10 A.M., a general muster of the ship's company was made, and the eight men, previously in irons, together with three more, were placed in confinement, and others were subsequently added. A few days afterwards the South Fencibles were relieved by a detachment of the 134th Regt., in number 132, under Lieut.-Colonel Baillie, and with these the Defiance sailed from Leith and returned to the Nore.

There are some circumstances connected with this mutiny, and, indeed, with the disturbances generally which subsequently occurred, worthy of notice. In the first place, the ship's company was almost entirely composed of quota-men from all parts of the country, to whom bounties of from 5*l.* to 30*s.* had been paid. To bring such disorderly elements into a state of regularity was, therefore, necessarily a work of time, but it is odd enough, that with such a crew Sir George Home proceeded to sea without marines. Had a body of those loyal and well-disciplined men been on board they would have rendered an appeal to other powers unnecessary. On the arrival of the ship at Sheerness a company of 60 men, under Captain Samuel Wightman, Lieutenants Paul Hussey and John S. Stephens, embarked in room of the soldiers.

On the 20th January, 1796, a signal was made for a court-martial on the mutineers; and after a most searching investigation, which lasted till the 12th of February, the court passed sentence of death upon nine men, four others were sentenced to receive 300 lashes each, two 100 lashes, and two others acquitted. On the 8th March, in accordance with the sentence, five men suffered the extreme penalty of the law; but four were pardoned*. On the 23rd March, Sir George Home was superseded by Captain Theophilus Jones, whose command, it will be seen, was as stormy as that of his predecessor.

The prolific source of all the evil which existed among the seamen, was in the Channel fleet, to which the Defiance was now attached; but it is not our intention, in this place, to renew that subject, except in order to point out the particular effects upon the ship's company of the Defiance. These effects were made manifest in the general mutiny of the fleet at Spithead, in April and May, 1797. Two of the crew of the Defiance signed the petition to parliament, and were fully implicated in the whole business.

* Neither the Annual Register, Schomberg's Chronology, Naval Chronicle, nor any other work of that day, make the smallest allusion to this court-martial, and Mr. McArthur, in his work on courts-martial, gives a chronological list which does not contain the above.

There is an officer now on the Navy List (Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Dashwood) who was marked by the ship's company, on account of his spirited resistance of their proceedings, for on the 8th May, being then one of the Lieutenants, he (together with Mr. Rosse the gunner, and Messieurs Clibbon and Lemmons, midshipmen,) was sent out of the ship. In Marshall's Biography of this officer it is stated,—

"From her," (the Defiance,) "he removed into the Magnanime of 48 guns, during the alarming mutiny in 1797, on which occasion the crew of the Defiance, offended at the resolute manner in which he opposed their rebellious and blood-thirsty designs, insisted on his leaving the ship, which was perseveringly resisted by their Captain and officers, until he was directed to do so by Lord Bridport, Commander-in-chief of the channel fleet."

Marshall refers for additional particulars to the biography of the late Admiral Jones, but here he is in error, as we shall presently show.

On the return of the seamen of the fleet to their duty, Captain Jones resumed the command of the Defiance, and that ship cruised in company with the Channel fleet as before. Nothing occurred that is very remarkable, until the summer of the year 1798, when the horrible conspiracy of the "United Irishmen" showed itself in the Defiance. The conspiracy extended to the fleet under Earl St. Vincent, then blockading Cadiz, and all the energy of that vigorous Commander was called forth to check it. In a "secret and confidential" letter to Sir Horatio Nelson, dated July 5th, 1798, he wrote—

"The oath of the United Irishmen has been introduced into the Princess Royal by an artful fellow, who suffered death, yesterday, with two others; a fourth is to be tried to-day, and a fifth on Monday, who will, I believe, be sentenced to suffer death, and consequently, executed. I have distributed about eighteen other miscreants among nine of the best ordered ships here, with orders for them to be kept on the poop constantly, and have no communication with the people. The Princess Royal has been very ill attended to below the quarter-deck; and the abominable licentiousness and total dereliction of all my maxims and principles while she was at Gibraltar, gave an opening for this mischief. Bott, the person who conducted it, made some atonement by a full confession. The officers were to have been massacred; and if the ships from Ireland with the London and Hecla had joined, I was to have been hung with the other Admirals, Captains, and Officers. The plan afterwards was to go up and revolutionise your squadron, and then proceed to Ireland."

It is not impossible that the confession of Bott might have aided the discovery of a similar atrocious plot on board the Defiance; for without any recorded outbreak, twenty-five of her men were quietly made prisoners. Marshall, who places the event a year too early, states "the Catholics on board the Defiance bound themselves by the following horrible oath, to murder every Protestant in the ship, and carry her into an enemy's port:—'I swear to be true to the Free and United Irishmen, who are fighting your cause against tyrants and oppressors, and to defend their rights to the last drop of my blood, and to keep all secrets within my breast; and I do agree the next time the ship looks out ahead at sea, to carry her into Brest, and to kill and destroy all the officers, except the Master, and to hoist a green ensign with a harp in it, and afterwards to kill or destroy all Protestants.'" The design was frustrated before pre[illegible]matured; and on the 27th September, 1798,

eleven men were hung as participators in the conspiracy, seven at Spithead, and four in Portsmouth harbour, and ten others transported for life.

The Defiance continued her round of Channel cruising, and in February, 1799, Capt. Jones was appointed to the Atlas, and Capt. Shuldham Peard was put on board, acting, to carry the ship to Torbay. Here, on the 27th, Capt. Thomas Revell Shivers took the command, and the ship was kept cruising as before.

In the summer of 1800, the Defiance was attached to the squadron stationed off the Black Rocks under Sir Alan Gardner. On the 24th December, 1800, Capt. Richard Retallick superseded Capt. Shivers, the Defiance being selected for the flag of Rear-Admiral Graves.

It is with no small pleasure we emerge from scenes of mutiny and disaffection, which, we hope, had few parallels, and it is possible that in the presence of a foe the crew of the Defiance would have forgotten, even in their worst moments, internal, imaginary, or real grievances. In the splendid victory obtained by the great Nelson at Copenhagen, the Defiance had the honour of sharing. The station occupied on that occasion was abreast of the Crown battery, which mounted thirty-six heavy guns, and was provided with a furnace for heating shot. Owing to the mishaps which kept the Bellona, Russell, and Agamemnon from taking up their assigned stations, the Defiance became exposed to a severe cross fire, by which she suffered very severely.

In furtherance of the designs of Lord Nelson, when Sir Hyde Parker made the signal to discontinue the action, which Nelson *would not* see, Rear-Admiral Graves in the Defiance repeated the signal at the lee maintopsail yardarm, from whence it could not be seen on board the Elephant. The Defiance continued firing until 3h. 15m. P.M., when the action ceased; and her spring being cut and sail made, she dropped out of the station she had occupied. Shortly afterwards, the Defiance grounded, and was with difficulty hove off, after starting thirty butts of water. During the action the ship was frequently set on fire by the hot 42-pound shot fired from the batteries, and her damages were consequently serious. Her loss in killed and wounded was as follows:—Lieutenant George Gray*, Matthew Cobb, pilot, 17 seamen, 3 marines, and 2 soldiers, killed; and the boatswain Lewis Patterson, James Galloway, Midshipman, Harry Niblett, Captain's Clerk, — Stephenson, pilot, 35 seamen, 5 marines, and 7 soldiers, wounded: total, 24 killed, and 51 wounded.

The officers on board the Defiance in the action, were as follow:—

		Date of Commission.
David Mudie	1st Lieutenant	March 31, 1782.
Nathaniel Vassal.....	2nd ,, ...	November 4, 1790.
Degory King	3rd ,, ...	October 8, 1793.
George Gray*.....	4th ,, ...	May 14, 1795.
John Leach.....	5th ,, ...	August 23, 1796.
Philip Helpman (2),..	6th ,, ...	August 9, 1799.
William Ross, Master		1787.

Surgeon, James Fletcher; Purser, George Ayton; Surgeon's Mate, Thomas Robinson; Gunner, William Watt; Boatswain, Lewis Patterson; Carpenter, David Lyle; Master's Mate, William Watson; Midshipmen: John Payne, Thomas Trenholm, W. Clarke Fisher, John Butterfield, James Galloway, William Edwards, Edward Hartley, Robert Burn, Frederick Houghton, Charles Houghton, Charles Doncaster,

* Flag-Lieutenant to Rear-Admiral Graves.

Francis J. Collett, H. L. Richards, John Hewitt, James Gill; Clerk, Harry Niblett; Marine Officers: Capt. Joseph Lambrecht; Second Lieuts. James Duff, William Furber, and William C. Billinghurst.

The Defiance, after participating in Baltic services during the summer, in command of Captain Retallick, was paid off in Portsmouth harbour on the 28th October, 1801.

On the 29th May, 1803, on the renewal of hostilities, the Defiance was recommissioned by Capt. Philip Charles* Durham; and in the following July the ship was at St. Helen's ready for sea. It appears that her old trim was still adhered to, for on sailing on the 1st August on a cruise, she was two feet four inches by the stern, having then four months' bread and provisions on board, and 204 tons of water and beer, besides 107 tons of iron, and 160 tons of shingle ballast. Notwithstanding her lading, she was a fast and lively ship, and remarkably healthy. She never met with any damage, such as losing masts or springing yards, except that which the shot of the enemy effected. From the date of her being commissioned, until July, 1805, she was almost constantly at sea, and cruising off the French coast, for a long period off the Black Rocks near Brest, and also in Quiberon Bay. On the 28th April, 1804, while at anchor in Quiberon Bay, at 5h. A.M., the barge and pinnace were sent inshore to reconnoitre two Spanish brigs which had been seen the night before. At 10h. 30m., the boats returned, the pinnace having received a shot from one of the batteries, which killed two, and wounded three men, and very much shattered the boat.

With the exception of the capture of a vessel laden with ivory and gold dust, we have been unable to discover any event of notice until the action off Ferrol, under Sir Robert Calder; and here we have to remark that the Defiance was the means of bringing the British fleet in sight of the enemy, although ample credit has not hitherto been given to her Captain on that account. The Defiance being a fast sailer, and commanded by an officer of known skill and activity, was selected by Sir Robert Calder, as "one of the eyes of the fleet;" and permission was given Capt. Durham to take whatever position with reference to the fleet he deemed most desirable, with the reservation that he was not to lose sight of the fleet from the masthead.

In consequence of this permission, the Defiance was frequently a long way on the weather-bow, and sometimes on the weather-quarter of the Admiral. On the 21st July, at 11h. 30m. A.M., the Defiance, according to her log, hauled to the westward in company with the Egyptienne. The reason for this proceeding will be seen in the following extract from a letter with which we have been favoured, from very good authority. "Standing to the N.E., upon the Admiral's weather-bow, Mr. Kirby, the Master, said to the Captain, 'Sir Robert is standing too much to the N.E. to fall in with the enemy if they are making Ferrol or Cape Finisterre.' On examining the chart this opinion was found to be correct, in consequence of which the ship was put about, and stood to the W.S.W., Sir Robert still standing to the eastward." Having continued to work to the westward under easy sail during the night, the Defiance, according to her log, at 11h. 40m. A.M., of the 22nd, discovered a large fleet bearing south-west, steering east-north-east, with a light breeze from west-north-west. The Defiance was at this time out

* The additional names of "Calderwood Henderson," are of comparatively recent date.

of signal distance from her fleet, but by having recourse to the old system of letting fly top-gallant sheets, yawing the ship, and firing guns in platoons, the attention of the Admiral was attracted, when he immediately bore up. At 12h. 40m., the Defiance having neared the enemy, discovered their force to consist of twenty-two sail of the line, frigates, &c.; and after signalling to that effect to the Admiral, made sail to join the Admiral, then about ten miles to the eastward.

The Defiance having thus brought the two fleets together at about 3h. 30m. P.M., took her station in the line, next ahead of the Admiral in the Prince of Wales; but had Sir Robert Calder followed the motions of Capt. Durham on the previous night, a decisive action might have been brought on by 2h. P.M. Although the chief merit is undoubtedly due to Capt. Durham, yet the spirited conduct of Capt. Prowse, of the Sirius, and the close watch kept by him over the motions of the enemy, also demand every praise. It was at 5h. 15m. that the Defiance, following the Windsor Castle, tacked, and opened her larboard broadside upon the Franco-Spanish fleet, at which time the Hero, Capt. the Hon. Alan Gardner, was executing his gallant manœuvre. Had the Ajax and other ships tacked in succession after the Hero, a close and decisive action would in all probability have been brought on, but being unsupported, the ships of the Spanish division were enabled to tack to the northward, and eventually, except two ships, aided by a dense fog, eluded the British fleet. At 6h. the fog came on, but the firing was kept up until 8h. P.M., when, as it was no longer possible to distinguish friends from foes, the action ceased. The Defiance had in the mean while got some distance to windward of her fleet, and at 8h. 30m. wore to rejoin the Admiral, and at 10h. hove-to in company with the fleet. The damages of the Defiance were considerable; she had received several shot in the hull, one maindeck gun disabled, masts, yards, and rigging a good deal cut, and one seaman killed and eleven wounded.

The Defiance continued to watch and report the motions of the enemy during the following day, until recalled by Sir Robert Calder, and ordered to take her station in the line. The Defiance remained with Sir Robert Calder until August, and on the 29th of that month anchored at Spithead, to refit and shift the lower masts. While the ship was undergoing repair, Capt. Durham went to London, and met Lord Nelson at the Admiralty just as his Lordship had received his orders to proceed to take command of the fleet. On his Lordship expressing a wish to have the Defiance under his orders, and regretting that she could not be got ready in time to accompany him, Captain Durham begged his Lordship would request Lord Barham to give orders for her to proceed to sea, and he (Capt. Durham) would soon get her ready. The order was accordingly given, and although the Defiance was completely dismantled on its receipt, and with an empty hold, she was rigged, provisioned, and stored, with such speed that on the 23rd September she sailed from Spithead, having on board 750,000 dollars, and on the 7th October joined the fleet off Cadiz.

The exertions of Capt. Durham, however, were very nearly rendered nugatory by an order for a court-martial on Sir Robert Calder, who had permission to take any of the Captains—*willing to go*—to England with him, as witnesses. Lord Nelson mentioned this to Capt. Durham; but the latter pleaded at *once that* he was *not* willing: upon which *Lord Nelson told him to arrange* that with Sir Robert Calder. The

scene which ensued was thus described by the gallant Captain himself: —"I went on board Sir Robert Calder's flag-ship, and found there the Captains who were going home. Sir Robert presented me with a public letter, addressed to Lord Nelson, signed by the Captains, requesting permission to go home. I said, 'Sir Robert, I will neither sign the letter nor go home.' I then *ran* out of the cabin, got into my boat, and returned to my ship."

The proceedings of the Defiance (which was stationed in the lee division, under Vice-Admiral Collingwood,) in the ever-memorable battle of Trafalgar, are thus detailed in her log:—

"At 12h. 15m. answered signal to prepare to anchor at the close of day. 12h. 25m. the Royal Sovereign commenced the action. At 1h. the Victory began to engage; and at 1h. 40m. we opened our fire upon a Spanish three-decked ship, (Principe de Asturias,) the third from the enemy's rear. At 2h. 10m. she bore up close alongside of us, keeping up a constant fire, we doing the same at her till 2h. 40m."

We have here to add the following, which is not mentioned in the log. The Defiance, after leaving the Principe, got alongside a Spanish 74-gun ship, (San Juan,) which, although within pistol-shot, was scarcely discernible through the smoke. The Defiance was about to open fire upon her, when an officer, supposed to have been the Captain, was seen taking off his hat and waving it. This induced Capt. Durham to order the men at the guns to "stand fast," and a minute or two afterwards the Spanish colours were hauled down. The boats of the Defiance brought some of the officers on board; but as the Dreadnought was observed close at hand, Capt. Durham left the prize to be taken possession of by that ship.

"Stood for a French two-decker (L'Aigle); about 3h. 10m. ran her alongside, and made her fast, then boarded, and gained possession of the quarter-deck and poop. Struck the French colours and hoisted English. The people still firing from the tops, forecastle, and main-deck, the boarders were, at 3h. 30m. recalled. Cast off the lashings, and hauled off to about pistol-shot distance, and engaged her again. About 4h. 8m. the enemy called for quarter. Ceased firing, out boats, and sent a Lieutenant with twenty men to take possession of the prize. Four sail of French ships to windward, standing to the southward under all sail. Found our lower masts and bowsprit shot through and through, and all the standing and running rigging and sails very much cut."

The loss sustained by the Defiance in the great battle was as follows: Lieut. Thomas Simons, William Forster, Boatswain, James Williamson, Midshipman, 8 seamen, and 6 marines, killed; and Capt. Durham (slightly), James Spratt and Robert Browne (Masters' Mates), John Hodge and Edmund Andrew Chapman (Midshipmen), 39 seamen, and 9 marines, wounded.

The Aigle's loss amounted to near 270 killed and wounded; but that ship had been previously engaged by the Revenge and other ships.

The following are the names of the officers present in the Defiance on this day:—

		Date of Commission.
William Hellard	1st Lieutenant	January 3, 1783.
Thomas Simons	2nd ,, ...	October 3, 1800.
Henry J. S. Hargrave..	3rd ,, ...	March 3, 1804.
Andrew B. Pidgley	4th ,, ...	May 7, 1804.
James Uzuld Purches ..	5th ,, ...	July 26, 1804.
John Osman	ter	1795.

Surgeon, William Burnett*; Purser, George Jackson; Chaplain, H. Barker; Surgeon's Mate, John Clark; Gunner, Alex. Jacks; Boatswain, William Forster; Carpenter, William Caught. Master's Mates: James Spratt, Colin Campbell, William Snowey. Midshipmen: George Simmonds, John Hodge, Spencer Smyth, Lewis Grant, James Young, Edmund A. Chapman, Thomas R. Louga, Henry Rich, James Williamson, Peter Haney, James Dott, James Hay, John Ruddall, John Drake, Robert Maltman, Thomas Chrystie, Percy Watson. Volunteers: John Parsons, Augustus Thos. Hicks, John Osman, John Pringle. Marine Officers: Capt. Basil Alves, First Lieut. George Bristow.

At 8h. P.M. the Defiance being in fifteen fathoms water, the best bower anchor was let go, and a whole cable veered out; but this did not bring her up, and it was obliged to be cut away, the ship being in danger of drifting on the shoals of Trafalgar. That night fourteen French officers and seventy men were received from the Aigle, and the Defiance kept as close to the prize as could be done with prudence, in order to render any assistance that might be required.

At daylight on the 22nd there was a strong breeze, and the Defiance stood inshore after the prize, which, though not wholly dismasted, was unmanageable, and got out the boats with hawsers, and endeavoured to take her in tow; but there being so much sea rolling into the bay, it was found impracticable, and, after spending the day in fruitless efforts, Capt. Durham sent to recal the prize crew, feeling assured the ship would go ashore in the night. All the crew were removed, with the exception of Lieutenant Purches and twelve men, who could not be got out without risking the safety of the Defiance, she being so close to the shore. The Aigle drifted into Cadiz Bay and grounded; but Lieut. Purches and the men got on shore safely, and afterwards rejoined the Defiance at Gibraltar.

On the 24th, the signal to destroy prizes was answered by the Defiance, and her boats were sent to take the prisoners out of a French prize, the Argonaute. At 3h. 30m. P.M., the Defiance attempted to take this ship in tow; but finding it could not be done, Capt. Durham sent Lieut. Hargrave and four Midshipmen and twenty men to anchor her, which service they performed; and the Argonaute, with only her foremast standing, was saved from the distressing fate of too many of her well-fought companions.

On the 2nd November, the Defiance, having the Temeraire in tow, anchored at Gibraltar. On the 10th she sailed, and rejoined Admiral Collingwood, and was afterwards ordered home, and arrived at Spithead on the 1st December. Her defects being so heavy, the Defiance was ordered into harbour, but not paid off. Capt. Durham attended the funeral of Lord Nelson, and bore the banner of the deceased as a Knight of the Bath. In February, 1806, he was appointed to the Renown.

On the 23rd March, the Defiance was joined by Capt. the Hon. Henry Hotham, and attached to the Channel fleet under Earl St. Vincent. The Defiance accompanied the Admiral to Lisbon on a particular mission, and was afterwards entrusted with the blockade of L'Orient, off which place the ship spent eleven months at one time. In 1808, the Defiance was actively employed on the north coast of Spain, in co-operation with the patriots, which had risen in arms against the French occupants of their country, the news of which insurrection

* The present Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets, Sir William Burnett, M.D.

Capt. Hotham transmitted to England. Capt. Hotham afterwards received and landed General Sir Arthur Wellesley at Corunna, on his first appearance in command of a British army on the shores of the Peninsula.

After rendering important services, the Defiance was refitted at Plymouth, and then ordered off Rochefort, with two other ships, to blockade a French squadron of three sail of the line, and Capt. Hotham continued in command great part of the time at anchor in Basque Roads until the arrival of Rear-Admiral Stopford.

On the 23rd February, 1809, the squadron, consisting of the Cæsar, Capt. Charles Richardson, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Stopford; Defiance, and Donegal, Capt. Peter Heywood (Acting); frigates Emerald and Naiad, was at anchor to the north-west of the Chasseron lighthouse, when the Amethyst, look-out frigate, being stationed in the north-west quarter, made night signals at 10h. P.M. for an enemy. The squadron immediately weighed, and proceeded in chase, and gained sight of the strangers at midnight; and at daybreak next morning they were seen standing into the Pertuis d'Antioche. The enemy was M. Willaumez's squadron, of eight sail of the line (one a three-decked ship) and two frigates. The Naiad was then ordered to convey the intelligence to Admiral Gambier; but at 7h. A.M., before proceeding far, discovered and made the signal for three suspicious sail, which, on being chased, were made out to be French frigates standing in for the land. Just at this time the Amelia, Capt. the Hon. F. P. Irby, and 18-gun brig Dotterel, Commander Anthony Abdy, were seen to seaward. The two latter ships had been in pursuit during the whole of the night, and would have cut off the sternmost ship, but for the other two frigates hauling up to her support. It was while this was passing that Admiral Stopford's squadron was first seen by the French Commodore, and the latter finding his squadron cut off from entering Basque Roads, bore up, and took shelter under the powerful batteries of the town of Sable d'Olonne.

At a little after 10h. A.M., the three frigates anchored in line of battle, with springs on their anchors; and at 10h. 30m., the Defiance led the Cæsar, Donegal, and Amelia to the attack. At 11h., the Defiance, being of a lighter draft of water than the other large ships, anchored in seven fathoms water, within about six hundred yards of the enemy, and opened a very destructive fire, receiving in return for some short time the united fire of the frigates and batteries. The other ships in about a quarter of an hour anchored near the Defiance. At 11h. 30m., unable to withstand the heavy fire of their opponents, particularly of the Defiance, some of the wads from whose guns had set them partly in flames, the Italienne and Cybèle cut their cables, and ran aground. Upon this, the Defiance veered cable, and again brought her guns to bear upon the enemy, and with the Donegal and Amelia, the Cæsar having weighed, continued the engagement for a few minutes, until the Calypso in veering cable, to allow the guns of the Italienne to bear upon the Defiance, and also to avoid the heavy broadsides of that ship, drove on the rocks stern-foremost. The ebb tide now making, the Defiance and other ships were recalled, but the three frigates became total wrecks. The Defiance was very much damaged, and sustained a loss of 2 men killed and 25 wounded; the Donegal had 1 man killed and 6 wounded;

the united loss of the frigates is reported to have been 24 killed and 51 wounded*.

The merits of this performance are greatly enhanced if we reflect that it was executed while the French squadron was working into Basque Roads, and in sight of four frigates, which appeared to be communicating the proceedings. At one time, indeed, six line of battle ships bore up, as if with the design of saving the frigates; but they were shortly afterwards recalled. The Defiance was obliged to return to Plymouth for new lower masts, and did not rejoin the fleet in Basque Roads until after the attack had been made upon the fleet in Aix roadstead.

The Defiance was subsequently detached in one of two squadrons in pursuit of a French squadron expected from the West Indies, and on the 21st May, in company with the Resolution, chased two French line-of-battle ships, but which effected their escape into Cherbourg. Capt. Hotham was again employed on the north coast of Spain, and rendered most valuable services. On one occasion the seamen and marines of the Defiance and Amazon were landed, under the command of Capt. William Parker, which entered the castle of San Philipe, spiked the guns, destroyed the ammunition, seized the Governor, who had been placed in the castle by Marshal Ney, and brought him prisoner on board the Defiance, from whence he was sent to Seville. The Defiance was also one of the squadron which took possession of, masted, and rigged, in an incredibly short space of time, five Spanish sail of the line (including two three-deckers), lying in the harbour of Ferrol, together with five frigates and five sloops, all of which were sent to Cadiz.

On the 1st June, 1810, the Defiance being off Belleisle, Capt. Hotham sent away the boats, under the orders of Lieutenants William Style and George Hutchinson, in pursuit of a convoy of small vessels. After rowing six hours, the boats arrived up with the convoy, which had anchored under the protection of several armed vessels and two batteries and several field-pieces on Belleisle. Notwithstanding a vigorous resistance, the boats' crews of the Defiance boarded, and brought out three chassemarées, laden with wine, &c., for L'Orient.

On the 18th August, 1810, Capt. Richard Raggett superseded Capt. Hotham, and under the former the Defiance was most actively employed until the end of the war. We do not, however, meet with any performance of sufficient importance to need a detail, and have only to add that on the 30th September, 1813, the Defiance was paid off at Chatham, and never afterwards employed, except as a temporary prison-ship. In 1816, she was sold out of the Service or broken up, since which period we have had no ship of the name belonging to the Royal Navy.

* A memoir of the distinguished Captain of the Defiance (the late Admiral Sir H. Hotham) in the United Service Journal for November, 1834, pages 370, 371, contains an interesting anecdote relative to this service, to which we refer our readers.

THE REDOUBT "DES AUGUSTINS," ONE OF THE TWO CENTRAL REDOUBTS ON THE PLATEAU DE CALVINET AT TOULOUSE, ATTACKED AND CARRIED BY THE 79TH HIGHLANDERS, 10TH APRIL, 1814; AND SOME MILITARY SCRAPS.

FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF CAPT. JOHN FORD, ROYAL HOSPITAL, CHELSEA.

AT page 579 of the last volume of this Magazine, I have given an account of the repulse of a body of French cavalry by the square of the 79th, and expressed some doubts as to what square the French statements I have there given copies of could apply. I shall here mention a few particulars relating to the proceedings of the regiment after the event described.

On the retreat of the cavalry, the 79th then marched and joined the 42nd in the Balma road: this road, like all the others which cross the plateau, being very deep, afforded good cover from the redoubts; but as it was enfiladed by the enemy's guns, we remained in a line in it close up to the bank, on the right of the 42nd, and exactly in front of the right face of the des Augustins redoubt. The front face of this work commanded the passage along the valley of the Ers, and in that face and the fleche they had six pieces of cannon, viz.,—" Une piece de 4, une de 8 et l'obusier dans le triangle a gauche en face de l'Ers, et les trois autres pieces de 4 dans le redoute même des Augustins."

It was from this road the two regiments marched in line and in double quick time, to the assault of the two redoubts; and it was in carrying the one already named, that the principal loss was sustained by the 79th.

	Officers.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
In the field on the morning of the 10th of April, 1814 ..	36	31	13	414
Killed and wounded that day ..	18	12	2	199

Complete possession was obtained of the redoubt, and not a Frenchman left in it or near it; but as some of our men had climbed over the parapet of the right face, and others entered by the gorge, the companies were broken and quite a *melée;* and it was while so situated, and before any re-formation could take place, that the French General marched up a large body of men (General Stuart says 6000 men), and attacked the two redoubts, and the regiments occupying them were obliged to give way, which, considering their very reduced state, was not to be wondered at; but the success of the enemy was only momentary, as the 91st and another regiment were brought up at this critical moment, and the enemy again fled to Toulouse.

The *débris* of the regiment remained in line where it had re-formed, not far from the front of the des Augustins redoubt, and we understood it was in contemplation to make a simultaneous attack upon the redoubts which the Spaniards had failed in carrying; but these works having been also evacuated by the enemy, and not one on the plateau remaining in their possession, the regiment was ordered to occupy the other central redoubt, the rear face of which commanded Toulouse, where we remained till we marched on the 12th, in pursuit of the enemy, who had retreated from that city.

When the enemy attempted to recover possession of the redoubts, I was in the "triangle," a kind of fleche or outwork of the one we had taken, but separated from the main part of it by a deep farm road,—and a French regiment marching up by that road, cut off my retreat, and that of seven men who were with me, and we immediately sat down close to the parapet. One of these men who first saw the enemy advancing on our left, had the presence of mind to cry out, "Sit down," and if the words had come from a General Officer, they could not have been more promptly obeyed. At this moment we heard a cheering, and that portion of the enemy then close to us appeared panic-struck, went to the right about, and immediately retreated.

One French officer looked at us, and shrugged up his shoulders, (supposing we were wounded, and thereby intimating that he was sorry for us,) and a French soldier attempted to pull the epaulettes off Capt. John Cameron's coat, as he lay dead a few yards from us, but did not succeed;—Capt. Cameron commanded the company I belonged to.

It was altogether a momentary business; the cheering came from the 91st, then advancing to meet the enemy, for Lieut. Roberton, at the head of a party of his regiment, immediately entered the work, and surprised at seeing us there, said, "Ford, are you wounded?" Having been thus released, we joined our regiment where it had re-formed, having had a narrow escape of being bayonetted or dragged along as prisoners with the retiring French army.

After the regiment had left France, I heard many incorrect reports respecting the attack of the two central redoubts by the enemy, the time they held possession of them, &c., &c., and having been by mere accident placed in a position which enabled me to speak positively on the subject of one of them I became naturally anxious at last to have some confirmation of my statement; and having ascertained that Lieut. Roberton, whom I had not heard of for a period of seventeen years, lived in Edinburgh, I wrote to him, and received a very satisfactory reply, of which the following is an extract:—

"Edinburgh, 28, Greenside-street, 21st June, 1831.

"The circumstances which you mention relative to the battle of Toulouse, are quite fresh in my memory; and it will afford me great pleasure if any thing I can say on the subject prove satisfactory, or avail you in any shape, of which I hope you will do me the favour to acquaint me.

"My entering the outwork with some of the 91st men, and my surprise at finding you there, happened just as you describe.

"It was the body of Capt. John Cameron which lay in the fleche, as marked by you with red ink in the pen sketch you sent me. Lieut. Duncan Cameron, brother of Kenneth Cameron, the then Adjutant, lay in the opposite angle; the latter when I approached was quite dead, while the other writhed in apparent agony. The body of Capt. Purvis lay in front of the fleche."

Flushing.

At the siege of this place, in 1809, a picquet of the 5th Regiment of Foot was stationed in a small farmhouse close to the road near the lines. I was standing speaking to the officer commanding it, when a party of soldiers dragging a piece of artillery down to the lines, halted close to us, and declared positively that they could not proceed a step farther without *assistance, and applied* to the officer for some men to

enable them to take the gun forward; he hesitated, being stationed there for another purpose; but knowing that they had only a few yards to go, he went into the farmyard and desired the Serjeant to call out several men to help them. While the men were assembling, a shot from one of the enemy's batteries struck the tire of the wheel of the gun-carriage, and without injuring it bounded into the air again.

Off went the men with the gun, dragging it along at a galloping pace; and when the picquet men were paraded and marched out, the gun had disappeared, the party not choosing to wait there for assistance, with the chance of getting another shot.

French Picquet discovered and driven off at Flushing.

When looking out with our glasses from the trenches, across the level ground in our front, some very small black objects were observed, moving backwards and forwards. What are they? demanded every one, they are neither crows nor blackbirds, now they are gone, but what has become of them? they are certainly not animals. More attentive observation, however, enabled us at last to declare, that they were Frenchmen, lodged in a trench, or natural hollow, in the ground, (not visible to us, it appearing quite level, unbroken,) and it was the tips of the officers' cocked hats which we occasionally saw. Major Sullivan, 79th, commanded in the trenches that day, and we immediately communicated the information to him, and to the officer of artillery, also on duty with us; the latter ordered a gun with a shrapnel shell to be fired, and after two or three were thrown the party took to flight, scampering off across the level ground. As the French relieved all their picquets publicly in the middle of the day, we were at a loss to know how they relieved this party, certainly not by the way they ran off, unless it was by night.

This trifling circumstance proves the necessity of always keeping a sharp look-out, and of more frequently reconnoitring than is usually done; the latter duty was much neglected in the wars commencing with the French Revolution as compared (by reading) with those which preceded that event.

The excitement caused by the surrender of the place and seeing the garrison march out to throw down their arms, made me forget to examine the ground.

At the same siege a French officer sent to reconnoitre our posts, raised his head in a field of corn, and most unexpectedly found himself close to a picquet of German riflemen in our service.

A salute from the Germans soon made him drop down for concealment in the corn, and crawling along on all fours for some distance, he would rise again in another part and run a little in an erect position, when pop, pop, pop, from the Germans obliged him to drop again, he was up and down in this way till he made his escape.

The Germans were laughing all the time, and as they knew not in what part of the corn he would rise to run a little, they did not take aim till his cocked hat made its appearance. I could not refrain from laughing also, but it reminded me of the fable of the Boys and the Frogs.

The Walcheren Fever.

The 79th Regiment sailed from Walcheren early in September, and, therefore, did not suffer so much as other regiments from this pestilence, but all the men who were allowed to go on furlough to Scotland, and then in perfect health, were attacked with the fever in the Highlands; they had carried the seeds of the disease with them to the mountains, and were so much reduced by it, that they could not join the 1st battalion again till a year after it had embarked for the peninsula; but even what I witnessed of the sickness in South Beveland and Walcheren was very distressing. After the fall of Flushing, I was sent up the Scheldt as Assistant-Engineer, with other officers on the same duty, and men selected to act as sappers and miners at the intended siege of Antwerp, but that plan having been abandoned we returned down the river, and I was sent to South Beveland, and for a short time placed under the orders of Lieut.-Colonel Pilkington, R.E. While employed on some works there, a Serjeant came to me and reported, that several waggons had brought down sick men to be passed over in boats to Walcheren by the ferry of St. Jooseland, and that the poor creatures had been carried down to the beach at low water and left there, that the tide was flowing fast and these helpless men would all be drowned without I could afford him assistance to remove them above high water mark. I applied to Colonel Pilkington, and he directly acceded to the Serjeant's request, and the sick men were removed out of all danger of that kind. Lieutenant J. S. Christie, of the 79th, was detached with a party of sick men to be placed on board the Rising Sun transport, in the port of Flushing, but on getting on board the vessel he found the sick, the dying, and the dead, all lying together between decks and not a medical officer there; he was so much shocked at what he saw that he took the responsibility upon himself and brought the detachment back to head-quarters. The sick, even at this period, had become so numerous, that there were not a sufficient number of medical officers to attend them.

Fort Puntales.

On the arrival of the 79th at La Isla, near Cadiz, in 1810, I was appointed an Assistant-Engineer, and employed, first with Lieut. Roberts, R.E., in drawing plans of that place and Cadiz; afterwards I was sent to Fort Matagorda, and employed there at low tide in making a deep trench in the mud, close to the weak angle of that fort, opposite to the Trocadero, for the purpose, it was said, of sinking a vessel to strengthen that part; but this plan being abandoned, I was ordered to Fort Puntales, and assisted the gallant Lieut. Brett in repairing, &c., the defences of that fort, which he commanded. The battery was *en barbette*, and sand-bag merlons were placed on the parapet to cover our men as much as possible, and as some of the buildings were not constructed to resist cannon-shot, sand-bag fronts were given to them, and when these were completed, (soon to be battered down again,) I superintended the erection of the two mortar-batteries close to Fort Puntales, going into the officers' room in the fort to get out of the sun and take a siesta while the men under my orders were at dinner. The front of this room was so strengthened, but not the sides; these being nearly in

a line with the enemy's batteries, it was not thought necessary to add any defence whatever to them; but cannon-balls play as many freaks as musket-balls, for on one occasion, when I had just sat down in a very drowsy state, a shot struck the west side wall; instead of bounding off, it came through, driving all the stone-work into the room, struck the wall next the chapel, beat in all the stones there, did not go through, but rebounded, passed over my head, and dropped into a corner. Thinking it was a shell, a most unwelcome visitor in such a confined space, I ran out as quick as possible, when a loud laugh from the artillerymen at my extraordinary appearance made me look at myself; I was covered with white pulverized mortar, the black ostrich feathers of my Highland bonnet were white, my red coat was white—in fact, I was altogether as white as a miller. There are few instances, I believe, of a cannon-ball passing *through* a strong wall, when fired nearly in a line with it; possibly something may have changed the direction of the ball —but I doubt it. The only injury I received was a slight contusion on the forehead, which swelled to about the size of a plum, but the skin was not broken, and it went down in a few days.

At Fort Puntales I witnessed the following scene. A cannon-shot from the enemy buried itself in the sand-bags in front of one of the buildings, and a second followed exactly in the same direction, not even widening the opening the first had made. A soldier belonging to a fatigue party of the 88th Regt., on seeing this, put the side of his head against the hole, simply saying to his comrades, "Now you shall see if they are good marksmen;" but the next shot that was fired, and every succeeding one for several minutes, went wide of the mark.

I should have previously mentioned, that the French first unmasked their formidable batteries of thirty guns and mortars upon Forts Matagorda and Puntales on the morning of the 21st April, 1810. On the evening of the 22nd, I collected in the mortar-battery I was stationed at, seventy shot, shells and pieces of shells.

I slept in a tent (containing some sand-bags), on the glacis of the fort, and before daybreak of the 22nd, I was awakened by hearing some person calling out, "Who's here?" It proved to be Major Lefebure, commanding the Royal Engineers, who had just arrived from the town of La Isla, (near six miles distant.) After many questions respecting the enemy, &c., he expressed a wish to go somewhere for a few minutes to wash and shave himself as he was covered with dust and dirt. I had a billet in a house at Cadiz, to which I occasionally went or sent for a change of linen, my baggage being there, and I requested him to accompany me to it, Cadiz being head-quarters, and convenient also for him to get a boat to cross to Matagorda, where he seemed most anxious to arrive before sun-rise. Just as day was beginning to break, one of those shot called by the men "wakeners," and "rousers," fired at intervals during the night, passed through the tent and close to the Major. We then walked on together till we entered Cadiz, when I found he had made up his mind to proceed at once to Matagorda, and he turned to the right, took a boat, and was killed soon after reaching the fort. I returned to my duty at the mortar-battery.

The Wounded French Soldier.

On the 14th of March, 1814, I occupied for the night a detached house,

which the inhabitants had just fled on our approach: it was not far from Aire, in the South of France, and I found in one of the out-buildings a French soldier dead of his wounds, and another severely wounded. I mentioned the circumstance to our Assistant-Surgeon, Dr. Divir, who kindly dressed the poor fellow's wounds; every attention was otherwise paid to him, and I left him some food, when we marched next morning. Some months after this, when walking through one of the public walks of Bourdeaux, previous to embarkation at Pauillac, a French soldier ran up to me, and, after the continental fashion, threw his arms round my neck, kissed my cheek, and hugged me so close as to knock off my highland bonnet by his rough embrace, and this without any previous explanation: he proved to be the wounded soldier above mentioned.—(*Vide* United Service Journal, 3rd Part, or Vol. for December, 1831, page 529.)

A VISIT TO THE COCOS OR KEELING'S ISLANDS.

CAPT. J. C. ROSS, SETTLER.

HAVING within the last few years paid a visit to the Cocos or Keeling's Islands, which have now been settled upwards of eighteen years by that indefatigable officer, Captain John Clunies Ross, whose spirit of enterprise is beyond all praise, I cannot resist the temptation of giving a short account of my trip to this most interesting group of coral isles; and I am the more encouraged to do so from a conviction of the very great benefit the nautical world, (and the whaling portion in particular,) has derived from the exertions of Capt. Ross, as well as from the time, labour, and capital expended by that officer in his arduous undertaking of settling a hitherto neglected spot of the earth.

It would seem that to all in this country, whose interests are most affected by the settlement of the Cocos, the value of these islands is but little known, certainly less so than from their most convenient position might reasonably be expected, their advantages appearing to be duly appreciated only by the American mercantile navy, whose ships flock thither in great numbers. When, however, the vast increase of trade is considered, which, from the late Treaty with the Celestial Empire (invaluable as it is to the commercial interests of this kingdom), may undoubtedly be looked forward to, together with the progressive improvement and extension of our relations in all parts of the East, and of our colonial possessions in Australia, the peculiar convenience of their situation in the very route of all this commerce, becomes at once most strikingly apparent, offering itself as a port of *refuge*, or for *repairs, firewood, water*, or the *supplies ordinarily required* by Her Majesty's, or merchant, ships or vessels. And it in reality affords matter for wonder, that this group should for so long a period have been little known or appreciated at home.

It was on the 17th April, 1839, that we reached the Cocos Islands in one of Her Majesty's frigates, after an unusually tedious passage of upwards of a month from Trincomalee, and at 6h. A.M. the gigs were sent to survey the islands, and at 8h., boats to sound and buoy the channel, soon after the commencement of which operation, Capt. Ross

came on board, and we made sail into the harbour, coming to at 11h. 10m. with the small bower in four fathoms, and veering to twelve in the Fairway Channel, centre of Horsburgh bearing N.W. ½ W., and of Direction Island Point N.E. In the afternoon we laid out the kedge, and warped the ship into the inner harbour, anchoring at 2h. 30m. P.M. in ten and a half fathoms, with the the small bower (and veering to forty), in loose sand and pulverized coral—Direction Island Point N.E. ½ E.; Horsburgh Isle, N.W. by N.; and West Key, S. ½ W.

The American whalers resort to the Cocos in great numbers from the west and north-west coasts of New Holland, for repairs, and in search of refreshments and water, giving the preference to these islands in consequence of the extreme difficulty the seamen experience in procuring spirituous liquors of any kind from the Malays, it being one of the admirable rules laid down by Capt. Ross, that no spirits shall be distilled or introduced by any individual residing under his protection and government. We were not therefore surprised at finding three here on our arrival; one of 310 tons, nearly ready for sea; one of 370 tons, lying a wreck off the house of Capt. Ross; and another of 285 tons, undergoing repairs by being hove down. Having, however, mentioned the case of a wreck in the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement, it becomes necessary, in justice to the prosperity of the establishment, also to make known the peculiar circumstances of the case, which are as follows. The Gideon Basto, a new vessel, belonging to New Bedford, had, *instead of warping into the inner harbour*, anchored off the entrance, where she was overtaken by a heavy gale from the northward, and after breaking two anchors, cast ashore upon the rocks off Settlement Island. The Berkeley had also gone ashore in the gale, but having been got off with the loss only of her keel, we found her hove down off Direction Island, where she was being repaired by the Malay carpenters, under the personal superintendence of Capt. Ross. The vessels, however, that had warped into the inner harbour, rode out the gale in perfect security: the loss of one, and the injury sustained by the other of the ships above-mentioned, must be attributed, therefore, solely to the indiscretion of the masters, who thus risked the safety of their vessels; as the inner harbour is rendered perfectly safe by a natural breakwater to the eastward, and Settlement Island to the south-east, Direction Isle effectually protecting it to the northward, and without which there would be no security for shipping at the Cocos. The Lucas, of 310 tons, had completed her cargo from that of the unfortunate Gideon Basto, and sailed for New Bedford, giving a passage to the Mauritius to the crew of the latter vessel, there to be disposed of as the American Consul might direct—the Act of Congress on this subject only requiring ships to convey to America, two men for every hundred tons of their burthen. Captain Ross had been appointed agent for the owners of the wreck, which, after completing the Lucas, had still 1000 barrels of black oil remaining on board. His powers extended to the repairs of the vessel, if they could be effected for 6000 dollars, in failure of which, he was instructed to break her up, reserving the copper for the owners, and the timber, in this case, as his only reward.

This interesting group of islands, the height of which is from ten to fifteen feet above the level of the sea, and every part fully and thickly

covered with cocoa-nut trees, was first visited in 1825 by Captain Ross, part owner of the ship Borneo, who finally settled there in 1827, with about forty Malay servants, male and female. On the 6th December, 1825, that officer arrived off the isles, and after a minute examination of the coasts, and discovering a passage into a safe and commodious basin, decided upon adopting the place for settlement, and in consequence took formal possession, under the impression that their permanent settlement, as a British possession, could not fail to be useful to the general interests, to an extent far beyond the small amount of their native produce, and wants of the population which that produce could support, and in hopes that he might receive from Her Majesty's Government, that protection, which in the course of his undertaking, it would be most needful to obtain.

The difficulties contended against by Captain Ross, in the first establishment of these islands, were of no ordinary nature, from the infamous conduct of Raymond and Leisk, two Englishmen, whom he had taken into his employ, who set about devising means to withdraw the Malays from their allegiance to their master, thus setting themselves above all control. This, in the absence of any Government authority, they effected to a considerable extent, and at a period when not more than six or eight vessels resorted to the isles; but it was fortunate that, at this time, the East India station was under the command of one of our most enlightened and distinguished Admirals, the late Honorable Sir Thomas Bladen Capel, K.C.B., who took the most lively interest in forwarding the meritorious efforts of our settler, and immediately despatched the Zebra, 16, Commander R. C. McCrea, on a visit to the settlement; and grateful, indeed, must Captain Ross have been for the protective effects towards his undertaking, which resulted from the occurrence of such a visit, followed as she subsequently was, by Her Majesty's ships Pelorus, Conway, and Herald.

Mr. Hare, with whom Captain Ross had originally been associated, had died at Batavia some time before our arrival, and at the period of our visit Captain Ross's was the only European family on the Cocos, the Malays amounting to about 150, including women and children; the little village in which these Malays were located, was composed of from eighteen to twenty well-proportioned huts, and each family appeared happy and contented in the little patch of ground that surrounded the house, in which were generally observed very pretty collections of ducks, fowls, &c.

In 1832 the Captain launched a three-masted schooner of eighty tons, but calculated to carry a hundred tons burthen, in which he proceeded to Trincomalee, where he met the Naval Commander-in-Chief. From him he received a warrant as Harbour-Master at the Cocos Islands, to insure respect from the Masters of the numerous American whalers, which it was anticipated would resort to the Isles, and likewise, through his instrumentality, the necessary papers from the Governor of Ceylon to legalize her voyages as a trading-vessel. This schooner is built of a wood called by himself "iron-wood," which is found in small quantities on the different islands,—it is very hard, and not unlike teak. According to the Captain's account iron will not rust when driven into this wood, and very few pins can ever be extracted, probably not more than one in six; when, however, one is taken out, it appears as bright

as if just drawn out from the grasp of the vice,—the others break off in the effort.

In this vessel he occasionally proceeds to the coasts of Java, India, and Madagascar, with a cargo of cocoa-nut oil, which he is constantly preparing for exportation; and from the latter island he has at different times imported a considerable quantity of rich soil, which we found mixed up in his garden with the unproductive coral-sand with which the islands are covered. In his garden the Captain has grown with success vines, orange, tamarind, and banana trees, (the latter in great numbers,) pumpkins, onions, and other vegetables.

Fresh water is found in profusion at the depth of two feet from the surface; and that, which we procured, was from four wells, which rise and fall with the tide, being nearly dry at low water: these were dug and thatched over by Captain Ross, in consideration of which, eight cents per ton are demanded from all merchant-vessels requiring a supply. The other refreshments procurable at this place, and at exceedingly reasonable prices, are geese, ducks, fowls, turtle, turkeys, and pigs, pumpkins, rice, Indian corn, (which is grown on the island,) bananas, cocoa-nuts, flour, and American biscuit. Washing is also done at two shillings per dozen. Every bird and animal in the possession of Captain Ross is fed entirely on cocoa-nuts, and the turtle, on which he chiefly keeps his family, is caught in large quantities around the islands; but instead of turning them, as at Ascension, the Malays here chase them in punts with long poles, wearying them out till their capture is effected. In doing this they invariably keep to the *one* in pursuit, in which they are materially assisted by the clearness of the water, it enabling them to keep their object in view till the poor creature is fairly tired out. Fish is also plentiful on the coasts, of which, perhaps, mullet is the most abundant. Land-crabs are seen in thousands, and seafowl swarm in all parts. Two sperm whales had been lately caught within sight of the islands, of enormous size, and their jaw-bones lay near the residence of the Harbour-Master.

The largest of the islands is ten miles in length, and they amount in number to about twenty, being generally connected by narrow causeways, fordable at low water; and Capt. Ross represented them all as peculiarly healthy, and entirely free from wild animals, noxious snakes, centipedes, scorpions, tarantulas, and all other venomous reptiles and insects. The tides are usually regular, and rise about 4 feet 6 inches, or 5 feet; but they are the highest when the sun is on the equator, at which time one of the two tides is much higher than the other.

During our stay, another American whaler arrived from the N. W. coast of New Holland, having, in a hurricane which she encountered off that coast, lost her mizen-topmast, and the head of her mainmast. In company with her at the time, were several other vessels, both English and American, and after the hurricane, which lasted but twelve hours, during a great part of which time she was on her beam-ends, she was surrounded by floating spars of every description, boats, &c., several of the latter of which she picked up, together with a ship's stern-frame.

Our stay at the Cocos was limited to a few days; and as we were getting under weigh from the islands, another American whaler was coming in from the above-mentioned coasts for a supply of water and

refreshments; and these numerous arrivals tend to confirm Capt. Ross's statement, that the number of vessels *annually* visiting the Cocos, amount to between *seventy* and *eighty*.

Capt. Ross had, in the first establishment of the Cocos, the prospect of making his islands a great emporium of Eastern produce, especially from the independent portions of country which abound from the N.W. coast of Sumatra to Timorlaut, and for the importation of which he had intended to employ small coasting vessels of one hundred tons and upwards; with these vessels, well fitted in every way for the purpose, and manned, as his schooner is at present, by people conversant with the neighbouring languages, and used to the customs of the natives, much might have been effected for the improvement and extension of our commerce with those barbarous states; but having been entirely left to his own resources by Her Majesty's Government, his original intentions have of course been abandoned. Everybody, however, who pays a visit to his interesting colony, and is made acquainted with the deficient means at Capt. Ross's disposal on his first embarking in this undertaking, cannot fail to be as highly delighted with the progress of the settlement, as with the hospitable reception that he meets from that *worthy, enterprising, scientific,* and *talented* officer.

MEMOIRS OF GENERAL AND FLAG-OFFICERS RECENTLY DECEASED.

Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.

(Continued from No. 185, page 602.)

On the conquest of Sta. Maura, it was constituted the Presidency of a Government, comprising also the islands of Cephalonia and Ithaca, and this government was entrusted to Colonel Lowe, the chief authority in the islands, General Oswald, reserving to his immediate superintendence those of Zante and Cerigo. In this new position it may easily be conceived that Colonel Lowe's duties were complex, weighty, and various. They embraced the internal controul of the administration, the dealing with a disorganized and unhealthy state of society in the islands, discussions with the Resident at Cephalonia, from whom he found it difficult to exact that consideration for the forms of government and for the opinions of his native counsellors, which he conceived the circumstances under which we had taken possession of the islands made incumbent upon us, and a frequent correspondence with the Turkish authorities, and with our Resident at Yanina. The Vizir Ali Pasha, eminent for his talents, but infamous for his cruelties and his vices, was then in the full zenith of his power, and his dispositions towards the British, friendly, who on their side did not omit such demonstrations as might serve to confirm him in this course: Sir John Stuart placed himself in direct personal communication with him. Notwithstanding, however, the assistance which Ali Pasha seemed willing to afford the British, and the value they appear to have placed on his co-operation; yet, even at this time, when the separation of Parga from the septinsular republic was contemplated, Colonel Lowe expressed himself strongly opposed to it. When he first assumed the government of the Presidency, his mind appears to have been ardently fixed on an attempt to include the remaining island of Corfu in our conquests, and he was urgent in every manner his situation permitted to promote that object; but his wishes in

this respect were not to be gratified. Of course, without a reinforcement, the force in the islands would have been inadequate to undertake such an enterprise. Until February, 1812, Colonel Lowe* remained in the discharge of the duties we have specified; in that month he left on leave for England, whence he had now been absent nearly nine years. On the eve of his departure, the Administrative Council of Sta. Maura assembled to vote him a testimonial of their approbation and their gratitude. In their address they declared that they have always recognised him "qual vero nostro padre, ed uno de' piu forti sostegni della nostra patria," and concluded by presenting to him, in the name of the grateful Leucadian population, a sabre of gold, "nel qui con simboleggiant iconfigurazioni—siano incisi li suoi singolari merit' rapporto a noi, nonche le nostre riconoscenti sensazioni." For the arduous and important civil duties which had been discharged by Colonel Lowe in the Ionian Islands, and more especially in the last years, while he presided in Sta. Maura, and in which he had so fully satisfied at once his superior officer and the inhabitants under his authority, it is remakable that he never sought nor received any special salary or pecuniary reward. He enjoyed merely the pay of his military rank.

He was now to enter on a scene of far wider interest and importance, to become an immediate participator in events of the utmost magnitude, involving the fate of Europe, and in which the whole of its military skill, the whole of its political capacity, the whole of its physical strength were all, as it were, concentrated into one great struggle. Early in 1813 he was appointed to proceed to the north of Europe, and sailed with General Hope, to whom he was then attached, for Gothenburg, in Sweden, where they arrived, after a stormy passage, on the 4th of February. The immediate object of their mission related to the Russian-German Legion, a body raised principally from the deserters and prisoners of the contingents impressed by Napoleon into his disastrous campaign of Russia, and which, incorporated with new levies, it was proposed to augment into a corps d'armée, and place with other forces under the command of the Prince Royal of Sweden, with whom General Hope's negociation was to be conducted. Sir Hudson Lowe mentions, in an unfinished narrative relating to this period, that the news of the Convention of Taurogen (the defection of General York) reached London just before their departure, and that he so clearly saw the results likely to follow in the train of this event, or of which it was the harbinger, as to be surprised at the instructions to the mission not being modified, considering the subordinate part which Sweden was now likely to play. While at Stockholm, Colonel Lowe had an interview with the lately deceased Charles John, and mentions strongly the singular and imposing character of his presence.

From Stockholm Colonel Lowe started with instructions to inspect the detachments of the Legion, which were scattered along the whole southern shore of the Baltic. He traversed great part of the Gulf of Bothnia on sledges, the least troublesome part of the journey, the floating ice rendering the navigation very difficult and dangerous; passed through St. Petersburgh, where he met Colonel (since Count) Pozzo di Borgo, whom he had seen shortly before in London, after having first known him in Corsica, and thence proceeded along the shores of the Baltic to Königsberg, whence he repaired to Lord Cathcart at Kalish, then the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander. During the route he found several detachments of the Legion to inspect, satisfactorily equipped in most respects, but wanting arms. On first entering the Prussian territory at Memel, and afterwards at Königsberg, he was struck with the universal enthusiasm, the exultation at the blow which had been struck at French despotism, their eagerness to make the emancipation complete. The warmth of his reception as a British officer was vehement. At Kalish he had his first personal interview with the

* He received the full rank of Colonel in January, 1812.

Emperor Alexander. The Emperor made use on this occasion of an expression which much struck him: "I hope," he said, "the people of England will be satisfied with what I have done." Colonel Lowe was struck with the utter absence of all pomp and parade about Alexander's person, the non-existence of anything that could be called a *court*. On the arrival of the King of Prussia, which took place some days after, he found another example of the same simplicity. At Kalish he was first brought into company with Baron Stein, a statesman for whose wisdom and energy he always expressed great admiration.

From Kalish he again repaired to Königsberg, to continue his inspection, at the time the Sovereigns and their army advanced into Germany. At Königsberg he found the effervescence which he had witnessed on his first passage sobered down into a zeal not less enthusiastic but more methodic; and a full conviction prevailing that discipline and organization, no less than valour and patriotism, were requisite to form troops capable of emancipating their country. He mentions, as particularly striking, the regiment known by the name of the Black Hussars, which appeared to be entirely composed of young men, between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one, and which he saw again at Paris in 1814, in a condition which, as compared with their previous appearance, reminded him of Shakspeare's comparison of the ship leaving and returning to port. During this time he continued busily occupied in inspecting and reporting on the condition of the Legion.

In May he left again for head-quarters, and directed his route on Dresden; but learnt at Hoyerswerda that a battle had already been fought, and that the Allies had evacuated that city. He changed his direction in consequence, and reached the head-quarters of the Allies a few days before the first battle of Bautzen, and when they had already taken up their first position in the neighbourhood of that town. He adverts to the imposing aspect which their bivouac of 80,000 men, or upwards, bore in his eyes, having never witnessed previously a larger army drawn up than we had had in Egypt.

On the 20th took place the first battle of Bautzen. The contest was confined to two points; the town, which being merely an advanced post of the Allies, was not very strenuously maintained, and a wooded height on the left of their position, the retention of which to them was of much more importance. The struggle also terminated in their favour; for at the close of day, when the French had obtained temporary success, they were finally dislodged by General Miloradowitch, with six battalions of the Russian Guards, and the drums and shouts which announced his victory, terminated the tumult of the day. Though these two points only had been the scene of close conflict, a fire of artillery had been kept up along the whole line during the day.

The next day the battle was renewed. The forces of the French were greatly superior in number, Napoleon having no less than 110,000 men in the field; but the Allies had the advantages of position, and that of a cavalry very superior in numbers, and still more in quality.

The attack of the French was at the first most serious on the left of the Allies, where a most violent and obstinate contest took place, the combined forces, however, keeping their ground with the most determined resolution. By degrees, however, the right became more hardly pressed. Vigorously attacked in front, and at the same time outflanked by Ney, Blücher, and Barclay de Tolly were compelled to give ground, and though they occasionally retrieved advantages yet they could not be maintained. In the centre Napoleon held the masses of his reserve in hand, and no active movement was made; but a cannonade was kept up which made every village and farm-house between the armies a blazing ruin. The success of the French left determined the fate of the day. The Allies fell back from their positions, but in unbroken formation, protected from molestation by their formidable cavalry. Their loss in these engagements was from 15,000 to

16,000 men, and that of the French army is supposed to have been about equal in amount.

It was at this battle of Bautzen that Hudson Lowe first saw Napoleon, being the first man also to point him out to the Sovereigns and their Staff, in whose immediate vicinity he was, and by whom his good English telescope was put in requisition. A singular and interesting circumstance to him at the time; but if Destiny had then unrolled her tablets, what would have been his feelings? Colonel Lowe accompanied the combined army in its retreat into Silesia, and remained there during the armistice, towards the conclusion of which he started for the mouth of the Elbe, where the Russian-German Legion was forming into a corps, under the command of Count Walmoden, to operate against Marshal Davoust and the Danes.

In the operations which took place in this quarter when hostilities were resumed, there appears to have been little of importance which ell to his share, nor was there any thing occurring there to compare with the magnitude of the events taking place on the other bank of that river. The campaign had opened with the greatest vigour. Napoleon, who had marched into Silesia against Blücher, now commanding an army in chief, was recalled by Schwartzenberg's movement on Dresden. He returned in time to give a sudden turn to events before the capital, such as is effected in poetry by the "Deus ex machinâ;" the combined army was thrown back, its left wing turned, 16,000 prisoners taken (Austrians,—in whole campaigns as many Russians could scarcely be taken,) and this great body of men was forced to retreat, by several routes, into Bohemia. But where Napoleon was not, the event was very different. Macdonald had continued in Silesia pushing on his forward movement, but found Blücher no longer disposed to retire. The French Marshal had entangled his troops in a detestable position, ill adapted for fighting, worse for retreating, with the Katzbach and the Wüthende Neisse in their rear. Blücher resumed the offensive. The attack was impetuous, the Russo-Prussians rushed fiercely on the enemy, the cavalry bore down all with their charges. The infantry could fire little, it rained so hard; they flung themselves on the French, pounded them with the butts of their muskets, drove them into the swollen torrents of the Katzbach and the Wüthende Neisse. The army of Macdonald was crushed; it lost twenty thousand prisoners, all its guns,—worse than Dresden. This is Blucher's brightest jewel; his title, Prince of Wahlstadt, was from this victory.

Disaster came on the heels of disaster; Vandamme had got in the rear of the Allies; it was a question of immediate success in gaining a position by which whole corps intercepted would be at his mercy. But he had the Russian Guards to force, very inferior in number, and in artillery, but men who would stand under a fire of grape at pistol-shot distance, knee-deep in dead, without sign of flight or surrender. Vandamme could not kill all the Russian Guards; new corps of the allies had time to come up, he had to deal with them in front, flank and rear. It was a hopeless business. His men fought desperately, but were mostly slain or taken; he was among the last. And Napoleon, who had too rashly anticipated from this movement the *coup de grace* to the grand army, consoled himself, as he might, but grandly, with reflections on the uncertainties of war. "Telle est la guerre: bien haut le matin, et bien bas le soir,

> 'J'ai vaincu, commandé, pendant quarante années,
> Du monde entre mes mains, j'ai vu les destinées
> Et j'ai toujours connu, qu'en châque evenement
> Le destin des états dependait d'un moment*.'"

In the north the failure was the same. Oudinot had been beaten at Gross Buren, and Marshal Ney was dispatched to check the advance of the

* The verses are from Corneille. The expressions are mentioned in Fain's Manuscrit de 1814.

Prince Royal of Sweden. He found Tauenzien in position near Dennewitz, and tried hard to force him but in vain. The arrival of Bülow gave the Prussians the offensive, and when the Prince Royal arrived on the field, the retreat the French had already commenced became converted into a rout. The incidents of the action resemble those of Waterloo, but Charles John, from regard, probably, to his countrymen, did not pursue like Blücher.

These events made Napoleon's position on the Elbe untenable, and after some marching and countermarching, he at last acquiesced in the necessity, but yet left garrisons in the fortresses, and 22,000 men in Dresden alone, a step which, with his inferiority of number, cannot well be justified. He drew round Leipzig the remnant of his forces, which, with all his losses, and all his garrisons deducted, still amounted to 170,000 men; but against them the Allies were bringing near 300,000.

It was shortly before the battle of the nations, as the Germans have properly termed it, that Colonel Lowe arrived at Blücher's head-quarters. He had arrived just in time to be able to say, I was at the battle of Leipzig.

The number of the armies opposed to each other on the first day of the battle of Leipzig, or that of the battles of Möckern and Wachau, as the engagements of the 16th are more properly termed, did not exhibit much inequality, as neither the army of Bennigsen, nor that of the Prince Royal of Sweden, the first amounting to 24,000, the last to 73,000 men, had entered the line, but the results were still in their favour. This was more especially the case with Blücher, whose numerical preponderance was greater, Ney having in the early part of the day, dispatched a portion of his forces to support Napoleon against the grand army to the south of Leipzig. These troops and additional forces were subsequently brought up to repair the disaster, but without success, and at the end of the day, the French left had been expelled from all the villages on the north side of Leipzig, and driven into the very suburbs of the town. Their right occupied a line protected by the Partha. The contest had been most obstinate at Möckern; "five times was the village taken and retaken, but the Prussians, under so revered a leader, were not to be repulsed. They finally drove the enemy before them. He retreated in disorder, leaving the ground strewed with killed and wounded, with guns, arms, and ammunition waggons, and his scattered flying troops a prey to the attacks of the cavalry who continued to pursue them until the cover of a thick wood, and a stream which runs in front of Leipzig, afforded them protection*." The trophies of this engagement to the allies were, an eagle, two colours, two thousand prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon†. On the south of Leipzig, where the numbers were pretty equally balanced, the disposition of Schwartzenberg, who had massed the Austrian reserves on the left bank of the Pleisse, where they would be of no service, long left the actual preponderance on the field on the side of Napoleon, and victory at one time seemed likely to declare for her former favourite.

Six successive attacks were made by the allies on Wachau and Liebertwolkwitz and successively repulsed. Napoleon then took the offensive, and forced the allies, for some time, to give ground. Following up his success by the charge of heavy masses of cavalry, it seemed as if the defeat of the allies was imminent, when, in one part of the field, a successful charge, made by the combined cavalry, which had re-crossed the Pleisse; and on another, that of the Cossacks of the Guard, who, under Orloff Denisow, overthrew the corps of Latour-Maubourg, re-established the state of affairs, and giving time for the Austrian reserves to form, turned the success of the day. Napoleon, however, remained much in the same position as at the commencement, but doubtful success was, in his position, equivalent to defeat, since 100,000 additional enemies were within a march of the field. On the

* Relation, by Colonel Lowe, of the battle of Leipzig, chiefly as regards the movements of Blücher's army, and those of the Prince Royal of Sweden.

† Butturlin, *Tableau de la Campagne de 1813.*

close of hostilities, Napoleon dispatched General Meerfeld, who had been taken prisoner, with proposals for an armistice, by which all the fortresses of the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe, were to be placed in the hands of the allies, but this was not listened to.

On the 17th, the Grand Army awaiting the arrival of Bennigsen, made no movement; on the north, a successful charge of cavalry, made by General Vassilchikoff, was the only event of the day.

On the 18th, Bennigsen and the Prince Royal of Sweden being at length, owing to the vigorous representations of Sir Charles Stewart, now Marquis of Londonderry, and Colonel Pozzo di Borgo, in a position to co-operate with the allies, the battle recommenced. Napoleon had previously, on the south, evacuated all the positions held on the 16th, and drawn his troops into a more concentrated position, having his centre at Probstheyda. During the early part of the day, the allies having carried the advanced posts of the French army, made reiterated efforts to force their line of battle both at Probstheyda and other points, but the intrepidity of the French foiled all their attempts. The Generalissimo then restricted the engagement to a continuous cannonade, in which the superior number and concentric position of his artillery, gave him great advantage.

During the entire day, the devoted troops of Napoleon assembled in masses, were exposed to this devasting fire. Several times they attempted to debouch from Probstheyda, but the shower of grape sweeping away their columns, forced them to retrograde. They continued, however, under these terrible circumstances, to preserve their position with constancy.

On the north and east of Leipzig, the attacks of the allies were more active, and met with more decided success. The principal points of contention were the immediate suburbs of the city, in which all the attacks of Sacken did not enable him to secure a footing, and the village of Schönfeldt the scene of a contest of the greatest obstinacy. Napoleon in person had left the main body of his army, to direct an attack against the corps of Langeron, which with much difficulty had obtained possession of the village, and compelled him to evacuate it. Of this event, General Blücher, who was near the village, but at the opposite side of the Partha, received information about sunset. He "gave instant orders, with a voice of such determination as struck every hearer, to General Count Langeron, to again attack it, and carry it immediately at the point of the bayonet*." The village was carried accordingly, and finally remained in the possession of the allies, but choked with their corpses. Nearly 4000 Russians are computed to have perished in the contest about this point alone. The army of the Prince Royal of Sweden had met with general success, in which they were aided by the well-known defection of the Saxon contingents, an event singular in European history.

During the night the French withdrew into the town and suburbs of Leipzig, which, on the 19th, became the object of a general attack. The disasters of the French retreat, the exultation of the allies, all the remarkable circumstances of that event, where the coalesced leaders and sovereigns made rendezvous on the very field of victory, amid a scene in which all that addressed the senses spoke of misery, desolation, and suffering, but in which the eye of the mind might contemplate the exhilarating spectacle of Europe as last enfranchised, cannot be forgotten. Thirty thousand prisoners, two hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, an enormous matériel, remained in the hands of the victors. French dominion in Europe had received its death-blow.

To Blücher's army was more especially entrusted the task of pursuing the fugitives, and Colonel Lowe accompanied it in its progress. "For an extent of nearly fifty miles from Eisenach to Fulda," he says in a dispatch to Sir Charles Stewart, describing the pursuit, "carcasses of dead and dying horses

* Colonel Lowe's Relation.

without number, dead bodies of men who had been either killed or perished through hunger, sickness and fatigue, lying in the roads or in the ditches; parties of prisoners and stragglers brought in by the Cossacks; blown up or destroyed ammunition waggons in such numbers as absolutely to obstruct the road, sufficiently attested the sufferings of the enemy, while pillaged and burning towns and villages marked at the same time the ferocity with which he had conducted himself." However, notwithstanding the state of *délabrement*, the French army succeeded in giving Wrede a severe *coup de griffe* at Hanau.

During the close of this year, Colonel Lowe was again in the north, occupied in the inspection of German and Hanoverian levies. But when early in the ensuing year hostilities were carried into France, he received orders to attach himself to the head-quarters of the Field Marshal's army, having traversed the intermediate part of France without obstacle or molestation.

He had barely arrived, when the campaign seriously commenced. Blücher, who was at Brienne, with the two divisions of Alsufieff's corps of infantry, and had at first refused credence to the reports which announced Napoleon to be marching on him through St. Dizier, on being at last convinced, sent orders to Sacken's corps to join him, intending, as soon as this should be effected, to fall back on Trannes, so as to be supported by the Grand Army, whose leader had been more attentive to the intelligence received, and was concentrating its masses on Bar sur Aube. At the very time that Sacken's corps was arriving on Brienne, Napoleon's attack began on the cavalry of Count Pahlen, who, with the advanced guard of Wittgenstein's corps of the Grand Army, had fallen in with Blücher the day before. The disparity of numbers was fearfully against Blücher, the whole French army being with Napoleon; but so bravely did the Russians fight, that the French, who at first succeeded in entering the town and capturing several pieces of artillery, were not only expelled, and the cannon recaptured, but eight of their own guns were taken by the Russian cavalry. Such was the state of matters by the close of day; and the attack being apparently at an end, Blücher had retired to the chateau, when he was roused by the news that the enemy had surprised the building, and had to make his escape with imminent risk of capture. The action was now renewed with additional fierceness, Blücher ordering up Alsufieff's division against the chateau, in attacking which, they sustained great loss, exposed amid the glare of burning buildings, to enemies under cover and in obscurity, and did not succeed in dislodging the enemy. In the town the Russians remained masters.

At two o'clock in the morning, some hours after the contest had finally terminated, Blücher gave orders for a retreat on Trannes, by which he placed himself in communication with the remainder of his forces, and with those of the Grand Army. It is difficult to conceive how Napoleon, having obtained such equivocal advantages over a portion of the army of Silesia, could have supposed himself capable of succeeding against that, and the Grand Army combined; yet having taken up a position with his right at Dienville on the Aube, his centre at La Rothiere, and his left occupying La Gibrie, and thrown back *en potence*, at Chaumesnil, he there awaited attack. His whole force was about 60,000 strong; the Allies had 100,000 men at hand, though not more than 80,000 were actually brought against him in the battle which followed.

Though the battle of La Rothiere was of long duration, yet the fate of the day seems to have been decided from an early period. After one repulse, the Prince of Wirtemberg carried the village of La Gibrie. Field-Marshal Wrede was equally successful at Chaumesnil, and by this means the French line was completely turned, while Vassilchikoff's cavalry had broken through their centre, and captured twenty-four pieces of artillery, so that the obstinate and prolonged defence of La Rothiere and Dienville

appears rather to have been owing to headstrong resolution, or to avoid being pressed in retreat, than to any hope of retrieving the fortunes of the day. Blücher, to whom the whole direction of the battle was committed, though the Generalissimo Schwartzenberg, with the Sovereigns, was on the field, personally directed the obstinate contest in La Rothiere, and had a Cossack orderly killed by his side, while Napoleon, in the latter part of the day, in urging his Guards to the attack, had a horse shot under him. At the close of the engagement, which continued until midnight, 70 pieces of cannon, and 2400* prisoners, remained in the hands of the allies, while the state of the French army was such, that had they been vigourously pressed, their annihilation must have been the consequence†; but the darkness and the snow, which was so deep, that in bringing up their guns, the Russian artillery had had to leave half in the rear, to harness double teams to the remainder‡, opposed great obstacles to the pursuit. Throughout the day, the subject of our Memoir was with Marshal Blücher in the advance, and the dispatch which he wrote after midnight on the field, is praised by Sir C. W. Stewart as embodying nearly all that the official reports of the next day had been able to collect.

The inattention and indifference of the British public to those great events of the continental war which wrought the immediate downfall of Napoleon§, has been the reason of our endeavouring to narrate, in some manner, events which should be so known as to make a reference all that was necessary, though it would be assuming the existence of much greater information among the public than really exists to think this sufficient. However, circumscribed limits must compel us henceforth to aim at greater compression.

When, on the separation of the allied armies, singly much stronger than the whole force of the French, Napoleon learnt that Blücher had imprudently, in the ardour of advance, disseminated his forces, while the laggard movements of Schwartzenberg|| were not such as to cause him any uneasiness, concentrating the mass of his forces, with the exception of 20,000 men, whom he opposed to the whole grand army, he marched, through almost impracticable routes, in the depth of winter, by Villenoix and Barbonne, on Sezanne, near which was stationed the feeble corps of Alsufieff, consisting only of 3690 men and 24 guns, but yet forming the only link between Blücher at Vertus, the corps of Kleist and Kapscwitch, and those of York and Sacken, which were at Chateau Thierry and La Ferté sous Jouarre. Alsufieff's division, nailed to the spot by the ill-judged orders of Blücher, maintained the hopeless contest with an heroic resolution, but were, of course, overwhelmed¶, and Napoleon then marching on Sacken and York, defeated the first general at Montmirail, after an obstinate engagement, and drove him, and York also, across the Maine; thence he turned on Blücher, and the Field-Marshal, who had driven Marmont from Etoges, found himself, while still pursuing, checked at Janvilliers by an imposing body of cavalry, and soon learnt that Napoleon was in his front; a retreat

* All accounts agree in the first but those of the French. The second number is from the French historian Koch; the Weimar (semi-official Prussian) account says 4000.

† Koch, who says that 20,000 men, "poussés vigoureusement à leurs troupes," would have effected it.

‡ Dispatch of Hon. Sir C. W. Stewart.

§ In the notices of Sir Hudson Lowe's career in the newspapers, scarcely one even mentioned the fact of his having been a sharer in these campaigns.

|| There appears no doubt that the political views of his Court, which, in his position, ought never to have actuated him, were at the bottom of his tardiness and apparent timidity.

¶ Yet, even of this handful, surrounded by the French army, 1500 men succeeded in making their way through the hostile masses, and of their twenty-four guns, only nine were taken.

became necessary, which, from the great superiority of the enemy, especially in cavalry, offered immense difficulties. Forming in squares, the Russo-Prussians retired, maintaining a constant, though unequal, contest. "From the village of Janvilliers to about half way between Champaubert and Etoges, a distance of nearly four leagues, it was one incessant retiring combat, not a single column nor square of infantry that was not either charged by, or exposed to, the fire of the enemy*," while, generally, the most perfect order was maintained. At sunset, it was observed that a corps of cavalry, "which had been seen to take a circuit round the flanks, had thrown themselves into the line of retreat about half way between Champaubert and Etoges, and formed themselves into a solid mass on the chaussée, and on each side of it†." Blücher was now surrounded on every side, but his march continued, and the French cavalry yielded to the musketry and artillery of the army of Silesia, and left the passage free. At Etogès, the route was again intercepted, this time by infantry, but with the same result. At Bergères, the Allies bivouacked for the night; they had not escaped without very severe loss, and 1000 prisoners and 15 pieces of cannon remained in the hands of the French. These events inspired such elation in Napoleon, that he now spoke of being at Munich before the allies were at Paris, and they were calculated to strike discouragement into those whom he had defeated. But so little was Colonel Lowe affected by this feeling, that on the 14th February, the very evening of the defeat at Janvilliers, he wrote off to Sir Charles Stewart, to urge "the great advantage that may be taken of the enemy's movement in this direction, by some of the corps of the Grand Army marching upon his rear, or on Paris."

Napoleon believing that he had put the army of Silesia quite *hors de combat*, now moved on the Grand Army, and when he had obtained advantages over the advanced guard under Pahlen, and over the corps of Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, and at the same time partial insurrections began to appear, these reverses enabled the secret policy of Austria to give such plausibility to the motives for retreat, however insufficient and unworthy, that a plan of retreat to Langres was determined on, with the sanction of the Sovereigns, by the head quarters of the Grand Army, which it was now purposed to put in communication with the army of Italy (!), that is to say, in a position which completely abandoned all the advantages and all the ground obtained in the campaign. But the chiefs of the army of Silesia, though they had sustained the greatest reverses, preserved a juster estimation of the state of affairs. The English Colonel attached to Marshal Blücher, in a dispatch to Sir Charles Stewart, still puts forward the dethronement of Napoleon, and the re-establishment of the Bourbons, as the proper object to the allies, as that course by which Europe could alone have a prospect of lasting security. And on the 28th February, when the army of Silesia was on its movement to effect a junction with Winzingerode and Bulow, in concluding his official report, Colonel Lowe says, "Thus has Bonaparte, with that vain and presumptous confidence which partial success inspires, suffered the army of Silesia to withdraw itself entirely from his notice, and to place itself in a position which, if duly profited by, will threaten his political, as well as his military, existence." This paragraph was suppressed, and subsequently to the fall of Napoleon, Sir Hudson Lowe remarked this to an important military and diplomatic personage. "How could we do otherwise," was the reply, "when we had the pen in our hands, ready to sign a peace with him?" "The very reason why I wrote it," answered Sir Hudson, "I knew that you had." The end soon followed, nor is it necessary to follow further the details of Napoleon's overthrow. Of the engagements which followed, of which the principal, for many others were crowded into the month between this date and the capitulation of

* Colonel Lowe's dispatch of 15th February, 1814.
† Id. Id.

Paris, were those of Craonne and Laon against the army of Silesia; of Bar sur Aube and Arcis against the Grand Army; of Fére Champenoix, where both armies effected their junction, and where both were engaged; Colonel Lowe was present at Leon and Fére Champenoix, and during all the complicated movements of the army of Silesia, continued their historian.

The severity of the service he had seen and partaken in, may be judged of by his statement in the despatch of March 10th, the day before the battle of Laon, in which Napoleon sustained so signal and disastrous a defeat. "For forty-two days past," he says, "this army, which appears to have been peculiarly the object of the enemy's disquietude and attacks, has been continually marching or fighting, for, exclusive of the general actions, only two days have elapsed in which the advance or rear of it has not been seriously engaged." Present with Blücher under the heights of Montmartre, when the armies of coalesced Europe had at last reached the goal of their efforts, he entered Paris with the victors, and remained there till the suspension of hostilities, and the signature of the abdication of Napoleon, when he repaired to England with the intelligence, and on his arrival received the honour of knighthood. The Prussian decoration of Merit followed him home, and on returning to Paris, he was also decorated by the Emperor of Russia. In June following, he was promoted to the rank of Major-General.

His services did not remain unemployed, for, during the summer, he was appointed Quartermaster-General of the army in the Netherlands, having, in this capacity, to conduct, to inspect, and report on the state of the fortresses to be established as a barrier against France, and in the beginning of August, we find him already engaged in the execution of this duty. In September of this year, he wrote to General Gneisenau, partly on a political speculation he had formed of the advisability of incorporating the German Cis-Rhenane Provinces with the new Hollando-Belgic state. On the reply of the Chief of Blücher's staff, dated "Hirschberg en Silesie, Novembre 23, 1814," he commences with the following strong expressions of regard:—"C'est avec la plus grande satisfaction, mon très cher et honoré Général, que j'ai reçu votre lettre du 15e Septembre, qui me dit que vous avez encore conservé le souvenir d'un homme qui vous est infiniment attaché, et qui dans le cours d'une campagne mémorable, s'il en fut jamais, a appris à apprécier vos rares talens militaires, votre jugement profond sur les grandes operations de guerre, et votre sang froid imperturbable dans les jours de combat. Ces qualités rares et votre caractère de loyauté me lieront eternellement à vous. Vous pouvez toujours vous en glorifier, mon Général, que vous avez appartenu au petit nombre de ceux qui opposésent à des conseils timides une fermeté à l'epreuve des revers que nous essuyances, et que vous ne vous êtes jamais departé de la conviction que pour ramener l'Europe à un état d'equilibre juste et equitable, et pour renverser le Gouvernement du Jacobinisme Imperial, il fallait se saisir de sa capitale. Sans cela point de salut. Heureusement l'evenement a justifié nos calculs."

He was still Quartermaster-General when Napoleon landed from Elba, the Prince of Orange remaining then, as before, Commander-in-Chief. His situation now became one of very high importance. The Prussian Generals wished to secure their own territory between the Rhine and the Meuse; they apprehended further that the efforts of Napoleon were not likely to take place between Mayence and the Swiss frontier. Sir Hudson Lowe had, by authority of the Prince of Orange, despatched Capt. Scharnhorst, of the German Legion, with letters to the Prussian head-quarters, urging the assembly of their army on the Meuse, in a situation where they would be ready to co-operate with the British forces in the defence of Belgium. General Müffling, chief of the Staff of the Prussian army, writes on this occasion from Aix la Chapelle, "Scharnhorst s'est donné toutes les peines possibles, pour nous engager à rassembler de suite toute nôtre armée sur la Meuse. Ce serait une faute très grave, et qui pourrait avoir de suites

funestes;" and he then enumerates reasons why General Count Kleist, commanding, should assemble the army in a position whence it might equally move on Mayence or on Brussels. However, two days afterwards the Prussian army put itself in motion, in conformity with the plan proposed, to assemble on the Meuse.

When, however, the intelligence arrived of the enterprise of Joachim in Italy, the old opinions returned, and Müffling expressed his apprehension that Napoleon would "jouer son gros jeu," and make rendezvous with his brother-in-law at Vienna, after having confirmed the Allies in the delusion that he meant to attack Belgium. Again, it was doubted by Count Kleist whether, even if Belgium were attacked, the Prussian army would not do better to remain behind the Meuse. To this, Sir Hudson Lowe opposed the political disadvantages of abandoning Belgium. But political motives of quite another character now rose up to assail him on another side. If the Prussian army wished to remain behind the Meuse, the King of Holland and Prince of Orange were equally desirous to keep it there. "I was suddenly sent for one morning," says Sir Hudson Lowe, in a letter written from St. Helena to Earl Bathurst, in March, 1821, "and informed by the Prince of Orange that he had received letters from the King his father, at the Hague, expressing great dissatisfaction at the idea of the Prussian army crossing the Meuse, and desiring that the Commander might be written to to suspend his march. The Prince of Orange directed me, therefore, to write to General Kleist or General Müffling accordingly. I told the Prince that, having been the means of making those arrangements with the Prussian army, by which it was approaching to act in concert with the British, I did not feel I could with propriety now write to propose a different plan of operation.

"The Prince, however, insisted upon the necessity of my writing, saying that the instructions he had received from the King were positive. I then used every argument in my power to convince the Prince, that, as a *military measure*, it was the only one by which the Low Countries could then be saved, that to propose anything contrary would be entirely against my own opinion as the Quartermaster-General of the army; and finding he still persevered in desiring me to write, I was compelled at last to say to him that I could not consider the determination which had been taken as founded in any reasons of a *military nature*, and that if they were the result of *political considerations*, they were not of my competence to write upon; I therefore begged he would allow me to decline being the medium of communication."

In April, the Duke of Wellington arrived to take the command of the Allied Army; and in the beginning of May, Sir Hudson Lowe was appointed to the command of a body of English troops, destined to act in concert with the Austro-Sardinian troops, and the British squadron under Lord Exmouth, on the southern maritime frontier of France. He started in the beginning of June. The officer who succeeded him in the employment he had vacated, Colonel Sir William Howe De Lancey, and who received a mortal wound in the great battle which shortly followed, was brother to the lady who subsequently became his wife. Sir Hudson did not leave till the beginning of June, and on the 10th of the month, on passing through Heidelberg, he had confidential interviews with the Emperor Alexander, who expressed a strong determination to persevere in the war, and with Prince Schwartzenberg. The last mentioned to him that the Emperor Alexander was deliberating whether to unite his 150,000 Russians to the Austrian army or to that of the Duke of Wellington, when Sir H. Lowe expressed his opinion that the last measure was the most advisable. His duties in the south of France turned out merely a military promenade; for when the troops, embarked at Genoa with Lord Exmouth, were landed at Marseilles, the capitulation of Paris had already taken place. Toulon was yielded to the royalists on Sir Hudson's approach. The officer then commanding the troops of Napoleon in the south of France was Marshal Brune

who, on passing through Avignon, on his return, was so barbarously torn to pieces by the royalist rabble of that city. The conduct of Sir Hudson at this period was such as to procure for him the warm respect of the distinguished ornament of the Naval Service, with whom he had co-operated: "You have, my dear Sir Hudson," says Lord Exmouth, "my entire esteem and regard, and I am sensible, had opportunity been afforded us for more brilliant services, that we should have woven our confidence into the most perfect and lasting friendship*." The letter terminates with these words, "as Bonny† is to live, I rejoice with my country he is in your hands. God bless you, Sir Hudson, may health, success, and happiness, attend you. Believe me ever, your sincerely and faithfully attached friend, Exmouth." He was already, in fact, on his return to England to take charge of that important person, the custody of whom was unquestionably that which will always be the most conspicuous event in his life. During the time that elapsed between his return to England and his departure for St. Helena, he was much sought after in society; at Holland House he appears to have been not unfrequently a guest, the strong interest which Lord and Lady Holland felt in the captive of St. Helena, leading them to make the acquaintance of the governor. At this period also, he became acquainted at Sir Willoughby Gordon's table, with Mrs. Colonel Johnston, widow of Lieut.-Colonel William Johnston, and sister, as we have mentioned, of Sir William De Lancey, whom he paid his addresses to and married. She was, at the time of her marriage with him, the mother of two young daughters.

When Sir Hudson Lowe arrived at St. Helena in April, 1816, Napoleon was exceedingly incensed against the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn. One of the strongest points in the instructions of His Majesty's Government was, as to the prohibition of unauthorised communications, and Sir George Cockburn, in conformity with this view, had issued strict orders, that no person should be permitted to enter Longwood without a pass. This gave rise to the most violent expressions on Napoleon's part. "Who is the Admiral? I never heard his name mentioned as commanding in a battle either singly or in general action, 'tis true he has rendered his name infamous in America, which I heard of, and he will now render it so here on this detestable rock. I believe, however, that he is a good soldier‡; next to the Government exiling me here, the worst thing they could have done, and the most insufferable to my feelings, was sending me out with such a man as *him*." On a subsequent occasion he is represented as exclaiming, "In fact I expect nothing less from your Government, than that they will send out an executioner to dispatch me. They send me to a horrible rock, where even the water is not good. They send out a *sailor* with me, who does not know how to treat a man like me, and who puts a camp under my nose, so that I cannot put my head out without seeing my jailors; here we are treated like felons, a proclamation issued for nobody to come near or touch us, as if we were so many lepers, or had the itch!§"

On first learning Sir Hudson's arrival, Napoleon expressed his satisfaction. In a letter addressed to Sir Hudson by Sir George Bingham, in 1829, he thus expresses himself: "With respect to the disposition of Napoleon at the time of your arrival, I can distinctly state, that it was friendly, for on seeing the signal that the frigate (which brought you out) was in sight, with the

* Letter from Marseilles, MS., 27th August, 1815. The Municipal Council of Marseilles, it may be as well to mention, testified their respect for his conduct during the occupation, by voting him, as well as to Lord Exmouth, a handsome piece of silver plate.

† So spelt in the letter.

‡ *Bon militaire*, or the same in Italian.

§ To point *obvious* inferences defaces a text, but to remove even the chance of misapprehension, it may be as well to mention, that these phrases are quoted to show that Napoleon was as intemperate in his language with regard to Sir Hudson's predecessor as to Sir Hudson.

new Governor on board, I went to Longwood to give him the intelligence; it was before the usual hour at which he saw any one, and I was shown into his dressing-room, before he was dressed; and he was in one of those violent fits of rage he was so frequently subject to, because Gourgaud had ushered in Harrison as well as myself; he pushed him out of the room and shut the door in his face. Resuming immediately his placid manner, he asked me to sit down, and, in answer to the communication I made him respecting your arrival, he said, 'I am glad of it; I am tired of the Admiral, and there are many points I should like to talk over with Sir Hudson Lowe; he is a soldier, and has served—he was with Blücher; besides, he commanded the Corsican regiment, and knows many of my friends and acquaintance*.'"

After one attempted visit, which failed from the early hour at which it was made, a choice of time which Napoleon ascribed to a wish on the part of the Admiral to embroil him with the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe had his first interview with Napoleon, on the 17th April, 1816. The Admiral accompanied him, but as he was on the point of entering the room, the door was slammed in his face. The Governor commenced the conversation by saying†, "Je viens, Monsieur, pour vous presenter mes devoirs;" to which Napoleon replied, "Vous parlez Français donc, Monsieur, je vois; mais vous parlez aussi Italien, vous avez commandé au regiment de Corses." Sir Hudson having replied in the affirmative, Napoleon proposed conversing in that language, and during half an hour, continued to speak on a variety of topics—the Corsican regiment—Egypt, both with regard to the British campaigns there, of all the movements in which he evinced intimate acquaintance, and the importance of its political position‡. Towards the close of the conversation, he asked Sir Hudson how long he had served, and on his replying "twenty-eight years," made the courteous observation, "Je suis donc plus vieux soldat que vous," to which Sir Hudson made a reply which evinced the intention of properly acknowledging the compliment. They shortly after separated. Napoleon's remarks on this interview, as recorded by Mr. O'Meara, are, "Your Governor is a man of few words, but he seems a polite man." In Count las Cases' original manuscript journal, the only comment is upon the circumstance which occasioned the Admiral's exclusion; and two passages which occur in the printed work, one casting the blame of this on the Governor, and the other representing Napoleon as describing his personal appearance, and observing, "il est hideux, c'est au visage patibulaire;" "but we can only judge a man by his actions," are subsequent interpolations.

* O'Meara's letter to Mr. Finlaison, M.S., March 10th, 1816. It will not be supposed that we mean to attach implicit deference to this authority, but no hostility existed on Mr. O'Meara's part to Sir G. Cockburn, nor is there any special motive for doubting this statement.

† The "pour" here is not very sound French, nor was Sir Hudson a good French scholar, though possessing a practical acquaintance with the language; Italian, from long habit, was to him a second mother tongue.

‡ St. Helena MS. Private Memoranda and Confidential Communications, vol. I.

*** The conclusion of the Memoir will be given next month.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

FRANCE.

THE French Army is, at the present moment, composed of 75 regiments of Infantry of the Line, and 25 of Light Infantry, each consisting of 3 battalions; 10 battalions of "Orleans' Riflemen," 2 Foreign regiments; 3 battalions of African Light Infantry, 5 of Zoaves, and 3 of Tirailleurs, all native Africans; 3 regiments of Marines, 30 companies of Marine Artillery, and 36 companies of Artificers for the dockyards and ports; 3 regiments of Carabineers, 10 of Cuirassiers, 12 of Dragoons, 8 of Hulans, 13 regiments of Light Cavalry (*Chasseurs à cheval*), 9 regiments of Hussars, (of 5 squadrons each throughout); 4 regiments of African Light Cavalry, and 3 squadrons of Sipahis; 14 regiments of Artillery, 4 of which have fourteen, and 10 fifteen batteries, 1 regiment of Pontoniers, 12 companies of Artificers of Artillery, and 6 squadrons of Baggage-train; 3 regiments of Engineers, 1 battalion of Labourers, 4 squadrons of Pontoniers, and 4 companies of Artificers; 8 companies of non-commissioned Veteran Officers, 4 of Veterans of Cavalry, 10 of Veterans of Infantry, 13 of Veterans of Artillery, and 1 of Veterans of Engineers.

MARRIAGE OF OFFICERS.

A recent ordonnance from the War Department directs, that the subaltern officers in the French army shall exhibit proof that they are possessed of a fixed income of 50*l.* (twelve hundred francs), before they can obtain a license to marry. This regulation would seem to be not only necessary, but connected with the best interests of the individuals themselves, as well as of the army at large. It is notorious that the pay even of a lieutenant is quite inadequate to maintain a family, particularly under the circumstances of the extra expense to which a married officer is liable, from the frequent change of quarters. There is probably no army in Europe which has so many married officers as the French; and most assuredly, there is none, where so much domestic misery lays concealed under the mask of outward show, or where the officers' ladies in general have such slender claims to be ranked among the well-educated classes of society; far too little regard is had to pecuniary considerations when an officer marries, and neither the heads of regiments, nor the officers as a body, possess the slightest control over the origin or manners of the female with whom an officer may choose to ally himself. There is no "*esprit du corps*," or regard for the common "*convenances*" of society, to act on the occasion as a check to an imprudent union. Military discipline is the only mark aimed at: beyond this, full liberty and equality reign supreme. Any Captain has the power to order his Lieutenant under arrest for the most trivial lutches, and for a whole fortnight in certain cases: but it is matter of little or no concern to him what may be his conduct off duty. It may, perhaps, arise from this state of things that, in whatever esteem a subaltern may stand on the mere score of his rank, he finds much difficulty in obtaining admittance into the higher walks of society; much of his time, therefore, when off duty, is spent in *cafés*, and his manners contract accordingly a rough and somewhat plebeian cast. The perpetual shifting of quarters, too, operates injuriously upon his habits and character, for it is inimical to any staid system of life, and debars him of the opportunity of forming close or lengthened associations. From these and other causes, which are aggravated by the evils too frequently arising from the ill-assorted connexions entered into by his brother officers, families of a certain standing in society become fearful of opening their doors to them. In short, under every point of view, the regulation lately promulgated would appear to be both expedient and judicious.

General Paixhans afforded some interesting statistical details with respect to the Army and other points, in one of his recent speeches in the Chamber of Deputies. He stated the *Military Expenditure* for 1821 to have been 6,920,000*l.*; for 1827, 8,640,000*l.*; for 1839, 9,840,000*l.*; for 1841, 14,240,000*l.*; for 1842, 16,080,000*l.* The expenditure in the *Naval Department* was, in the year 1821, 1,800,000*l.*; in 1827, 2,680,000*l.*; in 1839, 3,160,000*l.*; in 1841, 5,000,000*l.*; and in 1842, 5,600,000*l.* The whole *Expenditure of the State* was, for the year 1819, 27,560,000*l.*; for 1829, 41,040,000*l.*: and for 1842, 73,680,000*l.* The exports were for England and France as follows:—

	England.		France.		England.		France.
1789	£ 19,932,000	..	£ 18,000	1830	£ 69,680,000	..	£ 22,880,000
1800	38,120,000	..	10,840	1840	110,160,000	..	40,440,000
1810	45,840,000	..	14,620	1841	116,440,000	..	42,640,000
				1842	116,880,000	..	80,400,000

France has not more sailors at this moment, when the population is thirty-four millions, than in 1776, when it did not exceed twenty-four millions. Her steam engines in 1819 amounted to 200, equivalent to the labours of 40,000 hands; in 1830, they had risen to 572, equal to 118,000 hands; and in 1841, to 3807, equal to 780,000 hands. The indirect taxes, such as excise, stamps, &c., amounted to 22,080,000*l.* in 1833; to 24,640,000*l.* in 1839; to 27,920,000*l.* in 1841; and in 1843, to 30,600,000*l.*

ALGIERS.

Among the auxiliary corps, the "Light Infantry Battalions of Africa" hold a prominent rank. They are composed of the "mauvais sujets" drafted from the whole French army, and in part of pardoned criminals. This was the class of men from whom the "Zoaves" were formerly recruited; but since the formation of the Light Infantry Battalions, they have been kept up either by voluntary enlistment, or drafts from French infantry regiments, particularly by receiving men whose term of service has expired, and are therefore at liberty to return home. There are plenty of good soldiers in the African Battalions; but their moral qualifications, as may be readily conceived, stand below O. They are kept under by severe discipline, and go, among their brethren-in-arms, by the name of "Zephyrs;" the Zoaves, on the other hand, being nicknamed "Jackals." The only corps of the *Gallo-African Cavalry* whom I had an opportunity of seeing, was the First Regiment of the "Chasseurs d'Afrique," which consists of twelve squadrons of Hussars and Chasseurs, exported from France about three years ago; and also some of the Moorish Gendarmerie. The latter are a very useful body of men, and, I was told, had in general exhibited much gallantry. The former, the First Regiment of Chasseurs, have maintained a high character for discipline, and military prowess ever since they were levied, some years since, under the command of the lamented Colonel de Schaumburg. Better officers, better soldiers, or better horses, could scarcely be found in any service; but there is one striking defect in its composition, and this is, the vast number of *protégés*, or favoured officers, among them; young men placed in it simply as a step for gracing their shoulders with epaulets, or their button-holes with a cross! I heard marvels of the rapidity with which these aspirants have mounted the ladder to honours.

The government has made a fatal blunder in sending horses from France for the remounts. In less than a twelvemonth, one half of the horses in a regiment of twelve squadrons died, and the others are vegetating rather than living; so that a moiety of the regiment are *hors de combat*, and another moiety are on the non-effective roll. In truth, there cannot exist a more piteous spectacle than these poor animals; they wither and decay like exotics under a northern sky; they disfigure the squadrons into which they

are drafted, and scarcely look like individuals of the same species as their Arab companions! in short, the whole regiment is overjoyed when the last survivor among them has parted company from "the things that be."

It is my decided opinion that the whole of the infantry employed in Africa should consist of *Zoaves* (or special corps); and as the pay given to these corps is greater than that given to any other, there would be no difficulty in forming them out of volunteer drafts of men, from the French line, who have served two years, or one at the least, in Algiers. The regular cavalry, too, should be modelled into *Light Dragoons*, on the footing of the "Chasseurs d'Afrique;" experience has proved such troops to be equally serviceable, whether as horse or foot soldiers; they carry muskets and swords much like the infantry; a trifling additional change, therefore, in conjunction with the drill for both services, would render them as efficient as the present corps of Chasseurs is. Had this system been adopted earlier in the day, the Arab cavalry would not have found a covert in their mountain fastnesses, but have been tracked into them in the pursuit, by dismounted pursuers.

Abd-el-Kader has profited by dear-bought experience, and cautiously avoids exposing his men to direct charges or to contact with his worst enemy, the "Chasseurs d'Afrique." So long as the French troops keep to the plain, they move about under the protection of their cavalry; but as soon as they get among mountains and ravines, the Arab commences his war of extermination, the cavalry being unable to penetrate in that direction. On the march to Miliana, there were but few squadrons which found occasion to draw their swords, and fewer to use their guns. D. A.

PRUSSIA.

"The reform in the equipments of the infantry is about to be followed up by changes in the dress, &c., of the cavalry: the grey riding trouser is to be laid aside, and replaced by 'Gustavus-Adolphus boots,' of soft, white horse-skin, which pass over the knee up one-third of the thigh, and are there fastened by three or four buttons. Spurs, with leathers and buckles, are to be again brought into use; I saw patterns of both at the War Department. A Board of Artillery Officers has also been formed for the purpose of considering whether the same, or nearly the same, celerity of movement which characterizes the horse, may not be given to the foot artillery. It is proposed that the infantry of this branch of the service should never move on foot, excepting when on the march; but, when in the field, be constantly borne on the carriages of the guns, or ride led-horses, when the duty requires it."—Berlin, 5th March.

RUSSIA.

An order of the day, issued on the 1st of February last year, declared all inferior officers in the Russian army, who should voluntarily relinquish their claim to promotion to a higher post, and had been recognised as entitled to wear the silver *Port d'Epée* for their meritorious services, to be exempt from all corporeal punishment so long as they were permitted to wear that mark of distinction. A second order of the day, however, promulgated on the 3rd of November last, makes a further addition to the distinctions awarded to the soldier. Subalterns, who are decorated with the insignia of merit of the Orders of St. George or of Anne, are to be exempted, in common with the inferior officers referred to, from all corporeal punishment for their first offence, although the judgment of a court-martial may have received the "approbatur" of the sovereign himself. In such a case no other penalty shall be inflicted besides their deprivation of any insignia of merit previously conferred. But after being deprived of it, and being guilty of subsequent offences, they will then become liable to corporeal punishment. The exemption is equally extended to such other subalterns as have received medals bearing the inscription, "For saving life, and promoting the good of the country."

AUSTRIA.

At the great artillery manœuvres, which took place in the immediate neighbourhood of Vienna last Autumn, in presence of the Archduke Lewis and a suite of Russian, Prussian, Swedish, and other foreign officers, experiments were made with some guns of a new construction, brought from Sweden, by two Austrian officers, who had been sent to that country to witness the process of their being cast; they are loaded behind the breech, and were 18-pounders; the carriages and every other fitting are of iron. A cylinder being unscrewed, the charge is inserted, and the cylinder then screwed home, together with a large square nut or plate of iron behind to fix it firmly. The result of the experiments established the efficiency of this new construction, and suggested the means of rendering it still more perfect. Trials were made for an extended interval; the nut of one of the guns bent outwards at the second discharge, and this piece was not reloaded; the cause of the defect was attributed to the weight of powder used in the Austrian service, being so much heavier than the Swedish, for which no allowance had been made. Nothing could exceed the correctness with which the shot travelled. These new guns require no cleansing after a discharge, and will, from being loaded behind, be found very suitable for shipboard and in casemated batteries. On the same occasion, trial was again made of gun-carriages, constructed of massive timber, covered with iron-hoops and earth, but the experiment failed, as they would not stand the effect of the loaded balls, or shells, (*gefüllte kugeln*), discharged against them.

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR OF THE UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE.

Staff of the Indian Army.

Mr. Editor,—An army without an efficient Staff in the field, is like an armed ship at sea amongst shoals without a pilot—both are equally incapable of acting against an enemy.

It appears from the published account of the actions near Gwalior, that on our army advancing on the 29th, it was ignorant of the positions of the enemy, and of the localities of the country, although the fort of Gwalior had been twice previously taken by our troops—once under the command of Capt. Popham, and again when under the command of General Macdonald, and plans of the fort and country on each occasion were taken and deposited in the office of the Chief Engineer at the Presidency. We have too had a Resident at the court of Scindeah ever since, and there could have been no difficulty in preparing a correct map of the country, if there had been an efficient Staff Corps. It is stated, that Col. Garden, the Quarter-Master-General, mistook the village of Mahahragepore for that of Choundah, and that owing to this mistake, all the subsequent blundering and confusion arose.

It appears that our fine Cavalry were prevented acting, by being drawn up on the border of an impassable ravine, on the bank of which it was unnecessarily exposed to a heavy fire, without being able to retaliate, and became perfectly useless.

In the Company's army are to be found men of first-rate abilities and education, of sufficient rank to hold the highest Staff situations, and there can be no difficulty in forming an efficient Staff Corps. All the Artillery officers below Major-Generals Pollock and Swiney, and all the Engineer officers below the rank of Major-General Tickell, have been either educated at Woolwich or at Addiscombe; and none gain admittance into these two corps, who have not *highly distinguished* themselves at these two military

institutions; and nothing but very superior proficiency can secure the honour of a nomination to the Engineer and Artillery lists. Every officer in the Company's service is obliged to qualify at Addiscombe, and it is only necessary to attend the annual examinations, to be convinced that the Company's officers receive the best military education, fitting them for the Staff duties of an army. With such materials at command, it is to be regretted that an efficient Staff Corps has not been formed, composed of the most distinguished individuals who have carried off the prizes at Addiscombe. Had such been the case, we should not have had to deplore the dreadful losses sustained at Cabool, where the army had only one Engineer officer to superintend the fortifications, so that he, when wounded, was obliged to have himself carried round the works in a litter, to give his directions. In Scinde, the arduous duties of mapping the country have devolved on Capt. Baker, who, unaided, has to survey and take the levels, and if cast down by sickness, his useful labours will be stopped. With the armies of Sir W. Nott and Sir R. Sale, I believe no Engineers were attached; but whether or not, the Staff was inefficient, and incapable of affording that aid so essentially necessary in the face of an active enemy.

A Staff, to be efficient, should be sufficiently numerous to map and sketch the positions of an enemy in the shortest time, and at all periods to prepare maps of the country where an army is to act, and to furnish local information to the General in command of the forces, whenever required; as it is only with the eyes of an efficient Staff, and correct maps, that a General can form his plans of attack, and surmount obstacles, as well as avoid impassable obstructions, such as were opposed to our Cavalry in the actions near to Gwalior. I am, Sir,

London, April 3rd, 1844. AN OLD OFFICER.

Mosquitoes.

MR. EDITOR,—The best means that I know of to destroy mosquitoes is by means of an air-gun; discharging nothing but the condensed air, I have (in the East Indies) brought down clouds of these tormenting insects by this simple means; the concussion of the air acts in a space of three or four feet with sufficient force to lay them prostrated on the earth.

JOHN NORTON, late Captain 34th Regt.

The Old Peninsulars.

MR. EDITOR,—I confess I heard with regret of the proposed motion of Sir Andrew Leith Hay, a regret which has not been diminished by the sanction so readily given last night, to treatment which has long been felt by those whose cause has thus been brought before Parliament, as marked by injustice and neglect.

So, then, it appears—and the House of Commons coincides in this view—that had the old Peninsulars sustained disasters; had they, at Talavera, or at Barrosa, or at Albuera, failed in their indomitable front, when brought into untimely contact, not with Asiatic rabble, but with the disciplined troops of France; had they then, or at any one period of the war, failed their commanders and their country, honours and medals might have been looked for, (so read, at least, the explanations given,) as soon as success had again shone upon them.

But the Old Peninsulars never did fail; and so, having no such claims to distinction, they must be contented, whilst they stand undecorated in the presence of their Sovereign, to view on younger breasts than theirs those emblems of honour to which that Sovereign denies their claim. Sir, I may well here repeat the earnest suggestion I offered some months ago, through *the medium* of your friendly Magazine, to my fellow Peninsulars, that, as

the remnant of the "old Spanish army," we should remember what we owe to ourselves, and resting satisfied with the conviction that military men of all nations will know well how to judge the question, we shall from henceforth disdain to seek interference from any quarter.

London, April 17, 1844. AN OLD PENINSULAR.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE PRINCIPAL PORTS AND STATIONS.

Portsmouth, April 19, 1844.

MR. EDITOR,—The Engineer (Hand) of the Prometheus was tried by court-martial on the 25th March, on board St. Vincent, for neglect of duty, in causing the boilers of that steamer to be so much damaged, that they could not be repaired without the vessel returning to England: the charges were proved, and he was sentenced to be dismissed the Service. The Prometheus has been paid off; and as the greater part of the seamen and marines were in debt to the Crown, they have been put on board St. Vincent for general service, until their debts are liquidated; the officers have been discharged as usual, and to some it must be very inconvenient. There was not more than 12*l.* paid to the crew on the Prometheus being put out of commission. She will be taken in hand immediately, to have her boilers repaired, and fitted for a Commander's command, and have a complement of 100 officers and men.

Pestonjee Bomonjee, transport, arrived on 25th, with part of the 59th Regt., from Barbadoes; they were disembarked at the dockyard on 27th, and joined the head-quarters in this garrison.

The Secretary of the Admiralty, Mr. Corry, one of the Board, and Capt. Brandreth, R.E., arrrived here on the 30th, and after an inspection of the new works in progress, at the north end of the dockyard, embarked in the Black Eagle, and proceeded to Cowes, Devonport, and Dublin.

Daring and Osprey were floated out of dock on 2nd April, and are now in the basin, masted, and preparing for commission.

Victoria and Albert yacht is in dock. The Surveyor (Sir W. Symonds) has been on board to inspect the alterations making in the engine-room, and also to adopt a remedy to prevent the smells which rise from the bilge-water; the new boiler intended to be supplied will give considerable space. The yacht will not go out of dock for a month or six weeks, as she will not be wanted until August.

Fearless has resumed her surveying duties.

The Vernon arrived on 9th from Lisbon, and the following day orders came down for her to complete stores, and proceed to Cork, taking on board 100 Marines, for service of the ship—not to be landed unless required. These men were embarked on the 11th, and the Vernon sailed the following day.

The British Sovereign freight-ship has embarked upwards of 100 officers and men of the 91st Regt., from Cowes, for the Cape; and, with some of the 12th on board, is to convey them to that colony and the Mauritius.

The cruising squadron of brigs, which are expected to try their qualities this summer, are Daring, Osprey, Mutine, Espiegle, Flying-fish, and Water-witch. Flying-fish is expected daily from Pembroke, in charge of Mr. Brown, the Master-Attendant, and a party of riggers.

Pantaloon arrived from Plymouth on the 18th; she has been ordered into harbour, and is to prepare for paying off. The crew have been mustered and inspected by Capt. Rowley, of St. Vincent. She will be put out of commission next week, and then go into dock to be inspected and prepared for sea.

Thames has arrived, and will embark 150 convicts for Bermuda. She has taken 30 supernumeraries from St. Vincent.

The St. Vincent is painting and brushing up, preparatory to going to Spithead, which she will do next month. Rodney goes out of dock on the 3rd of next month; she is coppered, and nearly completed by the shipwright department. Collingwood is in dock to have her copper cleaned; she will be commissioned next week. Pearl, Rattlesnake, and Sapphire, are daily expected.

Ships in Port—Pantaloon and Nautilus at Spithead; St. Vincent, Victory, Excellent, Victoria and Albert yacht, in Harbour.

Plymouth, April 17, 1844.

Mr. Editor,—March 21st. The crew of the Tortoise store-ship, Com. W. Finlaison, were paid wages in advance, and sailed for Ascension the 28th. 22nd. Sailed the Devon, tender, with stores for Holyhead. 25th. Arrived Pluto, steamer, from Cork. 28th. Sailed Larne, J. W. D. Brisbane, for the coast of Africa. Admiral Sir David Milne returned from leave last evening, and rehoisted his flag on board the Caledonia.

March 29th. Sailed the Pluto, steamer, for Cork; America, 50, Hon. Capt. John Gordon, has been fitted with lower caps, on the improved plan of Mr. Wallis, foreman of shipwrights in this yard. Arrived the Sinbad, tender, from Portsmouth, with stores for the dockyard. 30th. Sailed the Adventure, N.T., with stores for Pembroke dockyard. Arrived the Raven, cutter, 2nd Lieut.-Com. John Stephen, with supernumeraries from Sheerness, and sailed again on her return the 1st April.

A number of shipwrights resumed their work on the Flora, 36, Amethyst, 26, and Creole, 16, who are to be launched in the autumn of this year. The Sanspareil, 80, Thetis, 36, and Niobe, 16, are to be laid down on their slips.

31st. Arrived Black Eagle, steamer, from Portsmouth, with the Hon. H. P. L. Corry, one of the junior Lords, and the Hon. S. Herbert, Secretary of the Admiralty. The next day, attended by Capt. Brandreth, R.E., and Capt. Dennison, civil engineer, they inspected the ground intended for the new steam yard, at Morice Town, Devonport, and completed the purchase of about fifty-five acres of land. The sea-wall and docks, it is said, will be begun upon in about a month, the cost alone of which is calculated at 600,000*l*. On 2nd April, the above-named gentlemen, having finished their visit, departed in the Black Eagle for Holyhead, from whence they proceeded to Ireland.

April 4th. Arrived Peterel packet, 6, from Falmouth; she had some trifling defects made good, and completed her stores. 6th. Sailed Sinbad, tender, with stores for Portsmouth. 10th. Moorings were laid down in the Sound this day. 11th. Went out of Harbour the Caledonia, and stood to the westward on a short trip, to stretch her rigging, and returns to her moorings in the Sound in the course of the day; Admiral Sir D. Milne and Rear-Admiral Sir S. Pym, went out in her. Arrived the Pantaloon, 10, Lieut.-Com. C. H. Lapidge, from the Coast of Africa.

12th. Arrived Lively, tender, from Pembroke, with stores for the dockyard. 13th. The crew of Peterel, packet, 6, were paid wages, and she sailed the following day for Falmouth, to convey the next mail to the Brazils. 15th. Sailed Pantaloon, 10, for Portsmouth; Vernon, 50, Capt. W. Walpole, made her number, and passed down channel, on her way to Cork. 17th. Arrived Linnet, packet, 6, from Falmouth.

In Harbour—San Josef, America, Confiance, steamer.

In the Sound—Caledonia, Linnet.

Milford Haven, April 17, 1844.

Mr. Editor,—The launch of the Flying-fish at Pembroke Royal Dockyard took place on the 3rd inst., under the superintendence of Mr. Abethell,

Acting Master-Shipwright of the establishment, and before a large concourse of spectators. The dog-shores were struck down about five o'clock, when the elegant little craft glided off in good style. The following are some of her principal dimensions:—

	Feet.	In.
Length of keel	103	0
Breadth extreme	32	4
——— moulded	31	6
Depth in hold	14	0
Tonnage	444 tons	

April 4th. The Flying-fish was this morning taken into dock, to be coppered, rigged, and ballasted. A sister vessel, the Kingfisher, is being proceded with at the above arsenal. Sailed the Lively, dockyard lighter, with old stores. Arrived the Adventure, naval transport.—10th. Lieut. Autridge, Commander of the Pigmy, mail steam-packet, had his leg fractured, on passage from Waterford to-day; it was caused by a fall on the deck from the pitching of the vessel, there being a heavy sea on at the time.—15th. The Flying-fish, through the active exertions of Mr. Brown, Master-Attendant of Portsmouth, having been all a-taunt in an incredibly short space, was this day undocked, having, prior to which, had an alteration made in her fore-bulkheads, to permit the stowage of her tanks, &c.—16th. The Flying-fish left for Portsmouth, where she is to be fitted for sea; she was towed down the harbour and clear of the headlands by the Jasper, mail steam-packet. The Captain-Superintendent of Pembroke, Sir Watkin Owen Pell, returned from public leave on the 3rd. A change has this month taken place in the Royal Marines detached from Pembroke, viz., Capt. Dawes and party, from Haverfordwest, to Cardigan; Capt. Griffin, from Cardigan, to Aberayron; and Major Whylock's company, from Narberth, to Haverfordwest. The depôt at Pembroke, under Lieut.-Colonel Pilcher, remains stationary. The men there are kept in a state of great efficiency by Adjutant Jackson. Although the term of servitude of Commander Higgs, agent for packets at this port, expires early next month, no successor has yet been named to that appointment.

REVIEWS AND CRITICAL NOTICES.

Arthur O'Leary; his Wanderings and Ponderings in Many Lands. Edited by his Friend, Harry Lorrequer.

If we are not much mistaken, this will be pretty generally pronounced the pleasantest work of its very pleasant writer, not by reason of its including a larger amount of talent, or a higher degree of skill in its employment, but because it takes a wider range, and presents a greater variety of topic and of treatment. Its materials are, in fact, gathered (as its title implies) in "many lands;" it consists not merely of adventures, but the intellectual results of adventure—not only of "wanderings," but of "ponderings,"—not of pleasant fiction only, but of pleasant fact. Hitherto, if we remember rightly, Mr. Lever has confined his pen to sketches of Irish life, and his adventures to those arising out of military service abroad; but here he launches into general matters that present themselves to a traveller, and though his track is a somewhat beaten one, it is the better on that account, because the novelty of his treatment of it will be the more widely and generally appreciated, for an original writer—and such assuredly is Harry Lorrequer—is always more original on common-place topics than on new and strange ones.

It is not easy by mere description to convey a distinct notion of this

[illegible] book: the difficulty arising out of the domestic assumption of character which pervades these "[illegible]," and the adventures and incidents which arise out of them: for Mr. Arthur O'Leary is a person sui generis—an oddity—an eccentric—a "character;" and the [illegible] are made to fringe the whole [illegible] of his varied travels and experiences.

But though this feature of the work is the most striking, it is not the most valuable one belonging to it: the nice spirit of observation, the buoyant good spirits, and the gay humour of the actual writer, look out at every page, and make the book as useful to avail upon and study, as it is entertaining to skim through when the mind is in a less contemplative mood. It will, therefore, if justice be done to it, be the most popular of the author's productions.

The Military Annual for 1864.

The well-appreciated Author of that little publication, "The Artillerist's Manual, or British Soldier's Compendium," and of some very useful "Notes on Military Law," is the compiler of this work, which may be justly styled a Military Annual Register, as it embodies, in a handsome compact volume, all the transactions of the past year. It opens with the British Soldier's Almanack, followed by a careful Essay on Arms and Armies; we then have, the thanks of Parliament; distinctions conferred on officers and regiments; presentations of colours, despatches, regulations, courts-martial, memoirs, obituary, &c. Much attention and good taste have been bestowed in the general arrangement and getting up of the work, and we heartily wish it success.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

We cannot avail ourselves of the printed "Note" sent by Dr. Winchester: a main difficulty in conducting this periodical is to find space for the numerous original communications pressed on our attention.

The same rule must apply to "Captain M——, Gibraltar," his letter having appeared in a daily paper. We should have welcomed an original communication from this officer.

"One of the Small Arm Men of the Warrior" must be satisfied that sufficient has been published.

We beg to acknowledge a roll of Charts, with the documents thereto pertaining, forwarded by Major J. D. Graham, of the United States' Corps of Engineers.

Royal Military College.—The Committee appointed to present Professor Narrien with a testimonial of respect and acknowledgment from students of the Senior Department of the Royal Military College, have completed their labours by including an Engraving, from the Portrait presented, and now at the College, to be given, on application, to subscribers, (pupils of Mr. Narrien,) at a reduced price. The power of obtaining a likeness of their worthy Professor will, no doubt, gratify many of his pupils.

The commencement of a Series of Articles on Military Literature is unavoidably postponed till next month.

EDITOR'S PORTFOLIO;

OR,

NAVAL AND MILITARY REGISTER.

The motion of Sir Andrew Leith Hay on the subject of a Decoration to the Peninsular officers, has met with the fate foreseen by many, although sanguine hopes had been entertained amongst the old officers that something might be gained by it; they had not sufficiently taken into account the amount of influence that would probably be opposed. At the time of Lord Sidmouth's administration, it was commonly said, that "there was a power behind the Crown greater than the Crown itself;" this saying may, in a certain degree, be applied elsewhere, in cases similar to the present, where an influence has been exercised that has been found unconquerable. A sort of feeling of satisfaction may be entertained that, under such circumstances, the motion was not pressed to a division; yet, upon other grounds, we should have had no objection to have seen it brought to that test, as it would have shown to the Army those members of their own profession who were its real friends, contrasted with its lukewarm advocates, or direct enemies. In that case, we should have been at no loss in what category to have placed those who shirked this appeal to their honour by absenting themselves.

It has been put forth as a maxim by a certain class of politicians, that officers of the Navy and Army have no business in the House of Commons; we really fear that the conduct of some individuals, who shall be nameless, would have added great force to this argument. We should have seen many cases of men yielding up their own conviction and the sense of justice which they owed to their profession, out of fear that their individual interests would have suffered had they given their verdict "according to their consciences, the best of their understandings, and the custom of war in like cases." Indeed, we are quite certain that this would have been the course of many, and, we regret extremely to say, that a portion of this supposition rests on the opposer of the motion; not that he would have deserted his post, but that he found it expedient "to yield to circumstances." And why? The question of granting decorations to war officers and soldiers involves a financial point, which is within the compass of the functions of Secretary at War, and clearly gives him the right not to act as second in this case, but to take the lead. That the Right Honourable Secretary has been acting *contre cœur*, it is only requisite to peruse the speech he made on this occasion, full of sophistries and common-places, but sufficient for many honourable members, who only wished to dine, get rid of a question they did not exactly understand, and free themselves from the *incubus* to which we have alluded. To show that we have not ex-

aggerated the view of this question, we shall venture on a short analysis of the speech of the Secretary at War, as reported in the papers, and then ask if it displays any marks of his usual talent, or can be attributed to any other cause than acting under conflicting feelings.

In the outset of the speech, in answer to Sir A. L. Hay, is this paragraph, "but he could not admit that the country was chargeable with insensibility or ingratitude because the officers of that army remain undecorated." If the country is to be acquitted of this charge, on whom then is it to fall? for it has never been denied, that the Peninsular Army has been treated with ingratitude, not only in the first instance, but by comparison, in quite recent times, with rewards bestowed on others not half so worthy.

The principal argument used against the concession is the lapse of time, and it would be improper for "the House of Commons to interfere with the results of what were then considered by the Army at large and by the Government of the day sound and beneficial regulations." We think here, the Right Honourable Secretary has assumed rather more than he was entitled to. We should like to see him bring forward some old officers to prove this assertion, as regards the army, and with respect to the Government, they never once troubled their heads about the matter, but allowed things to go on the same jog-trot way "after the manner of the ancients."

This pretence about the lapse of time might at once be answered by a somewhat ancient proverb, "that it is never too late to do a just or good act;" but in parrying this question we were sorry to see the gallant officer, who had not better ground to stand upon, go back to the "wisdom," or rather stupidity, "of our ancestors," in fact, he had got within the horns of a dilemma, from which he did not well know how to extricate himself, when he bethought him of the proposition of Commodore Sir Charles Napier, of giving these medals as heir-looms to surviving widows and children; he immediately, in "his mind's eye," saw 50,000 claimants for the Peninsula; kindling with his subject, and embracing the whole war with rapidity of calculation, he swelled the claimants to 250,000, frightened the House from its propriety, and Sir A. L. Hay from his motion.

We should have wished that this motion had included all the war officers, and not been confined to the Peninsula; although this series of campaigns had the most direct tendency to overturn the colossal power of Buonaparte; yet there were other actions of scarcely less value to the nation. We may mention the battle of the Nile, and the Egyptian expedition, which saved our Indian Empire; and the battle of Trafalgar, which rendered nugatory the most magnificent strategic plan that ever emanated from the head of that extraordinary man who ruled France, for the invasion of this country. We are also sorry that the war officers were not included in the motion, as it gave a plea for opposition, on the ground that if we gave decorations to the Peninsulars, we must do the same to all those who had served.

We are by no means friendly to the idea of a sweeping sort of reward to include every one who has chanced to be in this or that battle; we have no desire to see repeated the Waterloo medal, placing the absent and the present on the same level; nor would we wish to see Brevet rank given to an officer a hundred miles away from the field of battle;

but we think that all the surviving war officers, of both Services, might receive an Honorary Distinction commensurate with their services and wounds, and with such discrimination and selection as would shrink the hundreds of thousands to a very small comparative number.

If this injustice is allowed to stand, we will heartily agree with the gallant Napier that the Order of the Bath, degraded as it has been by excluding from its members those most worthy of it, will be not worth a snap of the Commodore's fingers; but we hope for better things, and earnestly advise the Honourable Mover, and the Noble Seconder, Lord Arthur Lennox, not to despair, but to try their chance again. No object for agitation was ever more legitimate, and our feeble efforts shall not be wanting in such a cause.

We borrow the following remarks from our contemporary the Naval and Military Gazette:—

"The debate on the motion of Sir A. L. Hay, on Tuesday last, ended most lamely and impotently, as many feared it would, by being coldly met by the House, and consequently withdrawn by the gallant Member, rather than leave a vote of ingratitude to the defenders of their country on the records of Parliament. In our opinion it would have commanded more attention had the motion included all the surviving officers and men, naval and military, who had served during the war from 1793 to 1815.

"To all who witnessed the debate it was evident that Sir Henry Hardinge spoke under difficulties, personal and official—under the conflicting feelings of the chivalrous soldier and of the delegated organ to express opinions of high authority as Secretary-at-War. We soon heard sufficient to satisfy us that there was an unseen, but not an unfelt, opposition to the motion, from the highest quarters, and against which a struggle was utterly useless.

"The result of the debate must impress the Old Soldiers of the war with a sad conviction that their services, while acknowledged to be great, are yet too great to be repaid—'Virtus laudatur et alget.' They have been too long the patient creditors of their deeply-indebted country; and now, in their old days, have found that Yankee 'Repudiation' is the order of the day. Is this the modern reply to 'Date obolum Belisario?'"

The news from India by the last mail are not of any very great importance; they only give in detail the history of the events consequent on the victories gained in Gwalior, which have restored, for the present, tranquillity within the limits of our Indian empire, and, it is hoped, will leave a field open for the Governor-General to pursue the plans, which, we have no doubt, he has formed, for the improvement of our great territory, and drawing forth its vast resources, as well for the advantage of the mother country, as for the benefit of the natives of the soil, whose interests have been too much neglected hitherto. The only thing likely to disturb this peaceful prospect rests on a report, that the Rajah of Duttea, who was much connected with the recent disturbances in Bundelkund, means to resist the demand made on him by the Governor-General for the destruction of certain strongholds within his territory, which have served as places of shelter to marauders, who had taken a part in that outbreak. It is said he has assembled an army of 30,000 men, but the recent affair at Gwalior may have taught him a lesson of wisdom; should he, however, have the imprudence to offer resistance, he will be more easily disposed of than our late opponent, as his army is a mixture of various tribes, and poorly supplied with artil-

lery. We hope, however, that this will be no reason for holding them too cheap, as was lately the case in Gwalior; it occasioned the heavy loss we sustained in the two actions, as those precautions always adopted against more civilized enemies seem to have been neglected here. The whole history of India teems with examples of the warlike propensities and courage of the Mahrattas; and in opposing to them the natives of Hindostan, we have reposed on the advantages of discipline, tactics, superior artillery, and the countenance of British officers and soldiers. The first and the last of these we only retained in these actions, and put ourselves on a footing of equality with, or rather inferiority to, our enemy. No soldiers fight better than the Mahrattas, when free from apprehension of being turned, more particularly when well defended with artillery, in which they have a confidence that amounts to a species of adoration, while, on our side, the heavy artillery was left in the rear.

It would appear that we got, as it were, *implicated* in the position at Maharajpoor before we knew of its existence and strength, and then it was thought the preferable course to carry it by sheer force than encounter the difficulties and discredit of a retreat, for the purpose of conquering the position by mere scientific means; happy it is for a General to have men under him equal to so unlooked-for an emergency. Nobly did the British troops and sepoys overcome the unexpected and formidable obstacles opposed to them; with unabated courage and firmness did the troops advance; whole sections were mowed down by the destructive fire of the artillery, without causing hesitation for a moment in the surviving ranks; steadily they continued their course until they received the last murderous discharge, within fifty paces of the muzzles of the pieces, and then dashed forward to the overwhelming charge that won them the day. It would now be nearly vain to conjecture what might have been done to prevent this wholesale slaughter, but it will, it is to be hoped, add another lesson to the many we have already received in various quarters of the world, "never to despise your enemy."

In making these strictures on the military operations, which we have thought it our duty to do, we trust that we shall not be again misconstrued by the supposition, that we mean to lower the character of Lord Ellenborough*;—we only regret, that the project which we understood he entertained, of bringing up an additional force assembled near Hyderabad, was not carried into effect; it might, by its imposing appearance, added to that of the army of exercise, have so overawed the Mahrattas, that they would have made no resistance, or if they had still ventured, would have afforded ample means for turning the enemy's positions, and have spared the great amount of bloodshed.

The word Gwalior may make an appropriate heading to a page on the history of the futile attempts made by our Government in trying to reward military merit. It has been recently decided within the walls of the House of Commons, that all those gallant spirits who fought the battles of their country by sea and land, through the most perilous war in which Great Britain was ever engaged, came into the world exactly

* Since these remarks were printed we find that Her Majesty's Government have received a communication from the Court of Directors, that they have exercised the power which the law gives them, to recall, at their will and pleasure, the Governor-General of India.

thirty years too soon to be able to receive any reward for their services. Whether the Gwalior people have come too early or too late, does not seem to be decided, but they are at least placed in the anomalous position of being rewarded in India by a bit of bronze, and having no notice taken of them at home. Does it follow from this, that when any action does not come up to the mark fixed in the imagination of our authorities, the greatest individual courage and zeal are to be entirely overlooked? If this is the case, and it has all that appearance, it will be a direct invitation to every officer, who chances to serve under a General whose talents are not of the first order, or who is employed on the retreat of an army, to neglect his duties. The greatest stimulant of the zeal of a military man is perhaps the approval of his superiors, and the hopes that his exertions may be noticed and reported: take these entirely away, and little remains to prompt a soldier to acts of daring, except what is drawn from the mere physical courage of the animal. This total neglect of the most brilliant acts performed under adverse circumstances, is one reason, we believe, for the indifferent character that British troops sustain on a retreat. What is to prompt either officer or soldier to go a step beyond the strict line of routine, when conscious that their most strenuous efforts would be either overlooked altogether, or never reported? In this category we think we may place the actions near Gwalior: the promotion of the officers, usual on similar occasions, has been withheld, for what reasons we are at a loss to guess, except for those we have just stated,—the studied neglect of individual courage and zeal, when the cause that calls them forth fails in the general results.

In the Punjaub a certain degree of tranquillity prevails: it is said that Shere Singh means to leave Lahore as soon as he has well feathered his nest at Jumboo*; strings of camels, laden with treasure and jewels, have been proceeding to the latter place for some time.

There seems little doubt that the Sikhs were in correspondence with the Durbar of Gwalior, and were ready to take advantage of any misfortune that might have happened to us, to fall on our backs; the possibility of such an event is only of recent growth in the minds of the Indians, since our disasters in Affghanistan.

We have much pleasure in finding that a tablet, with an appropriate inscription, has been erected, in Kensal Green Cemetery, to the memory of that distinguished officer the late Capt. Edward Reynolds Sibly, R.N. (whose services we noticed in this Magazine shortly after his death) by a large number of his brother officers—Admirals, Captains, and Commanders,—a compliment which shows how highly he was valued by those who had the best opportunity of estimating his worth as an officer and a gentleman.

* Jumboo, Jumbour, or Jumnoo, is the capital of a province of the same name, about twelve miles from the left bank of the Chonub, and 135 miles N.N.E. of Lahore. It is the patrimonial property of Goolab Singh, the uncle of Hera Singh. It is situated on the first elevated plateau above the plain of the Punjaub, which gradually rises until it reaches the valley of Cashmere. This, no doubt, Heera Singh, Prime Minister of the young Rajah, thinks a safer place for keeping money and jewels than Lahore.

CIRCULARS.

DUELLING.

The new Naval Regulations contain the following clauses relative to Duelling:—

1. Every Officer serving on board any ship or vessel of Her Majesty's fleet, is hereby positively ordered neither to send or accept a challenge to fight a duel with any other person of the fleet.

2. Every Officer of the fleet on becoming privy to any intention of other Officers to fight a duel, or have reason to believe that such is likely to occur, owing to the circumstances that have come under his observation or knowledge, is hereby ordered to take every measure within his power to prevent such duel, having recourse, if necessary, to the Captain or Commanding Officer.

3. Every Officer of the fleet is hereby ordered, in no manner or degree, to evince dissatisfaction with, or to upbraid any other Officer for refusing or not sending a challenge; and all Officers are strictly enjoined neither to reject, nor advise the rejection, of a reasonable proposition for the honourable adjustment of differences that may have unhappily occurred.

4. Any Officer of the fleet, who may be called on to act as second or friend to any Officer intending to fight a duel, is to consider it to be his imperative duty, and he is hereby ordered, strenuously to exert himself to effect an adjustment between the adverse parties on terms consistent with the honour of each, and should he fail, owing to the determination of the offended parties not to accept honourable terms of accommodation, he must refer to the second paragraph of this order.

5. As obedience to orders is the essential and governing principle of the Naval Service, those Officers may rest assured of the support and approbation of the Admiralty, who, having had the misfortune of giving offence to, or having injured or insulted others, shall frankly explain, apologise, or offer redress for the same, or who, having had the misfortune of receiving offence, injury, or insult from another, shall cordially accept frank explanation, apology, or redress for the same, or who, if such explanation, apology, or redress are refused to be made or accepted, shall submit the matter to be dealt with by the Captain or Commanding Officer of the ship or fleet; and every officer who shall act as hereinbefore directed, and consequently refuse to accept a challenge, shall be deemed to have acted honourably, and to have evinced a requisite obedience, not only to this order, but also to the pleasure of the Queen.

Royal Marine Office, April 6, 1844.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having had under consideration the present pay and appointments of the several Barrack Masters of the Royal Marines, are pleased to direct, that from the 29th of March, 1844, they shall be divided into three classes, and paid as follows, viz.:—

Third class, under five years' service as Barrack Masters, 7*s.* 6*d.* per day. Second class, after five years' service, 10*s.* per day. First class, after ten years' service, 15*s.* per day.

And that Marine Barrack Masters of the first class shall be allowed the relative rank, and wear the uniform and epaulettes of Majors, and shall receive the same consideration, in respect to quarter or lodging money, as Officers of that rank.

The minimum rate of pay, 7*s.* 6*d.* per diem, to commence with future appointments.—By command of their Lordships,

J. OWEN, Deputy Adjutant-General.

To the Colonel Commandants of the Royal Marines.

The Barrack Masters of the Royal Marines, when called upon to appear in uniform, are to wear the uniform of the corps, with the epaulettes of their corresponding ranks; cocked hats, with regulation loop, and bullion tassels, but without feather; black waist-belts, with slings to be worn under the coatee.

By command of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty,

J. OWEN, Deputy Adjutant-General.

Royal Marine Office, April 6, 1844.

A RETURN OF THE NAMES OF ALL PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN APPOINTED TO COMMAND VESSELS IN H.M.S., FROM THE 1st OCT., 1841, TO THE 1st MARCH, 1844.

Admiralty, 26 March, 1844. H. F. AMEDROZ, Chief Clerk.

Date of Appointment.	Rank.	Name.	Ship.
1 Oct., 1841	Captain	H. J. Codrington, C.B. ..	St. Vincent
5	2nd Master	James Scarlett	Mercury (tender)
6	Commander	Hon. W. B. Devereux....	Snake
11	Captain	Thomas Ogle.....	Southampton
20	..	John B. Purvis.....	Alfred
21	Lieut. & Com.	C. H. Lapidge	Ferret
23	Captain	John Kingcome	Belleisle
30	Commander	B. M. Festing	Apollo
5 Nov., 1841	Lieut. & Com.	Walter Leslie	Penguin
6	Commander	Stephen G. Fremantle	Wanderer
11	..	Philip Justice	Pelican
15	..	Charles Frederick.....	Apollo
17	Captain	F. Price Blackwood	Fly
18	..	Henry Forbes	Pique
23	Commander	Edm. G. Fishbourne	Soudan
24	Lieut. & Com.	C. H. Lapidge	Pantaloon
27	Commander	William Nevill	Serpent
29	Captain	Michael Quin	Minden
1 Dec., 1841	Commander	Josiah Oake	Ferret
2	Lieut. & Com.	George Raymond	Snipe
2	..	C. J. Featherstone	Volcano
2	Captain	Sir F. A. Collier, C.B. ..	Royal Sovereign
7	Commander	Claude H. M. Buckle	Growler
8	Lieut. & Com.	John T. Nott	Partridge
10	Captain	Francis Brace	Camperdown
11	Lieut. & Com.	Edward C. Earle	Rapid
11	Captain	Sir Watkin O. Pell	Ocean
13	Commander	Edward J. Carpenter	Geyser
13	..	W. Alexander Willis	Jaseur
14	Captain	Sir C. Sullivan, Bart.	Formidable
15	Commander	Nicholas Robilliard	Seaflower
16	..	Arthur Darley	Electra
16	..	J. S. W. Johnston	Wolverine
17	Captain	Sir F. A. Collier, C.B....	William and Mary
17	..	Sir Watkin O. Pell	Royal Sovereign
17	..	Peter Fisher	Ocean
17	..	Lord A. Fitzclarence	Royal George
18	Commander	Hon. J. R. Drummond ..	Scout
18	..	Richard H. Stopford	Pearl
18	..	George Baker	Lily
18	..	Philip G. Haymes.....	Fantome
21	..	Edmund Peel	Racehorse
21	..	Thomas Baillie	Rose
22	..	E. J. Parrey.....	Sappho
28	Captain	Lord George Paulet	Carysfort
11 Jan., 1842	Lieut. & Com.	Philip Bisson	Dolphin
11	..	Charles James Postle	Lizard
13	..	Edward E. Gray	Bonetta
20	Commander	George Evan Davis	Comus
26	..	Sir William Daniell	Ringdove

Date of Appointment.	Rank.	Name.	Ship.
26 Jan., 1842	Commander	Robert Sharpe	Scylla
31	Master	Richard Browne	Alligator
1 Feb., 1842	Captain	Henry William Bruce	Agincourt
5	Lieut. & Com.	Edward Keane	Merlin
6	Master	G. B. Hoffmeister	Jupiter
10	Commander	Henry Kellett	Starling
12	Lieut. & Com.	Thomas L. Gooch.....	Kite
17	Captain	Hon. H. D. Byng	Magnificent
19	Commander	Richard Collinson.....	Plover
22	2nd Master	Samuel Baggs	Emerald (tender)
26	Lieut. & Com.	James W. L. Shiels.....	Raven
5 March, 1842	Commander	C. G. E. Patey.....	Resistance
7	Captain	Charles Eden	Winchester
7	Commander	George H. Seymour.....	Wanderer
9	Master	Thomas Elson	Crocodile
16	Captain	John Washington.....	Shearwater
24	Commander	W. L. Sherringham.....	Sylvia
24	..	Thomas S. Brock.....	Magpie
2 April, 1842	..	B. J. Sulivan	Philomel
4	Lieut. & Com.	J. A. Macdonald	Charybdis
5	..	R. E. Pym	Spider
15	..	George Raymond	Spy
16	Commander	George G. Wellesley	Childers
20	Captain	Sir T. R. T. Thompson, Bt.	Talbot
21	..	Christopher Wyvill	Cleopatra
25	2nd Master	John Jagoe	Confiance
27	Captain	Alexander Milne	Caledonia
27	Master	H. W. Allen.....	Black Eagle
2 May, 1842	Commander	Robert F. Gambier	Satellite
4	Captain	W. F. Owen.....	Columbia
9	Lieut. & Com.	Thomas A. Lewis.....	Crane
12	Commander	Reginald Yorke	Albatross
13	Lieut. & Com.	Augustus J. Burton.....	Romney
18	..	W. M. J. G. Pasco	Kite
23	..	Charles G. Buttler	Ætna
26	Master	Thomas Driver.....	Dee
3 June, 1842	Captain	Sir Thomas Hastings	Excellent
8	Commander	Courtenay O. Hayes.....	Wolf
11	Lieut. & Com.	Henry Byng	Avon
14	Captain	Henry Forbes	Pique
18	2nd Master	William Bryant.....	Monkey
21	Lieut. & Com.	William P. Crozier	Sydenham
24	Commander	Andrew S. Hamond.....	Salamander
2 July, 1842	Lieut. & Com.	Charles Jenkin.....	Griffon
13	..	George Butler	Meteor
14	Master	A. M. P. Mackey.....	African
15	Commander	George A. Frazer.....	Comet
16	Lieut. & Com.	Alfred Kortright	Columbia
20	Commander	Nicholas Robilliard	Seaflower
23	Captain	John J. Onslow	Daphne
26	..	Hon. H. D. Byng	Imaum
28	Master	John R. Fittock	Sapphire
1 Aug., 1842	Captain	Hon. M. Stopford	Pique
3	Commander	Wallace Houston	Pilot
4	Lieut. & Com.	Alexander Boyter.....	Pike
19	Commander	W. L. Sheringham	Rocket
20	..	Hon. S. T. Carnegie	Orestes

Date of Appointment.	Rank.	Name.	Ship.
4 Oct., 1842	Captain	G. Rodney Mundy	Iris
6	Commander	Andrew Drew	Wasp
11	..	William A. Willis.....	Jaseur
5 Nov., 1842	..	ditto	Frolic
10	Lieut. & Com.	George Oldmixon.....	Megæra
18	Captain	Edward Belcher	Samarang
25	..	Charles Hotham	Gorgon
28	Commander	George N. Broke.....	Thunderbolt
3 Dec., 1842	Lieut. & Com.	Benjamin Aplin	Acheron
13	Commander	Charles G. Robinson	Gleaner
14	..	William Maitland.....	Spiteful
14 Dec., 1842	Lieut. & Com.	John Harding	Columbia
30	Commander	James Fitzjames	Clio
30	Lieut. & Com.	John Jeayes	African
31	Captain	Richard F. Rowley	St. Vincent
31	..	Henry Kellett, C.B.....	Starling
31	..	R. Collingson, C.B.....	Plover
1 Jan., 1843	Lieut. & Com.	William Gueet	Perseus
1	..	William Winniett.....	Lightning
1	Captain	Frederick Bullock	Tartarus
1	Commander	W. L. Sheringham	Fearless
1	Master	John King	Alban
5	Commander	George Giffard	Vixen
21	..	John Duffil	Hecla
26	Lieut. & Com.	Charles A. Petch	Advice
26	..	Abraham Darby	Wildfire
28	..	Joseph A. Bainbridge	Pickle
29	Captain	John Washington	Blazer
31	Commander	Charles G. Robinson	Shearwater
15 Feb., 1843	Lieut. & Com.	George B. Lawrence	Lark
20	2nd Master	George Allen	Fanny (tender)
22	Captain	Sir T. S. Pasley, Bart....	Curaçoa
27	Lieut. & Com.	R. S. Moore.....	Wilberforce
8 March, 1843	..	John Jeayes	Alban
8	Master	John King	African
9	Commander	Henry R. Sturt	Rose
18	..	Hon. George Hope	Sappho
3 April, 1843	..	William N. Fowell	Montreal
3	Lieut. & Com.	Samuel Reeve	Experiment
3	..	J. W. Bedford	Mohawk
11	Commander	George T. Gordon	Cormorant
11	2nd Master	Henry Hill	Gleaner
18	Captain	W. N. Glascock	Tyne
18	Lieut. & Com.	James M. Boxer	Experiment
28	Captain	Charles Graham	Castor
28	Commander	Archibald Reed.....	Racer
6 May, 1843	..	Courtenay O. Hayes	Driver
13	Captain	John A. Duntze	Fisguard
18	..	Robert Fair, H. H.....	Conway
20	..	C. H. Fremantle	Inconstant
25	Lieut. & Com.	George Morris	Skylark
25	Commander	G. G. Ottway	Virago
25	..	Arthur Morrell.....	Espoir
25	Lieut. & Com.	W. O. Hoare	Dolphin
27	Captain	H. T. Austin, C.B.	Cyclops
30	Lieut. & Com.	Washington Carr	Hermes
31	..	D. R. B. Mapleton	Avon

Date of Appointment.	Rank.	Name.	Ship.
31 May, 1843	Lieut. & Com.	George Raymond	Snipe
5 June, 1843	Commander	Thomas Baillie	Modeste
27	Captain	William Jones	Penelope
27	..	George Elliot	Eurydice
28	Lieut. & Com.	Francis R. Coghlan	Anson
1 July, 1843	Captain	Lord A. Fitzclarence	Victoria & Albert
1	Commander	Edmund Peel	Bittern
1	Lieut. & Com.	S. O. Wooldridge	Spy
7	Commander	William H. Jervis	Pilot
8	Lieut. & Com.	William T. Bate	Young Hebe
12	..	Daniel Woodruffe	Albert
14	Commander	Henry Bagot	Wasp
18	Lieut. & Com.	Henry P. Dicken	Linnet
26	Commander	William N. Fowell	Mohawk
28	..	Charles J. Bosanquet	Alert
7 Aug., 1843	..	Horatio B. Young	Hydra
10	Lieut. & Com.	John Tyssen	Montreal
7 Sept., 1843	..	John T. Nott	Lynx
8	Captain	A. R. Sharpe, C.B.	Imaum
9	Commander	Francis Scott	Hyacinth
14	..	Robert J. W. Dunlop	Star
16	Lieut. & Com.	George Sprigg	Curlew
22	Commander	Hon. S. T. Carnegie	Devastation
22	..	Edward S. L. Cannon	Orestes
28	..	William Maclean	Apollo
6 Oct., 1843	Lieut. & Com.	Charles J. Postle	Flamer
9	Commander	Hon. E. Plunkett	Stromboli
13	Captain	P. W. P. Wallis	Warspite
14	..	Sir H. M. Blackwood, Bt.	Fox
18	..	G. Rodney Mundy	Iris
23	Commander	Sir C. Ricketts, Bart.	Helena
23	Lieut. & Com.	Thomas Creser	Peterel
27	Commander	Thomas L. Gooch	Sealark
29	Master	William Roberts	Lightning
2 Nov., 1843	Captain	Charles Talbot	Vestal
3	Lieut. & Com.	Edward Nicolls	Dwarf
10	Captain	Nicholas Lockyer, C.B.	Albion
13	Master	Francis W. Bateman	Nereus
14	Commander	John W. D. Brisbane	Larne
23	Captain	William F. Lapidge	Cyclops
8 Dec., 1843	Commander	R. H. B. Rowley	Satellite
16	Lieut. & Com.	James Harper	Experiment
19	..	William P. Crozier	Pluto
23	Commander	James P. Bower	Hecate
18 Jan., 1844	Lieut. & Com.	W. M. J. G. Pasco	Prometheus
20	Commander	William Finlaison	Tortoise
26	Lieut. & Com.	John Stephen	Raven
1 Feb., 1844	Captain	William F. Martin	Camperdown
5	Master	Luke Smithett	Princess Alice
12	Commander	George A. Frazer	Lucifer
22	Captain	Hon. John Gordon	America

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMY ON THE 1st MAY, 1844,

AND REFERENCE TO THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF REGIMENTS.

Regiments and Corps.	Stations of Troops or Service Companies.	Stations of Depôts.	Year of going on Foreign Service.	Year of returning from Foreign Service.	Whence returned.	Agents. British & Irish Establishment.
1st Life-gds.	Windsor....	....	..	1816	France....	Collyer
2nd do.	Regent's Park	....	..	1816	France....	Cox & Co.
Rl. Horse-gds.	Hyde Park..	....	..	1816	France	Cox & Co.
1st Drag.-gds.	Canterbury	....	..	1843	Canada....	Cox & Co.
2nd do.	Ballincollig	....	..	1818	France....	Hop. & Cane
3rd do.	Dublin	....	..	1814	Spain	Cox & Bor.
4th do.	Longford ..	....	..	1813	Portugal ..	Col. & Cane
5th do.	Dundalk....	....	..	1814	Spain	Cox & Cane
6th do.	Piershill....	....	..	1808	Buen. Ayres	Cox & Co.
7th do.	Cape of G. H.	Maidstone ..	1843	..	....	Cox & Co.
1st Dragoons	Newbridge..	....	..	1816	France....	Cox & Co.
2nd do.	Edinburgh ..	....	..	1816	France....	Hopkinson
3rd Lt. do...	Bengal	Maidstone ..	1837	..	....	Cox & Co.
4th do.	Ipswich	....	..	1842	Bombay ..	Hopkinson
6th do.	Nottingham	....	..	1816	France....	Cox & Co.
7th Hussars	Brighton ..	....	..	1842	Canada....	Cox & Co.
8th do.	York	....	..	1823	Bengal	Cox & Co.
9th Lancers	Bengal	Maidstone ..	1842	..	....	Collyer
10th Hussars	Cahir	....	..	1828	Portugal ..	Cox & Cane
11th Lt. Drag.	Dublin	....	..	1838	Bengal....	Cox & Bor.
12th Lancers	Manchester	....	..	1828	Portugal ..	Collyer
13th Lt. Drag.	Hounslow ..	....	..	1840	Madras....	Cox & Co.
14th do.	Bombay....	Maidstone ..	1841	..	....	Cox & Co.
15th Hussars	Madras	Maidstone ..	1839	..	....	Cox & Co.
16th Lancers	Bengal	Maidstone ..	1822	..	....	Cox & Co.
17th do.	Birmingham	....	..	1823	Bombay ..	Cox & Co.
Gr. Gds. 1st bat.	Winchester	....	..	1828	Portugal	Cox & Co.
,, 2d bat.	St. Geo. Bar.	....	..	1842	Canada ..	
,, 3d bat.	St. John's W.	....	..	1818	France ..	
Coldst Gds. 1st bat.	Portman B.	....	..	1814	France ..	
Coldst Gds. 2d bat.	Wellington B.	....	..	1842	Canada	
Sc. Fu. Gds. 1st bat.	The Tower..	....	..	1814	France ..	Kirkland
Sc. Fu. Gds. 2d bat.	Windsor....	....	..	1828	Portugal	
1st Ft. 1st bat.	Gibraltar ..	Tralee	1839	..	....	Cox & Bor.
1st Ft. 2d bat.	Barbadoes *	Londonderry	1836	..	....	Cox & Bor.
2nd do.	Bombay....	Chatham ..	1825	..	....	Lawrie
3rd do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1822	..	....	Cox & Co.
4th do.	Madras	Chatham ..	1832	..	....	Cox & Co.
5th do.	Dublin	....	..	1843	Gibraltar..	Cox & Bor.
6th do.	Chester	....	..	1842	Bombay..	Cox & Co.
7th do.	Gibraltar ..	Brecon	1839	..	....	Cox & Co.
8th do.	Bolton	....	..	1842	Nova Scotia	Cox & Co.
9th do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1832	..	....	Cox & Co.
10th do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
11th do.	Athlone	....	..	1840	Canada....	M'G. & Cane
12th do.	Mauritius ..	I. of Wight	1837	..	....	Cox & Co.
Reserve Batt.	Mauritius ..	....	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
13th do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1822	..	....	Cox & Co.
14th do.	Canada	Armagh....	1836	..	....	Dow. & Bor.
15th do.	Limerick ..	....	..	1840	Canada....	Cox & Cane
16th do.	Dublin	....	..	1841	Bengal....	Kirk & Cane
17th do.	Aden	Chatham ..	1830	..	....	Cox & Co.
18th do.	China.....	Chatham ..	1837	.	....	Cox & Co.

* Right Wing, Quebec; Left Wing, Barbadoes.

Regiments and Corps.	Stations of Service Companies.	Stations of Depôts.	Year of going on Foreign Service.	Year of returning from Foreign Service.	Whence returned.	Agents. British & Irish Establishment
19th Foot....	Cephalonia..	Jersey	1840	..	....	Cox & Co.
20th do.	Bermuda ..	Isle of Wight	1841	..	....	Kirkland.
Reserve Batt.	Bermuda ..	....	1842	..	....	Kirkland.
21st do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1833	..	....	Lawrie
22nd do.	Bombay....	Chatham ..	1841	..	....	Cox & Co.
23rd do.	Barbadoes ..	Isle of Wight	1838	..	....	Cox & Co.
Reserve Batt.	Canada	....	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
24th do.	Dublin	....	..	1841	Canada....	Cox & Bor.
25th do.	Madras	Chatham ..	1839	..	....	Cox & Co.
26th do.	Edinburgh..	....	..	1843	East Indies	Cox & Co.
27th do.	Cape of G. H.	Naas	1835	..	....	M'G. & Bor.
28th do.	Bombay....	Chatham ..	1835	..	....	Cox & Co.
29th do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
30th do.	Cork	....	..	1844	N. Brunswk	Cox & Bor.
31st do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1825	..	....	Price & Son
32nd do.	Manchester	....	..	1841	Canada....	Cox & Co.
33rd do.	N. Brunswk	Buttevant ..	1836	..	....	Cox & Bor.
34th do.	Dublin	....	..	1841	Canada....	Cox & Cane
35th do.	Mauritius ..	Templemore	1837	..	....	Cox & Bor.
36th do.	Dublin	....	..	1842	N. America	Price & Bor.
37th do.	Newcas.-on-T.	....	..	1842	Halifax	M'Grigor
38th do.	Gibraltar ..	Hull	1840	..	....	Cox & Co.
39th do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1827	..	....	Cox & Co.
40th do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1824	..	....	Cox & Co.
41st do.	Canterbury .	....	..	1843	Madras....	Cox & Co.
42nd do.	Malta.....	Isle of Wight	1840	..	....	Cox & Co.
Reserve Batt.	Malta.....	....	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
43rd do.	Montreal ..	Cashel	1835	..	....	Hop. & Cane
44th do.	Winchester	....	..	1843	East Indies	Cox & Co.
45th do.	Cape of G. H.	Isle of Wight	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
Reserve Batt.	Gibraltar ..	....	1843	..	....	Cox & Co.
46th do.	St. Lucia ..	Boyle.....	1837	..	....	Cox & Co.
47th do.	Gosport....	....	..	1844	Antigua ..	Cox & Co.
48th do.	Jamaica....	Guernsey ..	1838	..	....	Cox & Co.
49th do.	Portsmouth .	....	..	1843	China	Cox & Co.
50th do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1834	..	....	Cox & Co.
51st do.	Van D. Land	Chatham ..	1838	..	....	Kirkland
52nd do.	New Brnsw.	Nenagh	1836	..	....	Kirk & Cane
53rd do.	Newry	....	..	1840	Ionian Isl.	Cox & Bor.
54th do.	Templemore	....	..	1840	Madras....	Cox & Bor.
55th do.	China.....	Chatham ..	1821	..	....	Cox & Co.
56th do.	Cork	....	..	1842	Canada....	Cox & Bor.
57th do.	Madras	Chatham ..	1825	..	....	Cox & Co.
58th do.	Chatham ..	....	..	1839	Ceylon....	Cox & Co.
59th do.	Portsmouth .	....	..	1843	Barbadoes	Cox & Co.
60th do. 1st bat	Kilkenny ..	....	..	1840	Ionian Isl.	Cox & Bor.
,, 2d bat.	Nova Scotia	Belturbet ..	1835	..	....	Cox & Bor.
61st do.	Limerick ..	....	..	1840	Ceylon....	Cox & Cane
62nd do.	Bengal	Chatham ..	1830	..	....	Cox & Co.
63rd do.	Madras	Chatham ..	1829	..	....	Collyer
64th do.	Northampton	....	..	1843	Halifax....	Cox & Co.
65th do.	Mullingar ..	....	..	1841	Canada....	Cox & Bor.
66th do.	Belfast	....	..	1840	Canada....	Cox & Cane
67th do.	Manchester .	....	..	1842	Canada....	Cox & Co.
68th do.	Canada ..	Chatham ..	1834	..	....	Cox & Co.
69th do.	Castlebar ..	....	..	1842	N. Brunswick	Cox & Atk.
70th do.	Leeds.....	....	..	1841	Canada....	Cox & Co.
71st do.	Grenada....	Isle of Wight.	1838	..	....	Cox & Co.

Regiments and Corps.	Stations of Service Companies.	Stations of Depôts.	Year of going on Foreign Service.	Year of returning from Foreign Service.	Whence returned.	Agents. British & Irish Establishment.
71st Res. Batt.	Canada	....	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
72nd Foot ..	Fermoy	....	..	1840	Cape G. H.	Cox & Bor.
73rd do.	Newport, S.W.	....	..	1841	Canada....	Cox & Co.
74th do.	Montreal ..	Kinsale	1834	..	....	Kirk & Bor.
75th do.	Plymouth ..	....	..	1843	Cape of G.H.	Cox & Co.
76th do.	Devonport..	....	..	1842	Halifax....	Kirkland.
77th do.	Jamaica	Dover.....	1837	..	....	M'Grigor
78th do.	Bombay	Chatham ..	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
79th do.	Gibraltar ..	Stirling	1840	..	....	Cox & Co.
80th do.	N. S. Wales	Chatham ..	1837	..	....	Cox & Co.
81st do.	Canada	Buttevant ..	1836	..	....	Cox & Bor.
82nd do.	Quebec	Clare Castle	1837	..	....	Law. & Bor.
83rd do.	Weedon	....	..	1843	Canada....	Cox & Co.
84th do.	Madras	Chatham ..	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
85th do.	Antigua	Newbridge..	1836	..	....	Dow. & Bor.
86th do.	Bombay	Chatham ..	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
87th do.	Glasgow	....	..	1843	Mauritius..	M'Grigor
88th do.	Malta.....	Paisley	1840	..	....	Cox & Co.
89th do.	Canada	Cork	1835	..	....	Cox & Cane
90th do.	Ceylon	Carlow	1835	..	....	M'G. & Bor.
91st do.	Cape & St. Hel	Isle of Wight	1835	..	....	Bar. & Sm.
Reserve Batt.	Cape	....	1842	..	....	Bar. & Sm.
92nd do.	Aberdeen ..	....	..	1844	Trinidad ..	Cox & Co.
93rd do.	Canada	Carlisle	1838	..	....	Cox & Co.
94th do.	Madras	Chatham ..	1838	..	....	Cox & Co.
95th do.	Ceylon	Dover.....	1838	..	....	Cox & Co.
96th do.	N.S. Wales .	Sheerness ..	1841	..	....	M'Grigor
97th do.	Corfu	Isle of Wight	1841	..	....	Cox & Co.
Reserve Batt.	Corfu	....	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.
98th do.	China.....	Chatham ..	1841	..	....	Cox & Co.
99th do.	N. S. Wales	Chatham ..	1842	..	....	Collyer
Rifle B. 1st bt.	Corfu.....	Athlone	1840	..	....	Cox & Bor.
Rifle B. 2d bt.	Halifax, N.S.	Isle of Wight	1841	..	....	Cox & Co.
Reserve Batt.	Halifax, N.S.	....	1842	..	....	Cox & Co.

			Agents.
1st West Ind. Regiment..	Demerara, &c.	Colonial Corps.	Cox & Co.
2nd do.....	Jamai. & Bah.	Colonial Corps.	Price & Son
3rd do.	Nassau, Sierra Leone	Colonial Corps.	M'Grigor
Ceylon Rifle Regiment..	Ceylon	Colonial Corps.	Kirkland
Cape Mnted. Riflemen ..	Cape of G. H.	Colonial Corps.	Kirkland
R. Canadian Rifle Regt.	Canada	Colonial Corps.	Kirkland
St. Helena R.	St. Helena..	Colonial Corps.	Kirkland
R. Newfoundland Vet Cos.	Newfoundland	Colonial Corps.	Kirkland
Royal Malta Fencibles..	Malta	Colonial Corps.	Kirkland

REGIMENTAL AGENTS.

Atkinson, John, Ely-place, Dublin
Barron & Smith, Up. Charles-st. Westminst
Borough, Sir Edwd. R., Bart., Armit & Co Leinster-st., Dublin
Cane & Co., Dawson-st. Dublin
Collyer, G. S., Park-place, St. James's
Cox & Co., Craig's-court
Downes & Son, 14, Warwick-st. Ch. Cross
Hopkinson & Co. Regent-st.
Kirkland, Sir J., & Co. (Gen. Agt.,) 80, Pall Mall
Lawrie, J., 10, Charles-st, St. James's-sq
Price & Son, 34, Craven-st., Strand
M'Grigor, 17, Charles-st, St. James's-sq.

GENERAL AGENTS FOR THE RECRUITING SERVICE.

Great Britain—Sir John Kirkland, 80, Pall Mall.

N.B.—A reference to the *List of Agents* will explain the Abbreviations.

STATIONS OF THE ROYAL NAVY IN COMMISSION,

With the Years when Built, and Dates of Commission of the Officers in Command.

Acheron, st., 2, 1838, Lt.-Com. B. Alpin, 1811, Mediterranean.
Adder, 1, st., M.-Cm. J. Hammond, (act.) Pemb.
Advice, 1, st., Lt.-Com. C. A. Petch, 1828, Pemb.
African, st., 1825, Mast.-Com. J. King, (act.) Sheerness.
Agincourt, 72, 1817, Rear-Adm. Sir T. J. Cochrane, Kt., Capt. H. W. Bruce, 1821, China Division, East Indies.
Aigle, 24, 1801, Capt. Lord C. E. Paget, Med.
Alban, 1, st. v., 1826, Lieut.-Com. J. Jeayes, Ireland.
Albatross, 16, 1842, Com. R. Yorke, 1833, Vera Cruz.
Albert, st., 1840, Lieut.-Com. D. Woodruffe, 1828, Coast of Africa.
Albion, 90, 1842, Capt. N. Lockyer, C.B., 1815, Lisbon.
Alecto, st., 1839, Lt.-Cm. W. Hoseason, 1826, Mediterranean.
Alert, 6, 1835, Com. C. J. Bosanquet, 1839, Coast of Africa.
Alfred, 50, 1811, Com. J. B. Purvis, 1809, Brazils.
Alligator, 26, tr. sh., 1821, Master-Com. J. N. King, 1823, China.
America, 50, Capt. Hon. John Gordon, 1818, Devonport.
Anson, 72, convict-hulk, Com. F. R. Coghlan, 1844, Hobart Town.
Apollo, tr. 1805, Com. W. Maclean, 1841, Jam.
Ardent, st. 1841, Com. J. Russell (*b*), 1840, C. A.
Ariel, st. M.-Cm. Luke Smithitt (act.) part.ser.
Arrow, 6, sch., 1823, Lt.-Com. W. Robinson, 1837, Cape of Good Hope.
Asp, 1, st. Lt.-Com. W. W. Oke, 1825, Portpat.
Basilisk, 6, 1824, Lt. H. S. Hunt, (act.) 1835, S. America.
Beacon, 6, sur. ves., 1823, Com. T. Graves, 1841, Mediterranean.
Beaver, st. v., 1827, Lt.-Com. R. Mudge, 1815, Dover.
Belvidera, 38, 1809, Cpt. Hon. G. Grey, 1834, Mediterranean.
Bittern, 16, 1840, Com. E. Peel, 1841, Cape of Good Hope.
Black Eagle, st. ves., 1831, Mast.-Com. S. B. Cook, (act.) 1838, Woolwich.
Blazer, 3, st. v. 1834, Capt. J. Washington, 1842, Surveying.
Bonetta, 3, 1836, Com. T. S. Brock, 1842, Chat.
Bramble, 10, 1822, Lieut.-Com. C. B. Yule, 1842, East Indies.
Caledonia, 120, 1808, Adm. Sir D. Milne, G.C.B., Capt. A. Milne, 1839, Plymouth.
Cambrian, 36, 1841, Cpt. H. D. Chads, C.B., 1825, China.
Camperdown, 104, 1820, Vice-Admiral Sir J. C. White, K.C.B., Capt. W. F. Martin, 1824, Sheerness.
Carysfort, 26, 1836, Capt. Lord Geo. Paulet, 1833, Brazils.
Castor, 36, 1832, Capt. C. Graham, 1830, China.
Ceylon, 2, 1810, Lieut. R. Curtis, 1838, F.L. receiving ship, Malta.
Champion, 18, 1824, Com. J. Clavell, (act.) S. America.
Charon, st. ves., 1827, Sec. Mas. E. C. Rutter, (act.) 1837, Dover.
Childers, 16, 1827, Com. G. G. Wellesley, 1842, China.
Cleopatra, 26, 1835, Capt. Chris. Wyvill, 1832, Cape of Good Hope.
Clio, 16, 1807, Com. J. Fitzjames, 1842, E. I.
Cockatrice, 6, 1832, Lt.-Cm. J. Oxenham, 1826, South America.
Columbia, st. ves., Lt.-Com. J. Harding, 1815, *North America.*
Comet, st., 1822, Lieut.-Com. J. B. Emery, 1827, Ireland.
Confiance, 2, st., 1827, Sec. Mast. J. Jagoe, (act.) Devonport.
Conway, 26, 1832, Capt. R. Fair, K.H. 1837, Cape of Good Hope.
Cormorant, 6, st., 1842, Com. G. T. Gordon, 1840, S. America.
Cornwallis, 72, 1813, Vice Admiral Sir W. Parker, K.C.B., Capt. P. Richards, 1828, E. Indies.
Crescent, 42, rec. sh. 1810, Lt.-Cm. M. Donellan, 1808, Rio Janeiro.
Cuckoo, st., Lieut.-Com. A. Parks, 1815, Weym.
Curaçoa, 24, 1809, Cpt. Sir T. S. Pasley, Bart., 1831, Brazils.
Cyclops, 6, st., 1839, Capt. W. F. Lapidge, 1837, Ireland.
Cygnet, 10, Com. H. Layton, 1825, Sheerness.
Daphne, 18, 1838, Cpt. J. J. Onslow, 1834, S.A.
Dasher, st. Mas.-Com. R. White, (act.) Weym.
Dee, 2, st., 1832, Mas.-Cm. T. Driver, 1809, Ireland.
Devastation, 6, st., 1841, Com. W. H. Kitchen, 1827, Mediterranean.
Dido, 18, 1836, Cpt. Hon. H. Keppel, 1837, Ch.
Dolphin, 3, 1836, Lt.-Com. W. O'B. Hoare, 1823, South America.
Doterel, st. ves. Mas.-Com. J. Grey (act.) Holy.
Dover, st. ves., Mast. E. Lyne, (act.) Dover.
Driver, 6, st. ves. 1840, Com. C. O. Hayes, 1839, China.
Dublin, 50, 1812, Rear-Admiral R. Thomas, Capt. J. J. Tucker, 1838, South America.
Dwarf, st. ves., Lieut.-Com. Ireland.
Electra, 18, 1837, Com. A. Darley, 1827, W. I.
Emerald, 1820, ten. to St. Vincent, Sec. Mast. S. Baggs, Portsmouth.
Espoir, 10, 1821, Com. A. Morrel, 1823, Coast of Africa.
Eurydice, 26, 1843, Capt. G. Elliot, 1838, W. I.
Excellent, 1810, Cpt. Sir T. Hastings, Kt., 1830, Portsmouth.
Experiment, 1, st. ves, Lt.-Com. J. Harper, 1815, Lake Huron.
Fair Rosamond, 2, Lt.-Com. A. G. Bulman, 1828, West Indies.
Fanny, tender to St. Vincent, Sec. Mas. G. Allen, Portsmouth.
Fearless, st. ves. Com. W. L. Sheringham, 1841, Portsmouth.
Ferret, 6, 1840, Com. J. Oake, 1827, C. of Africa.
Firefly, 2, st. Cpt. F. W. Beechey, 1827, Wool.
Fisguard, 42, 1819, Capt. J. A. Duntze, 1829, S. America.
Flamer, 1831, Lieut.-Com. C. J. Postle, 1836, Ireland.
Fly, 18, 1831, Capt. F. P. Blackwood, 1838, E. I.
Formidable, 84, 1825, Capt. Sir C. Sullivan, Bart., 1814, Mediterranean.
Fox, 42, 1829, Capt. Sir H. M. Blackwood, Bart., 1837, Ireland.
Frolic, 16, 1842, C. B. Hamilton, 1844, South America.
Geyser, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. E. I. Carpenter, 1827, Mediterranean.
Gleaner, 2, st., 1833, Sec. Mast. H. Hill, Berm.
Gorgon, 6, st. ves., 1837, Capt. C. Hotham, 1833, South America.
Griffon, 3, 1832, Lieut.-Com. C. Jenkin, 1829, North America.
Growler, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. C. H. M. Buckle 1836, Coast of Africa.
Harlequin, 16, 1836, Com. the Hon. G. F. Hastings, 1838, East Indies.
Hazard, 18, 1837, Com. C. Bell, 1830, E. Ind.
Hecate, 4, st. v. 1840. Com. J. P. Bower, 1841, Ireland.

Hecla, st.-v. 1839, Com. J. Duffill, 1839, Med.
Helena, 16, Com. Sir C. Ricketts, 1831, West Indies.
Hermes, 2, st. ves., 1835, Lt.-Cm. W. Carr, 1821, West Indies.
Heroine, 6, 1841, Lt.-Com. H. R. Foote, 1842, C. of Africa.
Hornet, 6, 1831, Lt.-Com. R. B. Miller, 1837, W. Indies.
Hyacinth, 18, 1829, Com. F. Scott, 1841, Coast of Africa.
Hydra, 4, 1838, Com. H. B. Young, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Illustrious, 72, 1803, Vice-Admiral Sir C. Adam, K.C.B., Capt. J. E. Erskine, 1838, W.I.
Imaum, rec. ship, Commodore A. R. Sharpe, C.B., 1813, Jamaica.
Inconstant, 36, 1836, Capt. C. H. Freemantle, 1825, Vera Cruz.
Indus, 78, 1839, Cpt. Sir J. Stirling, Knt., 1818, Mediterranean.
Iris, 26, 1840, Capt. G. R. Mundy, 1837, China.
Isis, 44, 1819, Capt. Sir J. Marshall, Knt., K.C.H., 1814, Cape.
Jasper, st. ves., Mas.-Com. E. Rose, 1823, Pembroke.
Lark, 4, sur. v., 1830, Lieut.-Com. G. B. Lawrence, 1843, West Indies.
Larne, 18, 1829, Com. J. W. D. Brisbane, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Lightning, 2, st. v., 1823, Sec. Mas. W. Roberts, Woolwich.
Locust, 3, st. ves., 1840, Lt.-Cm. J. Lunn, 1829, Mediterranean.
Lucifer, st. surv. v., Com. Frazer, 1841, Ireland.
Lynx, 3, 1833, Lieut.-Com. J. T. Nott, 1810, Ireland.
Madagascar, 44, 1822, Cpt. John Foote, 1827, C. of Africa.
Malabar, 72, 1818, Capt. Sir G. R. Sartorius, Kt., 1814, Lisbon.
Mastiff, 2, 1813, sur. v. Mas.-Com. Thomas, 1808, Orkney.
Medea, 4, 1833, st. ves., Com. F. Warden, 1838, Mediterranean.
Medina, 2, st. v., 1840, Mas.-Com. W. Smithett, (act.) Liverpool.
Medusa, 2, st. v., 1839, Lt.-Com. J. P. Philipps, 1815, Liverpool.
Mercury, tender, Sec. Mast. J. Scarlett, Ports.
Merlin, 2, st. 1839, Lt.-Com. E. Keane, 1815, Liverpool.
Meteor, 2, st. 1824, Lieut.-Com. G. Buttler, 1811, Ireland.
Minden, 20, hos. sh., 1810, Capt. Michael Quin, 1837, China.
Modeste, 18, 1837, Com. Thomas Baillie, 1841, S. America.
Mohawk, Com. W. N. Fowell, 1839, L. Ontario.
Monkey, 1, st., Sec. Master W. Bryant, (act.) Woolwich.
Montreal, Lieut.-Com. J. Tyssen, 1832, Lake Erie.
Nautilus, 10, 1830, tender to Victoria and Albert, Lt.-Com. W. Tringham, 1826, Port.
Nereus, store ship, 1821, Mas.-Com. F. W. Bateman, 1837, Valparaiso.
Netley, 8, tender to Caledonia, Sec. Mas. F. H. May, Devonport.
Nimrod, 20, 1828, Com. F. H. H. Glasse, 1838, E. Indies.
North Star, 26, 1824, Capt. Sir J. E. Home, Bt. 1837, East Indies.
Ocean, 80, 1805, Cpt.-Sup. Peter Fisher, 1814, Sheerness.
Orestes, 18, 1834, Com. E. St. Ledger Cannon, 1838, Mediterranean.
Otter, st. v., Lt.-Com. H. P. Jones, 1814, Holyhead.
Pantaloon, 10, 1831, Lt.-Cm. C. H. Lapidge, 1824, Portsmouth.
Pearl, 20, 1828, Com. R. H. Stopford, 1830, S.A.
Pelican, 16, 1812, Com. P. Justice (*b*), 1824, China.
Penelope, st., 24, 1829, Capt. W. Jones, 1828, Coast of Africa.
Perseus, rec. sh., 1812, Lieut.-Cm. W. Greet, 1840, Tower.
Philomel, 6, 1842, Com. B. J. Sulivan, 1841, Brazils.
Pickle, 2, 1827, Lieut.-Com. J. A. Bainbridge, 1826, West Indies.
Pigmy, 1, st. v., 1827, Lieut.-Com. C. Autridge, 1815, Pembroke.
Pike, 1, st., Lt.-Com. A. Boyter, 1815, Portpat.
Pilot, 16, 1838, Com. W. H. Jervis, 1834, China.
Pique, 36, 1834, Capt. the Hon. M. Stopford, 1825, North America.
Plover, sur. v., Capt. R. Collinson, C.B., 1842, China.
Pluto, 2, 1831, Lieut.-Com. W. P. Crozier, 1837, Ireland.
Poictiers, 72, 1809, Com.-Sup. W. H. Shirreff, 1809, Chatham.
Polyphemus, 1, st., 1839, Lieut.-Com. T. Spark, 1812, Mediterranean.
Princess Alice, Mast.-Com. Smithett (act.) Dover.
Prompt, schooner, Mate A. Parkwright, 1843, Coast of Africa.
Prospero, 1, st. v., 1829, Sec. Mas. P. Rundle (act.), reserve packet, Pembroke.
Queen, 110, 1839, Vice-Admiral Sir E. W. C. R. Owen, K.C.B., G. F. Rich, 1822, Medit.
Racer, 16, 1833, Com. A. Reed, 1837, Brazils.
Rapid, 10, 1829, Lt.-Com. E. C. Earle, 1813, Coast of Africa.
Rattlesnake, troop ship, 1822, Mast.-Com. R. Brown, 1831, China.
Raven, 4, 1829, Lt.-Com. John Stephen, 1815, Sheerness.
Redwing, st. v., 1834, Com. Thomas Bevis, 1829, Liverpool.
Resistance, 1805, tr. s., Com. C. G. C. Patey, 1840, North America.
Rhadamanthus, 2, st., 1832, Mast.-Com. Laen, 1812, particular service.
Ringdove, 16, 1833, Com. Sir W. Daniell, Knt., 1826, West Indies.
Romney, depôt, 1815, Lt.-Com. R. M'Clure, 1837, Havannah.
Rose, 18, 1821, Com. H. R. Sturt, 1830, W.I.
Royal Sovereign, 1804, Capt.-Sup. Sir W. Pell, 1813, Pembroke.
Royalist, Lieut.-Com. P. Chetwode, 1832, E. I.
St. Vincent, 120, 1815, Adm. Sir C. Rowley, Bt. G.C.B., G.C.H., Capt. R. F. Rowley, 1830, Portsmouth.
Salamander, st., 4, 1832, Com. A. S. Hamond, 1838, South America.
Samarang, 26, 1822, Capt. Sir E. Belcher, C.B., 1841, China.
San Josef, 110, 1783, Rear-Ad. Sir Samuel Pym, K.C.B., Capt. F. W. Burgoyne, 1815, Plym.
Sapphire, tr. sh., 1827, Mas.-Cm. J. R. Fittock, 1827, China.
Sappho, 16, 1837, Com. the Hon. G. Hope, 1840, Cape of Good Hope.
Satellite, 18, 1826, Com. R. H. B. Rowley, 1842, Brazils.
Savage, 10, 1830, Lt.-Cm. J. H. Bowker, 1815, Mediterranean.
Scout, 18, 1832, Com. Hon. J. R. Drummond, 1838, Mediterranean.
Scylla, 16, 1809, Com. R. Sharpe, 1826, North America.
Seaflower, 6, cutt., 1830, Com. N. Robilliard, 1841, Jersey.
Sealark, 18, 1843, Com. T. L. Gooch, 1842, Coast of Africa.
Serpent, 16, 1832, Com. W. Nevill, 1825, China.
Shearwater, 2, st. v., 1826, Com. C. G. Robinson, 1838, surv. Coast of Scotland.
Siren, 16, 1841, Com. W. Smith (*b*), 1826, E. I.

Skylark, 4, 1826, Lt.-Com. G. Morris, 1823, part. serv.
Snake, 16, 1832, Commander Hon. W. B. Devereux, 1836, Mediterranean.
Snipe, 2, 1828, Lieut.-Com. G. Raymond, 1815, Ireland.
Sparrow, 6, ketch, Lieut. H. C. Otter, 1831, Chatham.
Spartan, 26, 1841, Capt. the Hon. C. G. J. B. Elliot, 1841, West Indies.
Speedy, 2, 1828, Lieut.-Com. G. Beaufoy, 1821, Sheerness.
Spider, 6, 1835, Lieut.-Com. R. E. Pym, 1815, South America.
Spiteful, st., 6, 1842, Com. W. Maitland, 1840, China.
Sprightly, 1, st., 1823, Mast.-Com. J. P. Moon, (act.), Holyhead.
Spy, 3, 1841, Lt.-Com. S. O. Wooldridge, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Star, 10, 1835, Cm. R. J. W. Dunlop, 1842, Coast of Africa.
Stromboli, 6, 1839, Com. the Hon. E. Plunkett, 1840, Ireland.
Styx, 6, st., 1841, Capt. A. T. E. Vidal, 1825, Azores.
Swallow, 1, st. Mast.-Com. R. Sherlock (act.), Dover.
Sylph, 2, tender to Caledonia, Devonport.
Sylvia, 6, Lt. E. E. Turnour, 1842, tndr. to Seaflower, Portsmouth.
Talbot, 26, 1824, Capt. Sir T. Thompson, 1837, South America.
Tartarus, st. v., 1834, Com. J. Wolfe, 1843, Ireland.
Thalia, 42, 1830, Capt. C. Hope, 1826, East Ind.
Thunder, 6, sur.v., 1829, Com. E. Barnett, 1838, West Indies.
Thunderbolt, 6, st., 1842, Com. G. N. Broke, 1840, Cape of Good Hope.
Tortoise, 12, Com. W. Finlaison, 1820, Ascension.
Tyne, 26, 1826, Capt. W. N. Glascock, 1833, Mediterranean.
Urgent, 2, st. v., Mas.-Com. J. Emerson, 1810, Liverpool.
Vernon, 50, 1832, Capt. W. Walpole, 1819, Ireland.
Vestal, 26, 1833, Capt. C. Talbot, 1830, North America.
Vesuvius, 6, st., 1840, Com. E. Ommanney, 1840, Mediterranean.
Victoria and Albert, yacht, 1843, Capt. Lord A. Fitzclarence, 1821, Portsmouth.
Victory, 104, 1765, Captain Henderson, C.B., K.H., 1838, Portsmouth.
Vindictive, 50, 1813, Capt. Nicolas, C.B., K.H., 1815, Pacific.
Viper, 6, 1831, Lt.-Com. J. Carter, 1815, South America.
Virago, 6, st.-ves., 1843, Com. G. G. Otway, 1841, Mediterranean.
Vixen, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. G. Giffard, 1840, China.
Volage, 26, 1825, R.-Adm. Bowles, Capt. Sir W. Dickson, Bart., 1837, Cork.
Volcano, 2, st., 1836, Lieut.-Com. E. C. Miller, 1826, Ireland.
Wanderer, 16, 1835, Com. G. H. Seymour, 1841, East Indies.
Warspite, 50, 1807, Capt. W. P. Wallis, 1819, Mediterranean.
Wasp, 16, 1812, Com. H. Bagot, 1835, West Indies.
Widgeon, 1, st., Lt.-Com. T. S. Scriven, 1822, Dover.
Wildfire, 1, st. 1826, Lieut.-Com. A. Darby, 1828, Weymouth.
William and Mary, yacht, 1807, Commodore Sir F. A. Collier, Kt., C.B., K.C.H., 1808, Woolwich.
Winchester, 52, 1822, Rear-Adm. the Hon. J. Percy, Capt. C. Eden, 1841, C. of Good Hope.
Wolf, 18, 1826, Com. A. Vyner (act.), 1841, China.
Wolverine, 16, 1836, Com. C. F. Brown, 1841, China.
Young Hebe, Lieut.-Com. W. T. Bate, 1841, China.
Zephyr, 1, st., 1827, Lieut.-Com. Jas. Small, 1825, Holyhead.

HER MAJESTY'S PACKET BRIGS AT FALMOUTH :—

Crane, Lieut.-Com. Lewis, 1821.
Express, Lt.-Com. E. Herrick.
Linnet, Lieut.-Com. P. H. Dicken.
Penguin, Lt.-Com. W. Leslie.
Peterel, Lt.-Com. T. Creser.
Swift, Lieut.-Com. J. Douglas.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.
ROYAL NAVY.

PROMOTIONS.

Captain—George Dobson.

Retired Captains—William Holman, John Forbes, William Norris Tonge.

Commanders—Philip Nind, Charles Alex. Johnston, William Crispin, F. Rogers Coghlan, Montagu Thomas, Arthur Vigner.

Retired Commanders under Her Majesty's Order in Council of 30th January, 1816—J. Read Bin ion, John Petley, Edmund Ker Cranstown Bacon, William Knight, James Valobra, Thomas Consitt.

Re ired Commanders under Her Majesty's Order in Council of November 1, 1830—S. Sison, B. Thelwall, B. Ashley, G. Ramshay, V. W. H. Bogle, Thomas Burdwood.

Lieutenants—Herbert Blachford Gray, Griffith Grismond Philipps, John Townsend, Bladen Edward Hawke, Frederick Charles Herbert, A. F. Webster.

Masters—William Elias Hyne, George Collier, Valentine Gardner Robert, Stephen Johns, Francis H. May.

Second Masters—William Brodie, William Henry Petch, Christopher Grigg, Joseph Wallis, Forbes Macbean, Alfred O. West, George Henry Forster, William Thomas Chapman, William Francis Farrant.

Mates—Packenham Osborne, Conway Mordaunt Shipley, Frederick Falkiner Nicholson, O. M. C. Read.

Surgeons—Fred. Newell Slight, M.D., James Walsh, M.D., Richard Denton Mason, William Wogan Baynes, Robert John Benjamin Chambers, Henry Macfarlane.

APPOINTMENTS.

Rear-Admiral—Sir George F. Seymour, Knt., C.B., G.C.H., to be Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific.

Captains—F. W. Beechy (1827) to Firefly, Henry Eden (1827) to Collingwood. Robert

Maunsell, C.B. (1812), to be a Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital, vice E. R. Locker, F.R.S., retired from ill health.

Commanders—C. F. Brown (1841) to Wolverine, vice Morris (acting), H. Layton (1825) to Cygnet, F. B. Montresor (1843), Frederick Cannon (1842), and P. B. Stewart (1841), to study steam on board the Sulphur, at Woolwich; C. B. Hamilton (1844), to Frolic, vice Willis, promoted.

Lieutenants—R. W. Aldrich (1842), to Firefly; Robert Lowcay (1815), to Bonetta; Edw. A. T. Loyd (1842), to Geyser; J. B. Emery (1827), of Comet, to Lucifer st.-v.; George Cearcland (1842), of Tartarus, to Hecate st.-v.; W. H. Church (1838), to Tartarus, vice Cleaveland; W. Woolcock (*a*), (1809), to Poictiers; Richard Fowke (1816), to Ocean; Jas. D. Agassiz (1829), to America; E. C. Miller (1826), to Volcano; T. H. Downes 1838), to Firefly; W. Macfarlane (1815), to be Agent for Mails; J. Imrie (1811), to be Agent on board the Java transport; Lord F. H. Kerr (1840), from Thunderbolt (addit.) to Winchester.

Masters—L. C. Bailey (1838), to Firefly; Stephen Johns (1844), to Wolverine; Richard Hoskyn (1840), (re-appointed), to Comet; M. S. S. Burney (1841, Cygnet.

Mates—Charles G. M'Grigor (1840), to America; C. Shiple, to Excellent; John Cartwright (1840), to Cyclops; F. Rooke (1842), to St. Vincent; W. H. Hood (1840), to Royal William; P. W. Coventry, of Queen, who came home Act. Lieut. of Vernon, is to rejoin his ship; James Simpson (1839), to Camperdown; Charles H. Young (1839), to Agincourt; Maurice Jones, to Caledonia; H. D. Blanckley (1839), of Caledonia, to Flamer.

Second Masters—G. Stovin, to Firefly. W. E. Freeman to Volage.

Midshipmen—H. M. Elliot, to Aigle; the Hon. H. Moreton, to St. Vincent; W. C. Chapman, from Caledonia, to America; Molyneux and Howard, to Excellent. J. R. Harwood, to St. Vincent; R. H. L. Warner and A. Chetham, to Excellent.

Naval Cadets—C. Bullock, to Lucifer; Alfred Hasler Helby, from Malabar, to Warspite; W. J. Smith, to Bonetta.

Surgeons—D. Thomas (1843), to Firefly; Lenox T. Cunningham, M.D. (1840), to Tortoise; John Watson (1834), of Imaum, to be Medical Storekeeper at Jamaica Hospital, vice Middleton, appointed to Hawlbowline Hospital, Cove; F. W. Le Grand (1839), to Fox; T. E. King, M.D. (1838), to be Surgeon-Superintendent in Angelina convict-ship.

Assistant-Surgeons—C. C. Easton (1838), to Sparrow; Herbert H. Mackenzie (addit.) (1839), to Penelope; James P. Lawrence (1843), to Styx; James C. Walsh (1840), of Lark surv.-schooner, and James Laird (1841), of Illustrious flag-ship, West India station (addit.), to Illustrious, for hospital service at Bermuda; Thos. Fred. Wolrige (addit.), to Caledonia; J. Willes (acting), to St. Vincent; J. Addison (1837), from St. Vincent, to Illustrious; G. H. Ryan (1842), and W. H. Bent (1840), to Illustrious; J. W. Moffatt (1835), from Pickle, to Hermes, vice J. Laffer (1837), to Imaum; J. Walsh (1840), from Imaum, to Pickle; James Fisher (1840), and James Gordon (1834), to Camperdown, to do duty at Melville Hospital; John Gray, A. E. Mackay (act.), to Haslar Hospital.

Chaplain—Rev. H. H. Franklin (1836), to America.

Naval Instructor—K. M. Knapp, to America.

Clerks—G. Jefferey (addit.), from Excellent, to Tortoise; M. S. Winter (in charge), to Firefly; Chas. E. Colman (in charge), from Queen, to Polyphemus; J. Parmiter (in charge), to Thames; Wm. Sadler, from San Josef, to Pantaloon (in charge), vice Chapman, dec.; John Lewis, to San Josef, vice Sadler.

COAST-GUARD.

Appointments—Lieut. Geo. Westbrook, R.N., to command Tartar, R.N., vice Lieut. Robert Butcher, R.N., resigned, and re-appointed to a station; Lieut. Thomas Brewer, R.N. to Sennen Cove, vice Lieut. C. W. Poynter to command Sylvia, R.C.; Lieut. Robert Butcher, R.N., to Portobello, vice Lieut. Brand, R.N., to Leigh, new station; Lieut. Charles Robinson to the Lepe station, vice Lieut. Westbrook; Lieut. Jas. Sandford Davison, R.N., to command a Coast-Guard Station; Commander William Edmonstone, R.N., to be Inspecting-Commander at Largs, N.B., vice Commander Jos. Maynard, R.N., resigned.

Removals—Lieut. Chas. B. Warren, R.N., from the Cadmus, to Mothercombe station, vice Lieut. Lane, R.N., resigned; Lieut. Robert Taylor, R.N., from Stromness, N.B. (station abolished), to Greatham, Sunderland district.

ARMY.

WAR OFFICE, March 22.

7th Dragoon Guards—Lieut. J. H. Gray, from 14th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut., vice Robertson, appointed to 2nd Dragoons.

2nd Dragoons—Lieut. A. Robertson, from 7th Dragoon Guards, to be Lieut. vice Ramsay, appointed to 14th Light Dragoons.

3rd Light Dragoons—Cornet E. B. Cureton, from 16th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut. without purch., vice White, deceased, Dec. 19.

14th Light Dragoons—Cornet B. W. Ramsay, from 2nd Dragoons, to be Lieut., vice Gray, appointed to 7th Dragoon Guards.

15th Light Dragoons—Cornet A. Blandy to be Lieut. without purch., vice Ede, deceased, Dec. 21, 1843.

3rd Foot—To be Capts. without p.—Lieut. H. Blair, vice Stewart, killed in action, Dec. 30, 1843; Lieut. J. Speedy, vice Magrath, died of his wounds, Jan. 14. To be Lieuts. without purch.—Ensign R. W. Woods, vice Maud, appointed Adjutant, Dec. 30, 1843; Ensign F. N. Dore, vice Speedy, Jan. 14. To be Ensigns without purch.—F. G. Syms, Gent., vice Woods, promoted, March 22; E. S. Charlton, Gent., vice Dore, promoted, March 23. To be Adjutant—Lieut. F. F. Maude, vice Blair promoted, Dec. 30, 1843.

9th—Lieut. F. L. Bennett, from 13th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Williams, who exchanges, Jan. 15.

13th—Lieut. W. W. Williams, from 9th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Bennett, who exchanges, Jan. 15.

18th—F. B. Tritton, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Mostyn, appointed to 27th Foot.

21st—Major R. T. R. Pattoun to be Lieut.-Col. without purch., vice Walker, deceased; Brevet-Major J. C. Peddie to be Major, vice Pattoun; Lieut. G. Frend, from 31st Foot, to be Capt., vice Peddie, Dec. 5, 1843.

27th—Ensign O. Langley to be Lieut. by

purch., vice Hutton, who retires; Ensign T. Mostyn, from 18th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Langley.

28th—Lieut. H. F. Wakefield, from 40th Foot, to be Capt. without purch., vice Lugard, whose promotion in this Corps, on 29th Oct., 1843, has been cancelled, Dec. 30.

29th—Ensign H. G. Walker, to be Lieut. without purch., vice Moore, deceased, Dec. 31; Ensign E. T. Scudamore, from 71st Regt., to be Ensign, vice Walker, promoted.

31st—Major H. C. Van Cortlandt to be Lieut.-Col. without purch., vice Churchill, killed in action; Brevet-Major J. Spence to be Major, vice Van Cortlandt; Lieut. E. Lugard to be Capt., vice Spence, Dec. 30.

34th—Lieut. C. A. Schreiber, to be Capt. by purch., vice Broderick, who retires; Ensign E. F. Agnew, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Schreiber; J. Robinson, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Agnew.

38th—Lieut. J. J. Grant, to be Capt. without purch., vice Bt.-Major A. Campbell, who ret. on full-pay; Ensign H. Holden, to be Lieut. vice Grant; G. Green, Gent., to be Ensign vice Holden.

39th—Gent. Cadet G. F. C. Bray, from Rl. Mil. Col., to be Ensign without purch., vice Bray, died of his wounds.

50th—Lieut. H. Needham, to be Captain without purch., vice Cobban, killed in action; Ensign E. J. Chambers, to be Lieut. vice Needham, Dec. 30, 1843; W. Du Vernet, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Chambers.

64th—Capt. G. Jackson, from half-pay Glengary Fencibles, to be Capt., vice Bt.- Major B. Fox, who exch.; Lieut. H. A. Cumberlege, to be Capt. by purch., vice Jackson, who retires; Ensign G. L. Maddison, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Cumberlege; Gent. Cadet N. H. Shute, from Rl. Mil. College, to be Ensign by purch., vice Maddison.

71st—W. S. Prince, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Scudamore, removed to 29th Foot.

73rd—Capt. B. Brown, from h.-p. Unatt., to be Capt. vice Dawson, promoted, March 23.

86th—Lieut. W. H. Woodgate, to be Capt. without purch., vice Rattray, dec., Nov. 14; Ensign and Adjutant J. Boyd, to have the rank of Lieut., Nov. 13; Ensign J. Jerome, to be Lieut., vice Woodgate, Nov. 14; Ensign F. R. Creed, to be Lieut. without purch., vice Stuart, dec., Nov. 21. To be Ensigns, without purch.: G. W. Robinson, Gent., vice Creed; J. R. Stuart, Gent., vice Jerome, March 23.

93rd—Serj.-Major D. Sinclair, to be Quartermaster, vice G. Macdonald, who retires upon half-pay.

97th—Lieut. I. M. Moore, to be Capt. without purch., vice Craigie, dec., Feb. 20.

Unattached—Lieut. B. Brown, from 73rd Foot, to be Capt. without purchase.

Brevet—Captain G. Jackson, 64th Foot, to be Major in the Army, Jan. 10.

Memorandum—The commission of Lieut. Robert Hawkes, in 4th Foot, has been dated 8th July, 1837, in order to place him in his original position in that corps.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, March 21.

Ordnance Medical Department—Assist.-Sur. J. E. T. Parratt, to be Surgeon, Feb. 22.

Montgomeryshire Yeomanry Cavalry—Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart., to be Lt.-Col.-Commandant, vice Lieut.-Col. C. W. W. Wynn, res.; H. A. Proctor, Esq., to be Major, vice D. Pugh, res., Jan 26.

Dumfries, Roxburgh, and Selkirk Regt. of *Militia—John Scott, Esq.* (and not John Scots, Esq., as inserted in the Gazette of Tuesday last), to be Captain.

Royal Gloucestershire Regt. of Yeomanry Cavalry—George William Blaythwayte, Esq., to be Major, vice Browne, promoted; Henry Barton, Gent., to be Lieutenant, vice Godsall, resigned.

WAR-OFFICE, March 29.

1st Life Guards—Cornet and Sub-Lieut. R. Sutton to be Lieut., by purch., vice Clifton, who retires; George Viscount Dupplin to be Cornet and Sub-Lieutenant, by purch., vice Sutton.

2nd Dragoons—F. U. Graham, Gent., to be Cornet, by purch., vice Pilgrim, who retires.

Coldstream Regt. of Foot Guards—Lieut. and Capt. G. Drummond to be Capt. and Lieut.-Colonel, by purch., vice the Hon. J. Hope, who retires; Ensign and Lieut. T. M. Steele to be Lieut. and Capt., by purch., vice Drummond; Ensign Sir G. F. R. Walker, Bart., from 26th Foot, to be Ensign and Lieut., by purch., vice Steele.

4th Foot—G. Collins, Gent., to be Ensign, without purch., vice Smith, deceased.

12th—Ensign W. E. Crofton to be Adjutant, vice Hamley, promoted.

18th—Serjeant-Major E. Jones to be Ensign, without purch., vice Tritton, appointed to 23rd Foot.

21st—Assist.-Surg. A. C. Webster, from 41st Foot, to be Assist.-Surg., vice Hart, who exchanges.

23rd—Sec. Lieut. F. E. Campbell to be First Lieut., by purch., vice Blackett, who retires; Ensign F. B. Tritton, from 18th Foot, to be Sec. Lieut., without purch.; the Hon. W. M. Plunkett to be Sec. Lieut., by purch., vice Campbell.

28th—To be Lieuts., without purch., Ensign S. Read, vice Smart, promoted, March 23; Ensign J. D. Malcolm, vice Webb, appointed Adjutant. To be Ensigns, without purch., Serjeant-Major J. Marshall, 28th Regt., vice Read; J. V. Ellis, Gent., vice Malcolm.

31st—To be Lieuts., without purch., Ensign T. Scarman, from 39th Foot, vice Frend, prom. in 21st Foot, Dec. 5; Ensign H. W. J. Gray, from 50th Foot., vice Bourke, deceased, Dec. 20, 1843.

39th — J. R. S. Fitz-Gerald, Gent., to be Ensign, without purch., vice Sharman, prom. in 31st Foot.

40th—Ensign S. Snelling to be Lieut., without purch., vice Wakefield, promoted in 28th Foot, Dec. 30; R. S. Payne, Gent., to be Ensign, without purch., vice Snelling.

41st—Assist.-Surg. C. Hart, from 21st Foot, to be Assist.-Surgeon, vice Webster, who exchanges.

44th—Lieut. J. C. L. Carter to be Captain, without purch., vice Brevet-Major J. Johnstone, who retires upon full-pay; Ensign J. Bradley to be Lieut., vice Carter; Ensign E. Walter to be Lieut., by purch., vice Hackett, who retires, March 30; W. Parker, Gent., to be Ensign, vice Bradley; the Hon. C. W. H. Agar to be Ensign, by purch., vice Walter, March 30.

45th—Capt. E. Brown, from h.p. 1st Garrison Batt., to be Capt., vice F. Nott, who exchanges; Lieut. G. A. L. Blenkinsopp to be Capt., by purch., vice Brown, who retires; Ensign R. Miller to be Lieut., by purch., vice Blenkinsopp; G. Coxon, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Miller.

47th—Capt. J. W. Collins, from 78th Foot, to be Capt., vice Elrington, who exchanges.

48th—Ensign W. Fetherston to be Lieut., by purch., vice Tobin, who retires; W. Har-

man, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Fetherston.

49th—Major R. Hunt, from 57th Foot, to be Lieut. Colonel, without purch., vice G. Pasley, who retires upon full pay; Major T. S. Reignolds to be Lieut.-Colonel, without purch., vice R. Hunt, who retires upon full pay; Bt.-Major D. MacAndrew to be Major, vice Reignolds; Lieut. J. Ramsay to be Capt., vice MacAndrew.

50th—J. Purcell, Gent., to be Ensign, without purch., vice Gray, promoted in 31st Foot.

52nd—Lieut. H. Carden to be Adjutant, vice Brownrigg, promoted March.

57th—Capt. T. Shadforth to be Major, without purch., vice Hunt, promoted in 49th Foot; Lieut. W. J. M'Carthy, to be Capt., vice Shadforth; Ensign J. E. D. M'Carthy to be Lieut., vice W. J. M'Carthy; W. T. Potts, Gent., to be Ensign, without purch., vice M'Carthy.

59th—C. S. Baker, Gent., to be Ensign, without purch., vice Cox, removed to 62nd Regt.

62nd—Ensign E. S. Harrison to be Lieut., without purch., vice Jackson, promoted; Ens. R. A. Cox, from 59th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Harrison.

72nd—Ensign R. M. Lucas to be Lieut., by purch., vice Cole, promoted in 1st West India Regt.; Ensign Lydson Newman, from 67th Foot, to be Ensign, without purch.; W. Bertram, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Lucas.

78th—Captain T. W. Elrington, from 47th Foot, to be Capt., vice Collins, who exchanges.

79th—H. A. Murray, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Borthwick, who retires.

90th—W. L. Braybrooke, Gent., to be Ens., without purch., vice Suckling, promoted in 1st West India Regt.

96th—C. O. E. Wilmot, Gent., to be Ens., without purch., vice Bruce, deceased.

1st West India Regt.—Capt. T. Armstrong, from h.p. 98th Foot, to be Capt., vice Doran appointed Paymaster of 76th Foot; Lieut. C. A. H. Rumbold, from 21st Foot, to be Capt., by purch., vice Armstrong, who retires; Ens. H. J. Suckling, from 90th Foot, to be Lieut., without purch., vice Paton, appointed to 91st Foot.

Ceylon Rifle Regt.—Lieut. H. J. Suckling, from 1st West India Regt., to be Lieut., vice Hodges, promoted.

Brevet—Capt. D. Brown, 45th Foot, to be Major in the Army, July 22; Capt. T. Armstrong, 1st West India Regt., to be Major in the Army, Jan. 10.

Staff—Colonel Sir R. H. Sale, G.C.B., 13th Foot, to be Quartermaster-General to the Queen's troops serving in the East Indies, vice Colonel Churchill, killed in action.

Memorandum—The exchange between Capt. Whimper, 98th Foot, and Capt. Grimes, 55th Foot, has been dated June 23, 1843, and not Dec. 22, 1843, as previously stated. The name of the Staff-Assist.-Surgeon, appointed on 15th inst., is Willes, not Willis, as previously stated.

WAR OFFICE, April 1.

The Rev. George Robert Gleig, Chaplain of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, to be Principal Chaplain to the Forces, vice the Rev. William Whitfield Dakins, D.D., who retires.

The Rev. Robert William Browne, M.A., to be Chaplain to Troops stationed in London.

WAR-OFFICE, April 5.

2nd Regt. of Life Guards—R. B. Hesketh, Gent., to be Cornet and Sub-Lieut. by purch., vice Montgomery, whose appointment has been cancelled.

2nd Drags.—Capt. J. R. T. Graham, from h.p. of the Regt., to be Capt., vice Lord W. Hill, dec.; Lieut. G. A. F. Sulivan to be Capt. by purch., vice Graham, who retires; Cornet H. T. C. S. Pigott to be Lieut., vice Sulivan; W. W. Hozier, Gent., to be Cornet by purch., vice Pigott.

6th—Assist.-Surg. C. G. Logie, M.D., from 72nd Foot, to be Assist.-Surg., vice Dolmage, promoted to 54th Foot.

11th Lt. Drags.—Cornet J. T. Wightman to be Lieut. by purch., vice Lord Aberdour, who retires; W. G. B. Cresswell, Gent., to be Cornet by purch., vice Wightman.

1st or Grenadier Regt. of Foot Guards—Br. Col. T. F. Wade, from h.p. Unatt., to be Capt. and Lieut.-Col., vice G. M'Kinnon, who exchanges; Lieut. and Capt. E. B. Reynardson to be Capt. and Lieut.-Col. by purch., vice Wade, who retires; Ensign and Lieut. the Hon. R. W. P. Curzon to be Lieut. and Capt. by purch., vice Reynardson; Ensign C. G. Ellison, from 4th Foot, to be Ensign and Lieut. by purch., vice Curzon.

11th Foot—Capt. W. Jesse, from h.p. Unatt., to be Capt., vice Bertram C. Mitford, who exchanges; Lieut. A. F. Jenner to be Capt. by purch., vice Jesse, who retires; Ensign W. Chalmers to be Lieut. by purch., vice Jenner; C. J. Powell, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Chalmers.

49th—H. E. Quin, Gent., to be Ensign without purch.

21st—Second Lieut. T. W. Prevost to be First Lieut. by purch., vice Rumbold, prom. in 1st West India Regt.; W. H. Ballingall, Gent., to be Second Lieut. by purch., vice Prevost.

54th—Assist.-Surg. G. Dolmage, from 6th Drags., to be Surgeon, vice Ingham, who retires upon half-pay.

72nd—Assist-Surgeon G. Horniblow, M.D., from the Staff, to be Assist.-Surg., vice Logie, appointed to 6th Dragoons.

73rd—Capt. G. C. Collins, from h.p., 61st Foot, to be Capt., vice W. H. Kenny, who exchanges; Lieut. M. C. O'Connell to be Capt. by purch., vice Collins, who retires; Ensign W. C. Bisse to be Lieut. by purch., vice O'Connell; A. C. Knox, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Bisse.

86th—Capt. W. Butler, from h.p. 27th Foot, to be Capt., vice H. Fenwick, who exchanges; Lieut. J. H. Thursby to be Capt. by purch.

Unatt.—Bt.-Col. Sir De L. Evans, K.C.B., from Capt. h.p., 5th West India Regt., to be Major without purch.

Brevet—Capt. W. Butler, 86th Foot, to be Major in the Army; Capt. G. C. Collins, 73rd Foot, to be Major in the Army, July 22, 1830; Capt. J. R. T. Graham, of 2nd Dragoons, to be Major in the Army, Jan. 10, 1837.

Staff—Col. T. E. Napier, on h.p. Unatt., to be Dep. Adj.-General to the Forces serving in Ireland, vice Col. Wade, who resigns, April 5; Paymaster C. H. Peirse, from the 16th Foot, to be Paymaster of a recruiting district, vice H. B. B. Adams, who retires upon h.p., April 1.

Mem.—The date of the commissions of Sec. Lieut. Tritton, 23rd Foot, and Ensign Marshall, 28th Regt., are 28th March, 1844, and not 29th ult., as previously stated.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, April 3.

Rl. Regt. of Artillery—Sec. Capt. W. Y. Fenwick to be Capt., vice Cornelius, retired on h.p.; First Lieut. H. A. Turner to be Sec. Capt. vice Fenwick; Sec. Lieut. D. M'Dowell Fraser to be First Lieut., vice Turner, March

30; Serj.-Major R. Eager, to be Quartermaster, vice Barnes, retired on full-pay, April 1.

Herts Yeomanry Cavalry, Cashio Troop—Cornet John Branton to be Lieut., vice Oddie, resigned; Thomas Kinder, Gent., to be Cornet, vice Branston, promoted.

WAR-OFFICE, April 4.

MEMORANDUM. — Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to permit the 40th Regiment to bear on its regimental or second colour, and likewise on its appointments, in addition to any other distinctions heretofore granted, the words "Candahar," "Ghuznee," and "Cabul," "1842," in commemoration of the services of the regiment during the second campaign in Affghanistan, in the year 1842.

WAR-OFFICE, April 12.

8th Light Dragoons—Cornet E. Tomkinson to be Lieut. by purch., vice Smythe, who retires; the Hon. O. F. Toler to be Cornet by purch., vice Tomkinson.

Scots Fusilier Guards—C. T. Wemyss, Esq. (Page of Honour to the Queen), to be Ensign, and Lieut. without p., April 11; Lord B. T. M. Cecil, to be Ensign, and Lieut. by purch., vice the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, whose appointment has been cancelled.

18th Foot—Lieut.-Colonel T. S. Reignolds, from 49th Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice Adams, who exchanges.

24th—Gent. Cadet Hon R. Handcock, from the Rl. Mil. Coll., to be Ensign by purch., vice Woodgate, who retires.

26th—Gent. Cadet R. W. Clerke, from Rl. Mil. Coll., to be Ensign by purch., vice Sir G. Walker, Bart., app. to the Coldstream Guards.

49th—Lieut.-Col. H. W. Adams, from 18th Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice Reignold, who exchanges.

52nd—Lieut. J. H. Alleyne, to be Captain by purch., vice the Hon. H. C. Grey, who retires; Ensign L. H. Peel, to be Ensign by purch., vice Alleyne; A. G. Corbet, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Peel.

59th—Lieut. W. Fulton, to be Captain by purch., vice Fuller, who retires; Ensign R. C. Holmes, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Fulton; E. F. B. S. Stanhope, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Holmes.

79—Capt. E. J. Elliot, to be Major by purch., vice Isham, who retires; Lieut. R. J. M. Napier, to be Captain by purch., vice Elliot; Ensign and Adjutant H. Mackay, to have the rank of Lieut., April 11; Ensign W. A. Mainwaring, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Napier; O. Graham, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Mainwaring.

3rd West India Regt.—Lieut. R. H. Macdonnell, to be superseded.

Unattached—Lieut. C. Lee, from 77th Foot, to be Captain without purch.

Memorandum—The Christian names of Ens. Coxon, 45th Regt., are George Stacpole.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, April. 14.

Rl. Reg. of Artillery—Capt. and Bt.-Major J. H. Wood, to be Lieut.-Colonel vice Darby, retires on full-pay; Sec. Capt. F. Weller, to be Captain vice Wood; First Lieut. T. B. F. Marriot, to be Sec. Capt. vice Weller; Sec. Lieut. J. D. Telfer, to be First Lieut. vice Marriott; Capt. and Bt.-Major W. E. Jackson, to be Lieut.-Colonel vice the Hon. W. Arbuthnot, retires on full-pay; Sec. Capt. T. Knatchbull, to be Capt. vice Jackson; First Lieut. T. Elwyn, to be Sec. Capt. vice Knatchbull; Sec. Lieut. C. J. Strange, to be First Lieut. vice Elwyn; Capt. and Bt.-Major G. Durnford, to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice Macbean, retires on full-pay; Sec. Capt. J. H. St. John, to be Capt. vice Durnford; First Lieut. C. J. Wright, to be Sec. Capt. vice St. John; Sec. Lieut. R. Gregory, to be First Lieut. vice Wright; Sec. Capt. R. J. Dacres, to be Capt. vice Morgan, retires on full-pay; First Lieut. G. A. F. Derinzy, to be Sec. Capt. vice Dacres; Sec. Lieut. H. P. Newton, to be First Lieut. vice Derinzy.

WHITEHALL, April 17.

The Queen has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal, granting the dignity of a Knight of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto William Chalmers, of Glenericht, in the county of Perth, Esq., Companion of the Most Hon. Military Order of the Bath and Colonel in the Army.

WAR-OFFICE, April 19.

4th Foot—D. J. Gamble, Gent., to be Ens., by purch., vice Ellison, appointed to 1st or Genadier Regt. of Foot Guards.

16th—Ensign G. A. E. Wall to be Lieut. by purch., vice Nembhard, who retires; George De la Poer Beresford, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Wall.

18th—Capt. A. N. Campbell, from 92nd Foot, to be Capt. vice Sir W. Macgregor, Bart., who exchanges.

28th—J. Meacham, Gent., to be Ensign, without purch., vice Marshall, whose appointment has been cancelled.

40th—Lieut. G. Webb, from 1st West India Regt., to be Lieut. vice Olpherts, promoted in 1st West India Regt.

43rd—R. Agar, Gent., to be Assist.-Surgeon, vice Thompson, who resigns.

47th—Lieut. J. Orr, from h.p. 89th Foot, to be Liet., vice Elrington, appointed Paymaster, 13th Light Dragoons; Ensign H. C. Lodder, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Orr, who retires; J. Birney, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Lodder.

56th—Lieut. J. Waddell to be Adjutant vice Lacy, who resigns the Adjutancy only.

63rd—E. N. Daly, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Masterman deceased.

73rd—Lieut. P. B. Bicknell to be Adjutant vice Brown, promoted.

87th—First Lieut. W. P. Lea to be Adjutant, vice O'Brien, who resigns the Adjutancy only.

92nd—Capt. Sir W. Macgregor, Bart., from 18th Foot, to be Capt. vice Campbell, who exchanges.

95th—Lieut. E. J. Cruice to be Capt. without purch., vice Tathwell, deceased; Ensign J. A. R. Raines to be Lieut., vice Cruice, April 5; T. B. Feneran, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Raines.

1st West India Regt.—Ensign R. D'Oyly Fletcher to be Lieut. by purch., vice Webb, appointed to 40th Foot; W. Sankey, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Fletcher.

Southern Regt. of Nottinghamshire Yeomanry Cavalry—J. Morley, Gent., to be Lieut., vice T. B. Charlton, promoted.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

March 21st, at Mannheim, the Lady of Col. Salwey, of a son.

March 25th, at the Ryalls, Seaton, Devonshire, the Lady of Major Daubeney, C.B., 55th Foot, of a son.

March 29th, at Alverton House, Penzance, the wife of Capt. Anson, R.N., of a son.

March 29th, at Cheltenham, the Lady of Lieut.-Colonel Ley, E.I.C.S., of a daughter.

March 30th, at Liverpool, the Lady of Capt. Whitehead, E.I.C.S., of a son.

March 30th, at Cork, the Lady of Major Poynts, 30th Regiment, of a daughter.

April 4th, at Reading, the Lady of Major-General Tickell, C.B., Bengal Engineers, of a son.

April 7th, at Wester Coates House, Edinburgh, the Lady of Lieut.-Colonel J. Low, C.B., of a daughter.

April 9th, at Windsor, the Lady of Capt. Moorsom, Scotch Fusilier Guards, of a son.

April 13th, at her father's house, Ipswich, the Lady of Major Wm. M. N. Sturt, Bengal Army, of a son.

April 13th, at Nottingham, the wife of C. F. Gregg, Esq., Enniskillen Dragoons, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

Nov. 27th, at the Mauritius, T. G. S. Swan, Esq., Assist.-Com.-General to Sarah Banner, daughter of J. B. Price, Esq., Dep.-Commissary-General.

March 28th, at Farnham, Major Duberley, 64th Regiment, to Katharine Powell, daughter of the late Wadham Locke, Esq., M.P.

April 2nd, at St. Mary Abbott, Kensington, Capt. John Francis Grant, late of the 1st West India Regiment, to Antoinette, widow of the late E. C. Taylor, Esq., of Broom Hall Manor, Sunning Hill, Berks.

April 9th, at St. Mary's Church, Eastry, Commander Thos. Harvey, R.N., eldest son of the late Vice-Admiral Sir T. Harvey, K.C.B., to Christian Bargrave, eldest daughter of William Bridger, Esq., of Eastry Court, Kent.

April 9th, at St. John's, Paddington, Francis, fourth son of the late General Sir Samuel Hawker, to Mary, elder daughter of the late Henry Vigne, Esq., of Church-hill, Walthamstow.

April 10th, at Marylebone Church, Capt. Chambers, Madras Fusiliers, to Elizabeth, daughter of R. Hand, Esq., of Richmond, Surrey.

April 10th, at Cheltenham, Geo. De Morgan of the Middle Temple, Esq., to Josephine, daughter of Rear-Admiral Sir Josiah Coghill Coghill.

April 10th, at Chelsea, T. Peregrine, Esq., of Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, to Charlotte, eldest daughter of Capt. Ford, of Chelsea College.

April 10th, at Giggleswick, in Craven, Capt. Stanton, of the late Maritime Service of the East India Company, to Isabella, daughter of the late T. Brown, Esq., of Stainforth.

April 13th, at Twickenham, W. G. Deane, Esq., Lieut. R.N., to Caroline, daughter of the late G. Arundel Nixon, Esq. of Brown's-barn, Kilkenny.

April 18th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Major A. M. Tullock, of the War Office, General Superintendent of Military Pensioners, to Emma Louisa, youngest daughter of Sir W. H. Pearson, of Hanover-square.

April 18th, at Plumstead, the Rev. W. Hornby, to Susan, third daughter of Capt. Phipps Hornby, R.N., C.B., Comptroller-General of the Coast Guard.

April 18th, at Leamington, T. A. Joyce, Esq., to Julia, only daughter of Major Bisshopp, K.H.

DEATHS.

1843.

Nov. 29th, at Thoran, Canada, Ensign Gibbs, late 8th Rl. Veteran Battalion.

Dec. 20th, at Lane End, Quartermaster Bryan, h.p., 19th Dragoons.

Dec. 24th, Lieut. S. P. Baker, Royal Marines.

1844.

Jan. 12th, Capt. Powell, h.p., 45th Foot.

Jan. 19th, Lieut. Freear, h.p., 30th Foot.

Jan. 21st, at Cheltenham, Capt. Carnie, unatt.

Jan. 31st, at Clones, Lieut. Pratt, h.p., 27th Foot.

Feb. 2nd, Capt. H. M'Millan, h.p., 21st Dragoons.

Feb. 14th, Lieut. Hubbard, h.p., Royal Marines.

Feb. 19th, at Corfu, Capt. Craigie, 97th Foot.

Feb. 20th, at Bristol, Major J. Birch, unatt.

Feb. 20th, at St. Vincent's, Ens. Smith, 46th Foot.

Feb. 28th, Lieut. Davison, h.p., 11th Foot.

March 9th, at Oestrich, Nassau, Surgeon, Dr. J. Matthews, h.p.

March 17th, at Reading, Ensign A. Smith, 4th Foot.

March 21st, at Sible Hedingham, Essex, in her 70th year, Mary Magdalen, the widow of the late Rear-Admiral George Fowke.

March 23rd, at Wick, aged 64, Lieut. A. Robertson, h.p., 27th Regt.

March 24th, at Edinburgh, Lieut. C. W. Hope, Rl. Engineers, youngest son of the late Lieut.-General Sir John Hope.

March 25th, at Laugharne, Carmarthenshire in his 77th year, Col. John Frederick Browne, C.B., late Lieut.-Colonel, Commanding 28th Foot.

March 26th, at Uxbridge, Colonel Sir John Gibbons, Rl. West Middlesex Militia.

March 26th, in Down-st., Piccadilly, Fanny, relict of the late Admiral Sir Hyde Parker.

March 26th, in London, General R. Bell, E.I.C.S.

March 28th, in his 80th year, R. Thomas, Esq., Commander, R.N.

March 28th, at Belle Vue, Tor, T. Bourchier, Esq., M.D., late Surgeon 36th, and latterly of 98th Regt.

March 28th, at Bath, Rear-Admiral Francis William Fane. He entered the Navy on 15th April, 1795, and within eight years and a half from that date he obtained his Post rank, having passed through the inferior grades in less time than any Flag-Officer on the list, with the exception of two of the distinguished members of the present Board of Admiralty, and another gallant Admiral. His rapid promotion, however, was not disproportionate to his gallant services. He was Midshipman of the Terpsichore frigate in her gallant action with the Spanish frigate Mahonesa, in 1796, and in that same vessel distinguished himself in the action with the French frigate Vestale, which ship, after desperate fighting for two hours, was captured by the Terpsichore. Mr. Fane received a severe wound in this conflict.

When in command of the Cambrian he was distinguished for his zeal and activity in co-operating with the Spanish patriots on the coast of Catalonia; but unfortunately was made prisoner, in 1810, while commanding a detachment in a gallant attempt to capture several armed vessels at Palamas. The dates of his commission are:—Lieut., 12th Jan. 1779; Commander, 28th April, 1802; Captain, 30th Aug., 1802; and Rear-Admiral, 10th Jan., 1837.

March 30th, at Nice, in his 39th year, R. O. Ward, formerly Captain in the Royal Hussars.

March 31st, at Blandford, Lieut.-Colonel S. Cleaveland, late of Madras Artillery.

March 31st, at Inchbrayock, Montrose, Anne, wife of Major-General A. Watson, Bengal Light Cavalry.

April 2nd, at Rome, on her return from India, aged 61, Ann, wife of Lieut.-General Sir Jasper Nicolls, K.C.B.

April 3rd, Frances Margaret Davies, eldest daughter of Capt. Chandler, 17th Lancers.

April 4th, at his seat, Alvestone, Gloucestershire, William Norris Tonge, Esq., Commander, R.N., and a Magistrate for the County of Gloucester, aged 67 years.

April 5th, at Bath, after a short illness, Capt. Chambre Brabazon Ponsonby Alcock, of the Bengal Engineers, and third son of George Alcock, Esq., of Pembroke-st., Dublin.

April 6th, at Hastings, J. G. Brown, Esq., Lieut. 6th Regiment, Madras N.I.

April 6th, at Cawsand, near Devonport, Lieut. Philip Rogers, R.N., in his 70th year.

April 10th, Lieut. C. H. Fitzroy Vigors, 87th Foot, killed by falling with his horse at the Dublin Garrison steeple-chase. Lieut. Vigors was riding his own mare Princess, and considerably in advance of the rest, when he came boldly at a fence, consisting of a single ditch with a large dyke; his horse making a stumble at the ditch, threw him headlong over upon the opposite bank, upon reaching which the horse immediately fell with his whole weight upon the rider, and rolled from him into the dyke. There was an inquest held and the verdict was, "Death from aggravated concussion of the brain by a fall from his horse." Lieut. Vigors had been thirteen years in the Army; he was only lately appointed to the Recruiting Service at Omagh.

April 11th, at Edinburgh, after many years of suffering, in consequence of a wound received at the battle of Vittoria, Colonel William Hay, eldest son of the late General Sir James Hay, K.C.H., Colonel of the 2nd Drag. Guards.

April 12th, Lieut.-Colonel Robert Simson, K.H. This gallant Officer, who had held the appointment of Town-Major of Hull, as reward for distinguished services, for upwards of twenty years, died at his quarters in the citadel, in the 61st year of his age. He entered the service of his country at an early period of the present century, as an Ensign in the 81st Regt., and with which he first did duty in Sicily in 1805. Subsequently he obtained a Lieutenancy in the 43rd Light Infantry, then forming, with the 52nd and 95th Rifles, a crack brigade, under his relative and patron, General Sir John Moore, at Thorncliffe, on the coast of Kent. In 1807 Lieut. Simson embarked with his regiment at Deal, in the expedition under the late Lord Cathcart, against Copenhagen, and was present at Sir Arthur Wellesley's gallant affair in the Island of Kioge. In the following year Lieut. Simson was again afloat, with a force under the orders of Sir John Moore: but on their arrival at Gottenburgh, it being found that their services would be unavailing, the expedition was ordered to Portugal. From this period he was identified with the fortune of Sir John Moore, in his advance on the Spanish frontier, and subsequent disastrous retreat. Captain Simson next served through a considerable portion of the Peninsula campaign, was present at the battle of Vittoria, and at the last fight before Toulouse. On the preliminaries of peace being signed, the 43rd, and other regiments of the Light Division, were ordered to America, where they took part in the war of reprisal for the outrages committed in Canada. At the attack on New Orleans, Capt. Simson, leading the storming party against the principal redoubt of the enemy's position, was thrown into the trench by a round shot, causing the severe wound which resulted in the amputation of his left leg and thigh, and rendered him unfit for further active duties. He then retired with the rank of Major, but afterwards received his Staff Appointment, and the Brevet of Lieut.-Colonel, with the Hanoverian Guelphic Order, as an acknowledgment of his services. The funeral of the gallant officer took place on the 16th, and there have been few occasions of this description in Hull, where the public feeling and sympathy have been so earnestly enlisted. Thousands of persons attended the ceremonial. Almost every window in the long line of procession was occupied; many persons were congregated on the roofs of houses, and nearly the whole of the shops were wholly or partially closed.

April 13th, at Aswardby, near Spilsby, Lincoln, in his 86th year, Richard Brackenbury, Esq., late Lieut.-Colonel in the 3rd Royal Lincoln Militia.

April 15th, in Manchester-st., Eliza Sophia, relict of Col. Robert Taylor, Madras Artillery.

April 15th, Carolina Maria, wife of Lieut.-Colonel Hankey, King's Dragoon Guards.

April 16th, at Leamington, Georgina, daughter of the late Lieut.-Colonel Tryon.

April 18th, at Hill House, Taplow, aged 68, Caroline, widow of the late Col. William Duncan, of the H.E.I.C.S., Bengal.

April 21st, at Leamington, Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton, K.C.B.

April 24th, at Ryland Hall, Norfolk, Rear-Admiral the Hon. F. P. Irby, C.B.

At his seat in Dorsetshire, General John Michel, in his 79th year. He entered the Army, 7th February, 1781; was made Lieut., June 25, 1785; Capt., July 31, 1790; Major, Nov. 30, 1792; Lieut.-Colonel, Aug. 24, 1795; Colonel, April 29, 1802; Major-General, Oct. 25, 1809; Lieut.-Gen., June 4, 1814; and Gen., Jan. 10, 1837. General Michel served at the siege of Fort St. Philip, in the island of Minorca, and was taken prisoner at its surrender. He was father of the gallant Lieut.-Colonel Michel, of the 6th Foot, and who, we believe, inherits a considerable fortune.

At Charlton, Dover, Commander W. Heritage, R.N., one of the surviving officers present in Sir J. J. Strachan's action with the Rochfort squadron, in 1805.

At Mill-hill, Hendon, aged 83 years, Elizabeth, wife of J. Innes, Commander late Maritime Service of the H.E.I.C.

Lately, at Bremen, Germany, Commander H. W. Bishop, R.N., in his 80th year.

THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN AND ITS HISTORIANS.

BY MAJOR BASIL JACKSON, H.P., ROYAL STAFF CORPS.

[Concluded from No. 186, page 17.]

It is not a little remarkable that at Ligny Bonaparte's plan was to turn and overwhelm the Prussian right flank, which was *en l'air*, by a corps of Ney's troops from Quatre-Bras; while on the other hand, Blücher, as we have seen, reckoned upon British aid from the very same point, not only to strengthen his right, but also to turn the enemy's left. The battle of Quatre-Bras, however, settled the question of co-operation from thence, and left their respective flanks undisturbed.

Capt. Siborne gives a vivid description of the battle of Ligny, and does justice to the courage and constancy of the defeated army; but it is impossible for a writer, even of his talents, to impart any great degree of interest to a succession of village fights, however well sustained and sanguinary. Beyond collecting additional force by Blücher on his right, for the purpose of turning the French left, and the assembling of a powerful reserve by Napoleon, for attacking the Prussian centre, which his opponent had thereby weakened, no manœuvring took place on either side throughout the battle, which lasted from half-past three till dark; when the French, having penetrated the Prussian line in rear of Ligny, the day was theirs; but they scarcely felt themselves to be the victors, as they inflicted none of those disasters upon the Prussians, which are commonly the result of defeat. There was no pursuit whatever, and the French even neglected to send out a body of cavalry to ascertain in what direction their enemies were retreating, which was not indeed discovered until late in the afternoon of the following day.

Bonaparte slept at Fleurus on the night of the 16th, and seemed to have forgotten that of which his proclamation reminded his troops, namely, that they had "forced marches to make, battles to fight, and dangers to encounter." Allowing that a few hours were required on the morning of the 17th, to collect stragglers and repair the disorder produced by a battle; still, it is unaccountable that Napoleon should have permitted his army to remain on the field till one o'clock. Possibly by marching upon Quatre-Bras at an earlier hour, he might have managed to engage Wellington there; or if foiled in this object, have pressed him in his retreat, and, perhaps, fought the battle of Waterloo on the same afternoon, when the Anglo-Allied army could not have been supported by the Prussians. To have done this, would have necessitated immense exertions from his troops, already fatigued by three days' marching and a day of severe fighting; but Wellington's soldiers had not been reposing, so that in respect to fatigue, the two armies were nearly on equal terms, while that of Bonaparte, which might have comprised Grouchy's wing, would have greatly exceeded the Anglo-Allied army in strength, besides being flushed with its victory over the Prussians.

If the right wing of the French army had pressed the Prussians in their retreat, Napoleon's operations would have benefited by detaching Grouchy; but after having allowed fifteen hours to elapse, it must be considered a false step on the part of Bonaparte to divide his army.

He is stated to have termed Blücher's retreat on Wavre a trait of genius, while it was simply the obvious point for him to fall back upon, and endeavour, by a junction with Wellington, to repair his defeat at Ligny. It obliged him certainly to abandon the Meuse, and his communications with Germany; but in the mean time he had the energy and ability of his great colleague to lean on, with the Dutch fortresses and resources of the British Empire in the rear. Besides, the honour and credit of the Prussian army would have been destroyed, had it abandoned the contest while upwards of 100,000 strong, and after so incomplete a defeat. Napoleon styled it a trait of genius, because it suited his purpose to praise the General he had vanquished; but he was never known so to designate any measure of Wellington. But whatever the "trait" evinced, whether genius, prudence, or necessity, it was none of Blücher's: the gallant Prussian General was *hors de combat* from injuries received at the close of the battle of Ligny, when his able Chief of the Staff, Lieut.-General Count Von Gneisenau, gave orders for the army to retire on Wavre, as General Grolman informs us in the Prussian work so often cited.

In reference to the assertion that Blücher only determined to stand fast at Ligny on receiving Wellington's firm assurance (*festen zusicherung*) that by two o'clock he would be in a condition to assume the offensive, I shall ask the Prussian writer what would have been Blücher's decision as regarded fighting, if he could have known all the circumstances of the moment, namely, that the force in his front under Napoleon in person was inferior in number to his own present in the field; and that the position of Quatre-Bras was menaced by 50,000 men under Ney, while Wellington's troops, though few, would be able to withstand their attacks? Can it be for an instant doubted what would, under such a supposition, have been the choice of the fiery, daring, and successful old hussar when commanding 80,000 Prussian soldiers, proud of their exploits in the preceding year, under his guidance, and now posted on a chosen position, which had even been actually surveyed beforehand? But the writer himself furnishes the answer at page 109, where he says, "Both the Commander and his army felt themselves strong enough to essay the first action with the enemy, and on this ground they would not have sought to avoid a battle*."

Although at Ligny the Prussians well maintained their high reputation, and were beaten with difficulty, still they did not display that "rooting to the ground"—as some author pithily expresses it—which was shown by the defenders of another position two days afterwards. Had they been able to repulse the enemy, the rising sun of the following morning would have glistened on the arms of the whole Anglo-Allied army moving upon the left and rear of the French, while the Prussians attacked their front; when, cut off from the high road to Charleroi, their retiring columns must have been forced into the defiles of the Sambre and destroyed; but we should thereby have foregone the glory of Waterloo, and the opportunity which that memorable day afforded our army of testifying in the face of Europe to the truth of the historian Napier's remark, that the British soldiers are the soldiers of

* The reader will recollect that Bülow's corps was not present.

battle. This little *tirade* has been wrung from me by the ungenerous observations on the British troops, contained in the Prussian writer's history, and I must apologize to the gallant army to which he belongs, for thus instituting a comparison between the defensive battles of the 16th and 18th June.

The Anglo-Allied Army presented a magnificent appearance when drawn up at Quatre-Bras on the morning of the 17th in perfect readiness for action, and it was no pleasing sight to see it gradually melt away as each brigade withdrew in succession towards the position in front of Waterloo, where was to be exhibited the noblest display of valour and discipline that our own military annals, or those of any other nation, can glory in*.

The position in question was not adopted on the spur of the moment, for want of a better, upon which to make a stand, since we find it mentioned as an advantageous one for the defence of Brussels, in a memorandum on the Netherlands, dated, Paris, 22nd September, 1814; which was written by the Duke of Wellington shortly after a tour of inspection of the Belgic frontier.

Capt. Siborne, who is very correct in all his details, gives the amount of the Anglo-Allied force present on the field of Waterloo at 67,655 men and 156 guns, and that of the French at 71,947 men, with 246 guns. In artillery, therefore, the disparity was great, but in men trifling; when, however, the quality of the troops on both sides is considered, the prospect was fearfully in favour of the enemy. Perhaps Bonaparte never commanded a finer or better-appointed army. Wellington, on the contrary, had only 24,000 British and 4818 Hanoverians, of the King's German Legion, on whom he could place full dependence; the rest, comprising Hanoverian, Brunswick, Nassau, Dutch, and Belgian troops, were either raw levies not a twelvemonth old, or soldiers who had fought under the French eagles, in whom little confidence could be felt.

The Anglo-Allied Army had in its rear the forest of Soignies, through which two paved roads led from the position of Mont St. Jean to Brussels, namely, the high road or *chaussée*, by which it is entered near the village of Waterloo, and the old *pavé*, passing by Braine La Leud; but the forest was practicable everywhere for cavalry and infantry, being composed of tall trees, without brushwood. The position could only be turned by way of Hal to the right, or Wavre on the left, from which towns there are *chaussées* to Brussels; and notwithstanding what French critics have advanced, it was well suited to the Duke's object, of keeping the enemy at bay until the Prussians should arrive to his support from Wavre. Moreover, his Grace had both taken and successfully defended too many positions not to know what were the local requisites for enabling him to withstand the attack of a French army; and, besides, he expected Blücher early in the day; otherwise, indeed, his determination to receive battle would scarcely

* The writer of this paper believes that the first intimation Picton received of the Duke's intention to retreat, was from an order which he conveyed to him to gather in his wounded, when the *ci-devant* Commander of the "fighting division" growled out, "Very well, sir," in a tone that showed how reluctant he was to relinquish the ground for which his troops had contended so bravely the day before. Most of the wounded were placed upon cavalry horses, and thus taken to the rear.

be justifiable, considering the composition of the force under his command.

The battle of Waterloo may be divided into four principal acts or events, namely, the attack on Hougomont, by which it began; that on Picton's Division, between one and two; Ney's grand effort with the cavalry; and, finally, the repulse of the Imperial Guards. Nothing could be more graphic than Capt. Siborne's descriptions of the varied and unprecedented scenes of that astonishing battle. The most striking feature of the day, and which so plainly manifested the superiority of British soldiers in action over their famed opponents, was the overthrow of D'Erlon's corps, 18,000 strong, *composed of troops that had not been engaged on the* 16*th*, by Picton's weak division of 3000 men, which had borne the brunt of the engagement at Quatre-Bras, and the British heavy cavalry. Capt. Siborne has availed himself of the extraordinary and brilliant incidents which this powerful attack and its signal defeat presented, to paint in glowing colours the daring exploits of those troops*. After a faithful and sober *military* account of what occurred, he gives a summary of all the attendant circumstances, with such fire and eloquence that it seems as if we were transported into the midst of the conflict, and could hear, see, and feel what he describes, in the following spirited manner.

"Thus terminated one of the grandest scenes which distinguished the mighty drama enacted on the ever-memorable plains of Waterloo; a scene presenting in bold relief, genuine British valour crowned with resplendent triumph; a scene which should be indelibly impressed upon the minds as well of living British warriors, as of their successors in ages yet unborn. Britons! before other scenes are disclosed to your view, take one retrospective glance at this glorious, this instructive spectacle. Let your imagination carry you to the rear of that celebrated position, and a little to the left of the Charleroi road. Behold, in the foreground, on the right, a British line of cavalry advancing to the charge, exulting in the consciousness of its innate courage, indomitable spirit, and strength of arm. Whilst you are admiring the beautiful order and steadiness of their advance, your eyes are suddenly attracted by the glittering splendour of a line of horsemen in burnished coats of mail rising above the brow, and now crowning the summit of the ridge. They are the far-famed cuirassiers of France, led on by a Kellermann; gallant spirits, that have hitherto overcome the finest troops that could be brought against them, and have grown grey in glory. Trumpets sound the charge; in the next instant your ears catch the low thundering noise of their horses' hoofs, and your breathless excitement is wound to the highest pitch as the adverse lines clash together with a shock, which, at the moment, you expect must end in their mutual annihilation. Observe the British, how they seem to doubt, for a second, in what manner to deal with their opponents. Now they urge their powerful steeds into the intervals between the necks of those of the cuirassiers. Swords brandished high in air gleam fitfully in rapid succession throughout the lines, here clashing together, there clanging against helmet and cuirasss which ring under their redoubled strokes. See! the struggle is but a moment doubtful—the cuirassiers seemingly encumbered by their coats of mail, are yielding to superior strength, dexterity, and bravery, combined—men and horses reel and stagger to the earth—gaps open out in their line—numbers are backing out—others are fairly turning

* I am informed that our indefatigable military modellist is now engaged upon a model on a very large scale, intended to illustrate this portion of the battle.

round—their whole line now bends and breaks asunder into fragments—in the next moment they appear, as if by a miracle, to be swept from off the crest of the position, and being closely and hotly pursued by the victors, the whole rushing down the other side of the ridge, are snatched from your view. Your attention is now irresistibly drawn to that part of the foreground immediately facing you, where you have barely time to catch sight of a line of British infantry just as it forces its way through the hedge that runs along the crest of the ridge, to charge a column advancing up the other side. At the moment the shouts that proclaim its triumph reach your ear, you are struck by the majestic advance, close to your left, of another line of British horsemen. These halt just under the brow of the ridge. In their left front your eye now also embraces a line of British infantry moving quickly up the steep; whilst at the same time you see the heads of two hostile columns issuing through the hedge, and crowning the ridge amidst shouts of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' The one nearest to you, finding no immediate opposition to its further advance, is rapidly establishing itself on the height; the other is met by the advancing line of infantry. A struggle ensues; the furthest column is concealed from your view by the smoke in which it is suddenly enshrouded; but at the very moment when doubts arise in your mind as to the result, the cavalry rushes forward, and passing through intervals opened out for it by the infantry, charges both these heads of columns, cutting them up, as it were, root and branch; and then bounding through the hedge, the whole disappear as if by magic. Now let your imagination, keeping pace with the intensity of feeling excited by such a scene, carry you up to the summit of the ridge. Behold, at once, the glorious spectacle spread out before you! The dragoons are in the midst of the enemy's columns—the furious impetuosity of their onslaught overcomes all resistance—the terror-stricken masses, paralyzed by this sudden apparition of cavalry amongst them, have neither time nor resolution to form squares, and limit their defence to a feeble, hasty, straggling fire from their ill-cemented edges—a flight, commencing from the rearmost ranks, is rapidly augmented by the outward scattering occasioned by the continually increasing pressure upon the front—the entire slope is soon covered with the dispersed elements of the previously attacking force—parties of infantry are hurrying over the brow of the ridge to aid others of the cavalry in securing their prisoners—3000 of these are swept to the rear, and two eagles are gloriously captured. From the momentary contemplation of these trophies, your eyes instinctively revert to the course of the victors, whom you now perceive in the middle distance of the view—a broken line of daring horsemen, rushing up the opposite heights. Their intoxicating triumph admits of no restraint. They heed not the trumpet's call to halt and rally, but plunging wildly amidst the formidable line of batteries ranged along the French position, they commence sabreing the gunners, stabbing the horses, and seem to clear the ground of every living being. But physical efforts, however powerfully developed and sustained, have their limit; exhausted nature yields at length, and their fiery steeds, subdued, not by force but by exhaustion, retire with lagging, faltering pace. You look in vain for a support—there is none—but your eye is suddenly caught by the fluttering lance-flags of a column of the enemy's cavalry, approaching from the left, and you become nervously alive to the danger that awaits the valiant band of heroes, who are only now made sensible of the necessity of retiring to collect and rally their scattered numbers. Seeing no support ready to receive them, and becoming aware of the near approach of hostile cavalry, they make a last and desperate effort. Those who are best mounted, and whose horses are least blown, succeed in regaining the Allied position unmolested; but a very considerable number are overtaken by the lancers, with whom they now contend under a fearful disadvantage in point of speed and order. But mark! a rescue is at hand—a gallant line of friendly cavalry throws itself against

the right flank of the lancers, the further portion, or left, of that line, first dashing through and scattering an unsteady mass of infantry, the sole remaining column out of the entire attacking force that has yet kept together. The tide of destruction now sets in strongly against the lancers. Their pursuit is checked. The heavy dragoons are relieved from the pressure. A *mêlée* ensues: but you are not kept long in suspense, for in another moment this newly-arrived force, making good its way, succeeds in driving the lancers in confusion down to the foot of the valley. The arena in your front is speedily cleared of both friends and foes—the discharge of rockets which now attracts your attention, appears like a display of fire-works in celebration of the glorious triumph—the affair has terminated. But stay to witness the concluding part of the scene. Observe the splendidly attired group entering upon the right, just above La Haye Sainte. It is headed by one whom you cannot for a moment mistake—the illustrious Wellington. Lord Uxbridge, returning from his brilliant charge, now joins the Duke, while the whole *corps diplomatique et militaire* express in the strongest terms their admiration of the grand military spectacle of which they have been spectators. Among them are representatives of nearly all the continental nations, so that this glorious triumph of your valiant countrymen may be said to have been achieved in the face of congregated Europe. Honour, imperishable honour, to every British soldier engaged in that never-to-be-forgotten fight! When Britain again puts forth her strength in battle, may her Sovereign's Guards inherit the same heroic spirit which animated those of George, Prince Regent, and inspire them with the desire to maintain, in all their pristine purity and freshness, the laurels transmitted to them from the field of Waterloo; and when the soldiers of the three united kingdoms shall again be found fighting side by side against the common enemy, may they prove to the world that they have not degenerated from the men of the 'Union brigade,' who, by their heroic deeds on that great day, so faithfully represented the military virtues of the British empire!"

The imposing cavalry attack of the impetuous Ney, inspires the following noble passages, which, though finely metaphoric, convey at the same time correct pictures to the mind.

"When the tremendous cavalry force, which Ney had thus assembled, moved forward to the attack, the whole space between La Haye Sainte and Hougomont appeared one moving glittering mass; and as it approached the Anglo-Allied position, undulating with the conformation of the ground, it resembled a sea in agitation. Upon reaching the crest of the ridge, and regaining temporary possession of the batteries, its very shouts sounded on the distant ear like the ominous roar of breakers thundering on the shore. Like waves following in quick succession, the whole mass now appeared to roll over the ridge; and as the light curling smoke arose from the fire which was opened by the squares, and by which the latter sought to stem the current of the advancing host, it resembled the foam and spray thrown up by the mighty waters as they dash on isolated rocks and beetling crags; and as the mass separated and rushed in every direction, completely covering the interior slope, it bore the appearance of innumerable eddies and counter-currents, threatening to overwhelm and engulph the obstructions by which its onward course had been opposed. The storm continued to rage with the greatest violence, and the devoted squares seemed lost in the midst of the tumultuous onset. In vain did the maddening mass chafe and fret away its strength against these impregnable barriers, which, based upon the sacred principles of honour, discipline, and duty, and cemented by the ties of patriotism and the impulse of national glory, stood proudly unmoved and inaccessible. Disorder and confusion, produced by the commingling of corps, and by the scattering fire from the faces of the chequered squares, gradually led to the retreat of parties of horsemen across the ridge; these

were followed by broken squadrons, and, at length, the retrograde movement became general. Then the Allied dragoons, who had been judiciously kept in readiness to act at the favourable moment, darted forward to complete the disorganization and overthrow of the now receding waves of the French cavalry.

"The Allied artillery had barely time to fire a few rounds into the retiring masses, when the enemy's formidable support rapidly advanced to renew the attack; and, as if it had been made aware that the right of the Anglo-Allied line was the weakest part, from the want of a sufficient cavalry support, its efforts appeared particularly directed to that point. A body of heavy dragoons was drawn up in a line, and advanced up the ridge, leaving the Hougomont inclosures immediately on its left. At this moment, however, Grant had most opportunely returned with the 13th Light Dragoons and 15th Hussars from the extreme right; and instantly forming the 13th, which was the leading regiment, in line to the front, moved it up to the crest of the ridge, over which it gallantly charged and routed the French Dragoons, driving them about three hundred yards down to the low ground near the north-east angle of the great orchard of Hougomont. The 15th Hussars were also formed to the front on the left of the 13th Light Dragoons, and charged a mass of cuirassiers, which was driven back a like distance, upon large bodies of cavalry. As these were observed commencing offensive operations, both in front and on the flank, the two regiments, first the 13th, and then the 15th, were compelled to retreat to the main position, and take post in rear of the squares; but this they did with so much order and regularity, that their presence and example imparted new life and confidence to the young Brunswickers, whose steadiness on the right of the line, had been severely tested in the course of the grand cavalry attack. Notwithstanding these reverses, and the decided failure of their former attempts, the French horsemen most gallantly and resolutely renewed their advance, and again plunged in masses, amidst the Allied squares. Failing in their direct attack, they rode through the intervals between the squares in all directions, exhibiting extraordinary coolness and intrepidity. Some of the most daring approached close up to the ranks, to draw forth the fire from a square, and thus secure a better chance of success for the squadron prepared to seize the advantage and to charge. Small parties of desperate fellows would endeavour to force an opening at some weak point, by cutting aside the bayonets and firing at the defenders with their pistols; but the squares were proof against every assault and every stratagem. More cavalry crossed over the summit of the ridge; and the greater part of the interior slope occupied by the Allied right wing seemed covered with horsemen of all kinds,—cuirassiers, lancers, carabiniers, chasseurs, dragoons, and horse-grenadiers. The French, enraged at their want of success, brandishing their swords, and exciting one another by shouts of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' reiterated their attacks, with redoubled but fruitless vigour. Like the majestic oaks of the forest, which are poetically said to strike their roots deeper and more tenaciously into the earth, as the fury of the storm increases, so stood the Anglo-Allied squares, grand in the imposing attitude of their strength, and bidding defiance to the tempestuous elements by which they were assailed on every side. At length the attack evinced symptoms of exhaustion; the charges became less frequent and less vigorous; disorder and confusion were rapidly augmenting; the spirit of enthusiasm and the confidence of superiority were quickly yielding to the feeling of despondency, and the sense of hopelessness. The Anglo-Allied cavalry again advanced, and once more swept the mingled host, comprising every description of mounted troops, from off the ground on which they had so fruitlessly frittered away their strength."

The extract which follows most accurately represents the condition of the Anglo-Allied army towards the close of the battle, and clearly

shows that it was the Duke of Wellington's wonderful perception of circumstances, his prompt decision, and fearless daring, at the right moment, which sealed the fate of the French army, and of Bonaparte.

"There is not, perhaps, an instance in modern history, in which the threatening tide of battle has, through the lightning-like promptitude of decision, and the energetic application of yet remaining resources, been so suddenly and powerfully controlled, and so majestically and irresistibly hurled back, overwhelming all and every thing that, in the previous plenitude of its force, it had borne aloft, with buoyant hopes, and carried along exultingly in its course, as it was by the immortal Wellington, in this his last—his crowning victory. Never did a battle-field present so complete, so magical a transition of scene as that which succeeded the defeat of the Imperial Guards of France by the Guards of the Sovereign of England, and the British Light Infantry Brigade. The state of the Duke's army at the time of Napoleon's last grand attack, has already been adverted to; but let us glance again, for a moment, at the awfully diminished numbers, and almost exhausted energies of those heroic bands which, in front line, had been exposed to the incessant and concentrated cannonade from a range of batteries forming almost the entire arc of which that line was the chord; subjected to repeated and vigorous attacks of all arms during so many hours, and now called upon to resist 'to the death' another assault more fierce and determined than any they had yet encountered; look at the rear of that line, and observe the palpable defection in the ranks of an ally, whose contingent, whilst it constituted so great a proportion of the Duke's entire force, had already afforded too evident proofs that in a calculation of available resources, its services must be thrown entirely out of the scale. See, too, at increased intervals, the wrecks of the British and German cavalry, with, however, the fortunate exception of the two light brigades so opportunely brought from the extreme left to the rear of the menaced point of attack. How discouraging an aspect, when compared with that of the French army advancing to its last grand attack! Is it to be wondered that at that moment, doubts as to the issue of the great contest should have prevailed in the minds even of those who were prepared to support their noble chief to the last drop of their blood? And yet, with such apparently inefficient elements, the bare contemplation of which might both have weighed down the energies, and altered the purpose of another General, did the British chief not only successfully defeat this most formidable assault, but finally gain a signal and resplendent victory. It would, however, be unjust to the abilities, and to the fame of the Duke, to ascribe such victory solely to his defeat of the attacking columns of the Imperial Guard upon his own position; though such, no doubt, was the foundation upon which he erected the structure of his final triumph. The ten battalions of the Guard, of which the attacking columns had been composed, were defeated; but these, it must be borne in mind, constituted but the *van* of the attacking force, which comprised no less than the whole front line of the French army. D'Erlon's corps from the right, and Reille's corps from the left, were pouring forth their numerous columns, the principal portion of which had already reached more than midway towards the Allied position, and presented a formidable array, whilst from the heights which they had quitted, their artillery thundered forth as vigorously over their heads, upon the exhausted line of the Allies, as at any previous period of the battle. The four battalions of the first attacking column of the Guard had been rallied with great rapidity by Napoleon, and posted on a commanding eminence, intersected by the Charleroi road in front of his centre. Near La Belle Alliance, reserves had been collected, principally of cavalry; and though the latter consisted entirely of the remains of corps that had previously suffered great losses, they might have been wielded with powerful effect against any point at which the advancing infantry should succeed in

making an impression. Besides these, there stood on the French extreme left a brigade of light cavalry, which had not been engaged during any part of the day, and had never yet moved out of its position. On the other hand, too, however glorious the result of the struggle with the Imperial Guard, it could not but tend to cripple still further the slender physical means which the Duke yet retained at his disposal. Victory hovering over the brave conquerors of the Imperial Guard, alighted for a moment at the feet of Wellington, and ere the goddess could be scared away by the still threatening countenance of the enemy, Britain's hero secured her favour by the display of that extraordinary foresight, prompt decision, and unflinching determination, which, though at all times his distinguishing characteristics, now shone forth with more than ordinary brilliancy. His perfect knowledge of the character and composition of the French army, plainly told him that a signal defeat of the Imperial Guard,—a force employed only on occasions of great and critical emergency, would be certain to exercise a powerful influence upon the *morale* of the enemy's troops; but it also told him that, unless instant advantage were taken of that defeat, unless it was followed up in such a manner as to render the incipient panic which it had created, general and uncontrollable, that same army might, through the powerful influence and indefatigable exertions of such men as Napoleon and Ney, rapidly recover the shock; D'Erlon's and Reille's columns, although faltering for a moment, might pursue their advance with determined efforts to regain the footing which the Guard had lost; the veterans composing the latter force, resolved to avenge their defeat, might speedily rally, and, with desperate resolution, renew their attack, aided by a more direct and effective support by the cavalry reserves collected in front of La Belle Alliance. This view had scarcely passed across the mind of the Duke, when his decision was fully made. With those critically slender means, to which allusion has more than once been made, and which, in the hands of many a commander, would have been deemed totally inadequate for even the maintenance of the position, at such fearful odds, Wellington determined to compensate for the awfully reduced and exhausted state of the fighting portion of his troops, and the utter want of confidence in the remainder, by one of those bold and daring acts, which, when hazarded at the right moment, carry with them the *prestige* of conscious superiority, and allow an enemy no time to discover deficiencies, or to calculate mischances. No sooner was the second attacking column of the Imperial Guard defeated and dispersed, than he ordered it to be vigorously pursued, and the rallied force of the first column to be attacked, by Adam's brigade; whilst at the same moment he launched forth Vivian's hussar-brigade against the cavalry reserves near La Belle Alliance, before these had made their dispositions for attack, and even before they had recovered from the surprise and hesitation which prevailed amongst them, on witnessing the discomfiture of the Guard."

The following presents an effective picture:—

"Just at this decisive moment, the faint rays of the setting sun shone forth; and as they struggled to penetrate the almost universal haze created by the hitherto unremitting volumes of smoke which a close, dense atmosphere appeared incapable of altogether dissipating, they cast upon the varied and multitudinous objects on the field, a lurid light, imparting to them a colouring so strikingly impressive, as can never be effaced from the memories of those who witnessed that magnificent battle-scene. In front of the line, on the rise occupied by Maitland's brigade of Guards, stood prominently in view the great and noble Duke himself, his hat raised high in air, as the signal for the commencement of the general advance; leaders in front of their divisions and brigades, appearing, by their animated gestures, to take the tone from their great chieftain; unfurled colours raised aloft, proudly

displaying their shattered remnants; drums, bugles, trumpets, sending forth their warlike sounds to commingle with the enthusiastic and tumultuous cheering of the troops; artillerymen occupied in working out their guns from the soft soil in which they had become so deeply embedded; squadrons and supports pressing forward to gain the ridge, as this became vacated by the first line, to behold, and participate in, the glorious triumph; numerous isolated soldiers hurrying on, wherever they could be spared from attending the wounded, to join their ranks, and share in the inspiring excitement of such a moment; in the distance, in front, the retiring masses of the French, intermingled with crowds of fugitives of all arms, mounted and dismounted; far away to the left, the dark columns of the Prussians, and the smoke ascending from their batteries; on the right, and somewhat in advance, the dense vapour still slowly circling upwards from the glowing embers of Hougomont, assuming a reddish glare as it floated over the heads of the brave defenders of that post of honour;—all appeared illumined, as it were, by a light partaking rather of the supernatural, than of the ordinary effects of sunshine. It was of brief duration. The sun sank rapidly below the horizon, and if the gorgeous colouring which departed with it had been congenial to the exhilarated feelings of the victors, so, in an equal degree, must the succeeding twilight, rendered still more gloomy by a clouded sky, have toned in with the dejected and gloomy spirits of the vanquished. With these there prevailed no other sentiments than those of a vexed and mortified perplexity, or an extreme dismay. The panic which had set in was extending itself widely and speedily throughout the line, and despondency was depicted in every countenance."

In a few words, Capt. Siborne renders ample justice to the co-operation of the Prussians.

"As regards the actual share which the Prussians had in the battle, it may be truly affirmed, that the contest maintained between Bülow's corps and Lobau's troops, in conjunction with a portion of the Imperial Guard, was most obstinate and sanguinary. In the three successive struggles for the possession of Planchenoit, especially, the deadly animosity mutually cherished by the troops of both nations, was fearfully exemplified, and the losses sustained by the Prussians in the comparatively brief period during which they were engaged, afford ample proof of the value of their co-operation. It is undeniably true that the blow which decided the victory, was that given by Wellington, when, after having completely defeated the grand attack by the French Imperial Guard, he instantly followed up that defeat by boldly attacking and penetrating the centre of the enemy's lines, and sustaining this movement by the general advance of his whole army; but it is at the same time equally true that the powerful diversion effected by the Prussians diminished the strength of those French lines by the corps of Lobau, which had not hitherto fired a single shot in this campaign, by twelve battalions of the Imperial Guard, which had suffered scarcely any loss at Ligny, and finally by eighteen squadrons of cavalry. The vigorous attack which was made by Bülow upon Lobau's line simultaneously with the last assault upon Planchenoit, contributed most materially to the general and fatal panic which seized upon the whole French army. The Prussians, too, by the energetic pursuit which they kept up during the night, under the guidance of the indefatigable Gneisenau, rendered the victory still more complete and decisive, and effectually deprived the enemy of every opportunity of recovering himself on the Belgian side of the frontier. In short, both armies admirably and honourably performed the parts respectively assigned to them,—the one holding its defensive position with unparalleled bravery and unmitigated perseverance, until the moment when its Chief, having defeated the last desperate attempt of his opponent to force his line, leads it on to victory; the other, operating a powerful diversion, by which the effect of that advance is made still more decisive, and rendering the victory

complete by a harassing and vigorous pursuit,—and thus was consummated the tactical solution of the plan which had been, with so much skill and foresight, strategically preconcerted by the Allied Commanders."

Surely every reasonable Prussian ought to be satisfied with such generous testimony to the value of Blücher's co-operation; but far higher pretensions have been made, based on his despatches, and those of the Prussian Generals who commanded corps. The Field-Marshal himself was, however, to a great extent, uninformed of the circumstances of the Anglo-Allied battle when he wrote his official account of the operations of the day, as he had only a few minutes' conversation with the Duke of Wellington, whom he met near La Belle Alliance, when, the battle being over, the Duke was on his way back to the village of Waterloo, where he passed the night.*

Whilst in ignorance of the defeat of the last grand attack on the Anglo-Allied right centre by the Imperial Guard, and the bold manner with which it was followed up, Blücher and his officers naturally conceived that Bülow's attack on Planchenoit, and the menacing appearance of the 1st and 2nd corps of Blücher's army, the heads of which were then in line, caused the retreat of the French; and under this impression their opinions were formed, without, it may be presumed, any intention to claim more of the honour of the victory than they believed that circumstances warranted; but it excites surprise to find even more than that mistake persisted in by a Prussian military writer, after a long lapse of years had served to throw light on the affairs of the battle. "It is uncertain," says this writer, "whether the attack by the English right under Lord Hill, as they maintain, or the attitude of the 1st Prussian corps, as the French, by the giving way of their right wing seem to admit, which caused the attack on the English centre to miscarry; but probably both contributed to render this last effort of despair unavailing." (Vol. i., p. 307.) Now it is believed that there is little of uncertainty in the case, and the writer of the above passage may be assured that the masses of Bonaparte's Guards required something more cogent than moral agency to overthrow them; but I shall leave it for the British Guards and Adam's brigade to say what proportion of Prussian moral effect was combined with their own physical energy and determined valour on that signal occasion. The writer, too, ought to have known, that so far from going off while the Imperial Guard was advancing to the attack, D'Erlon's corps was moving in support of it against the British left at the moment when its defeat occurred.

It is quite impossible for any person to determine precisely how the several incidents of the battle, towards its close, operated to produce the grand result, when any one of them, by being represented as having occurred a few minutes sooner or later than was really the case, may entirely change its value and effect. The circumstances of a battle are not noted with a stop-watch in hand, and there is commonly much dis-

* The Duke was riding along the chaussée, followed by a *very slender Staff* when, perceiving a group of mounted officers on the point of gaining it, from the direction of Frischermont, he turned off the road, and found it to be Blücher and his Staff. The writer of this paper had the honour, and great good fortune, to be one of the individuals who accompanied the Duke on that memorable occasion, and was very close to His Grace during the conference that ensued, which may have lasted about ten minutes.

crepancy in the accounts of even eye-witnesses of the same events. That Bülow's efforts against Planchenoit and the extreme right of the French, together with the menacing attitude of the 1st and 2nd corps of the Prussian army, powerfully contributed to the gain of the battle, there cannot be the slightest doubt; neither can it be questioned that, if the Duke of Wellington had not followed up the overthrow of the Imperial Guard by his bold and effectual attack, the enemy's almost immediate defeat was equally certain, with so preponderating a force collected before his right wing; still, the rapid advance of Adam's brigade and the British light cavalry, supported by the whole front line of the Anglo-Allied army, amazed the troops belonging to the corps of Reille and D'Erlon, who witnessed the discomfiture of the Guard, and accounts for the sudden panic that seized them, and caused a general rush towards the main road; when the greater part of D'Erlon's guns and tumbrils was precipitated into the hollow portion of the chaussée, about three hundred yards on the British side of La Belle Alliance, where they remained jammed together in a confused mass, while Reille's artillery strove to reach Rossomme; beyond which point it is believed that not a single gun belonging to either of the two corps proceeded*.

But even if we could admit the justice of all the Prussian writer's pretensions in favour of Blücher's army, it must be allowed that the *honour of the day*, though not the sole credit of the *victory*, would nevertheless remain with the Anglo-Allied army; since it fully accomplished the object of holding its ground until Blücher should arrive. By an astonishing display of enduring courage, alternated with the most brilliant assaults on the attacking masses, the instant they approached the summit of the position, a fractional part of the defensive force hurled back column after column, repelling every effort of Bonaparte's renowned legions *during a period of eight hours*, and until the Prussians were near enough to warrant Wellington in assuming the offensive: therein lay the glory of the battle, and not in scaring away an already-beaten army, by almost encompassing it with overpowering numbers. By the still unaccountable delay of the Prussians in coming up, the

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* It is an extraordinary fact that all the guns we captured, amounting to more than 150, disappeared from the field, as if by magic, on the day succeeding the battle, and no one could tell what had become of them.

The officer commanding our artillery, though a very worthy man, had not seen much cannon taken, and it did not occur to him to secure the pieces that fell into our hands at the close of the battle, until reminded to do so by the late Sir Alexander Dickson, then a Lieut.-Colonel, and who had only joined the army two days before. He recommended that all the artillerymen and horses at hand should be despatched from the village of Waterloo, to collect and bring in the captured guns. Accordingly a considerable party proceeded to the battle-field, but the officer in command of it soon returned with the intelligence that not a single piece was to be found. It then became necessary to report the matter to the Duke of Wellington, who, as may be conceived, was in no slight degree provoked by the loss of the best trophies of his victory. "What can I do to appease the Duke?" asked the commanding officer. Colonel Dickson replied, that from intelligence just arrived it was known that the guns were in possession of the Prussians, and parked at Genappe; and he proposed that Artillery officers, with a strong party, should be sent to see whether the Prussian officer who had the guns in charge could be induced to deliver up a portion of them. This was done, and happily the Prussian was persuaded to divide the spoil; and the recovered guns were brought back, and parked at Mont St. Jean, where I saw and counted them on the 20th,—133 pieces.

victory was assuredly rendered more complete and decisive than it would have been by an earlier co-operation on their part; because that delay induced Bonaparte to persevere against Wellington, until the Duke saw the moment had arrived for destroying him. But it was only by a gross oversight that Bülow was enabled to act against the French right; for by detaching a couple of divisions to command the entrance to the defiles of St. Lambert, through which the Prussian General's route lay, Bonaparte might have kept him out of action until the arrival of the 1st corps, under Zieten, by Ohain, which was not till seven o'clock.

Having on a former occasion* endeavoured to place the co-operation of the Prussians in a just point of view, I need only observe here that the Waterloo campaign furnishes almost a solitary instance of a perfectly good understanding between allied Generals and troops acting conjointly; both armies animated by a love of glory and the remembrance of former triumphs, combated bravely in a good cause, and the most brilliant result crowned their efforts. While narrating the operations and surprising achievements of the Anglo-Allied force, Captain Siborne has brought into due prominence the exertions and bravery of the Prussians; and he has likewise meted justice to the conduct and valour of the French. In a word, by separating, with much discrimination, the gold from the dross, he has turned to excellent account the materials for his undertaking that seem to have flowed to him from every quarter; and the consequence is, that a standard history has been produced, remarkable for its spirit and vigour, as well as for its truth; which may be read at Berlin without military jealousy, and by our brave but touchy neighbours, without too deeply wounding their *amour propre*. The plans illustrative of the movements and battles of the three armies possess, as I have already observed, the highest merit†, and the medallion portraits of the chief actors in the mighty drama, obtained by the same novel and effective process, are equally excellent; the best, perhaps, are those of our Great Duke, Blücher, Lord Anglesey, and Napoleon; that of the latter, however, from exhibiting him in his "redingotte grise et petit chapeau à cornes surmonté de la cocarde tricolor," deprives it of the classic dignity that marks the fine heads of the others I have mentioned.

To Captain Siborne I have not the pleasure to be known; and if this imperfect paper has done anything like justice to his able work, I can with truth assure him that my encomiums have been elicited solely by the sense I entertain of its importance as a pre-eminent historical composition.

Postscript.—Since this paper was in type, I have had my attention called to the account of the Waterloo campaign, contained in the last edition of the History of an eminent writer, whose very valuable work we have all read with pleasure as well as profit, which differs in many important respects from that given in the first edition; I therefore propose, on an early occasion, to make a few remarks upon what the historian alluded to has recently advanced, with the sole object of elucidating the truth.

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* Military Life of the Duke of Wellington, by Majors B. Jackson and C. R. Scott.

† The ground-plates have been executed from Capt. Siborne's models by Mr. Freebairn, the eminent anaglyptographic engraver.

THE NAVY OF RUSSIA AND HER MARITIME PROVINCE OF FINLAND.

BY THE AUTHOR OF PAPERS ON THE RUSSIAN ARMY.

THE naval power of Russia, in itself unimportant, has some claims on the interest of a British reader, from the evidence which its very regulations, and a contemplation of the general policy of the Russian Cabinet affords us, that its Government entertains the instinct of seriously employing it, for the first time, against that of Great Britain.

If we consider the present relative condition of the maritime power and resources of all nations, and the vast changes which the introduction of steam navigation has effected in the naval art, we are impressed, 1st, with the conviction that the superiority of England's power upon the seas over all the nations of the world has never been so great as at the present time; 2ndly, with that of the change which has taken place in the relative importance of naval supremacy, of which the effects, formerly limited, now entail the speedy and utter destruction of the adversary forced to acknowledge it. Up to the last wars a conquered navy, though conquered, remained still formidable—still occupying the powerful fleets of its victorious antagonist to watch it for years in the harbour in which it had taken refuge, and though vanquished seldom entirely crushed, or even rendered harmless. We believe it, in fact, to be the generally received opinion of those untrammelled by prejudices, who have carefully investigated the subject, that in the present state of the arts of navigation and destruction, whichever power asserts its uncontrovertible superiority at sea will, in a brief space, be not only supreme, but alone, and leave, in a few months, no hostile flag in rivality on any of the waters of the ocean. Steam, the use of hollow shot, the perfection daily attained in concentrating the fire of broadsides, have rendered utterly insecure those fort-protected harbours in which the vanquished fleet found certain refuge, but in which they are now in no more security than the rabbit in its burrow from the inroad of the ferret. What wind or current can prevent the pursuer from steaming rapidly up, or being towed up by his innumerable steamer sea-horses? What land defences cannot, at the present day, be silenced or crumbled by the thunder of ships' batteries when once brought to bear upon them? And this is to say nothing of the vast additional capabilities of steam mechanism to purposes merely destructive, when coupled with the substitution of iron for oak—iron which, stronger than oak, may be made in honeycombed compartments more buoyant than cork—means yet undeveloped, from the unhappy fact of their greater applicability to the arts of war than those of peace.

The past history of nations furnishes us with examples, where the less powerful or least successful of two adverse navies has proved, in the long run, even more advantageous than its victorious rival to the interests of the nation to which it belonged; but future history will have no such anomalies to record, for, *from* the present time, it is evident that any nation struggling with a great maritime power to which it is widely inferior will find its navy, not comparatively, but *utterly useless.* This fact, as well as that of the hopeless inferiority of

any of the most powerful foreign nations in a naval struggle with the sea-might of Great Britain, is forcibly impressed on the master minds, and what we must venture to call the "directing intelligences" of these countries, although they may not always care to admit these convictions.

Without losing sight of the superior excellence of Danish, Dutch, Greek, and Swedish seamen over any other excepting our own, we may assume that there are only three nations which, from the magnitude of their armaments, or the extent of their resources, are usually considered as *maritime powers*, however little they may be entitled to the epithet of *Maritime States*—France, Russia, and the United States.

It will be in the recollection of most of our readers, when war with the United States was last canvassed in England and trumpeted forth with hot eagerness in the former country, how France, with which we were on terms of greater amity and cordiality than we had been for centuries (and towards which all animosities and prejudices in our own population had long subsided,) rose as one man, uniting all her parties to join in the insensate cry, "that the hour of war with England and retribution against her was arrived." This feeling was not alone the blind hatred of the ignorant, whose passions had been casually or artfully inflamed, but was shared by the mass of her statesmen, her orators, and generally of her talent, and took its rise with them from the conviction that in the event of war between Great Britain and the unaided States of North America, in the latter a presumptive ally must be destroyed, whose strength, united to that of France, might, in the hour of need, have enabled her to cope with that of Great Britain on the ocean. This idea, it can hardly be doubted, also animates the policy of the Russian Cabinet; and at least France and Russia consider both themselves and the United States, as far as regards their maritime power, like the divided rods of the lictor in the Roman allegory, which united, they hope, may baffle the strength of England, but which separately she may snap asunder at her pleasure. If the hope of successfully measuring even the united naval strength of these powers against that of Great Britain be, as we believe it, fallacious, we must admit that the more just the appreciation of her strength by them, the more imperiously their policy will dictate the expediency, whenever one of them is engaged with the Leviathan sea power of England, of not neglecting an opportunity of assailing it, which will never occur again so favourably when one of them is destroyed. Between following this line of conduct and that of abandoning all idea of cultivating navies before this vast ascendancy, we must confess that no alternative is reasonable.

England must, therefore, look forward to the probability, in assailing any of these three nations, to being assailed by all of them, and involved in a struggle which will decide the empire of the watery world. With regard to its results—we have, on the one hand, France with her immense inferiority of seamen—we have the United States, our rebellious firstborn, the flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood, nearest to us in resources, superior to us in energy, *but almost without a native sailor*, and little likely for half a century to possess any but such as they now employ—men seduced by high wages from our own flag, and whose services—a matter of purchase—our superior capital would

always enable us, when worth while, to purchase back by outbidding their employers.

These stirring Republicans—comparatively without a sea steamer or a native seaman—are yet the most formidable of our antagonists, by the facilities the numerous works employed to construct her countless lake and river-boats and locomotives afford for building steam-boats.

We have Russia, with her fleets numerically large, but whose deplorable weakness and contemptible condition it is our purpose to describe.

On the other hand, we have Great Britain with treble the number of sailors (not men-of-war's-men,) of these three nations combined. A land which could put to sea, if required, four times the number of steamers of all the world combined, who, if her people chose, alone of the world could find the funds to equip such gigantic armaments.

The commercial navy of Great Britain consists in round numbers of 27,000 sailing vessels, of above 30 tons; collectively, of three million tons admeasurement. These and her vessels of war are manned by upwards of 220,000 seamen. Fishermen, and crews of vessels beneath 30 tons, amount to 150,000 more—together 370,000 men.

France, Russia, and the United States have collectively a commercial marine not exceeding one million seven hundred thousand tons, floating on salt water. Seamen, men-of-war's-men, and all connected with aquatic pursuits, in these states, do not number above 240,000, of which at least 100,000 have no claim to the appellation of seamen, viz.,

France has 5000 vessels above 30 tons, tonnage 600,000 tons. Her seamen, men-of-war's-men, fishermen, boatmen, &c., inclusive of the superannuated, are under 90,000.

The registered tonnage of the United States' commercial marine amounts to two million tons, of which one million is employed on salt water—collectively manned by 90,000 men, of which one-half are employed on fresh water, and 25,000 British subjects.

Russia has no mercantile navy, except some boats and vessels, employing less than 10,000 Finns, and her 50,000 recruited men-of-war's-men.

If we turn to the Navy of Great Britain, we find it numbering 120 sail of the line and 140 frigates; whilst the united world in 1840 could only boast of 175 ships of the line and 195 frigates; whilst Russia, France, and the United States together, do not muster of this amount more than 120 sail of the line and 117 frigates.

Facts and figures thus show us, firstly, a numerical superiority in our own over their united navies, and secondly, that our military navy is the smallest in proportion to the resources which our commercial marine offers, by drawing on which to the same extent as our neighbours, we should at once attain even to a numerical naval superiority over the whole world leagued together.

Confident as any comparison of our naval resources, if even we compare them with those of the united world, must leave us of our strength, it should not blind us to the probabilities of its being assailed. The fortunate discovery of steam to a land of inexhaustible coal, and iron, and industry, and a proud pre-eminence to start with in this new career, must give her, by the natural course of things, the undivided empire of the waves; where she has been the proud arbitress, she must become the sole and absolute mistress; but it is not to be expected

that the rest of the world will let their share of the ocean's empire, which they see daily escaping from them, be usurped without one last blow to retain it. It cannot be expected that they will bow to the inevitable fate of which the future offers the prospect, whilst their sanguine hopes may still see in their united energy a last chance of averting it.

We who feel in England that we have made even greater progress in the universal appreciation of human rights, and, consequently, in cosmopolitan feeling, than we have in the positive and utilitarian sciences, cannot but regret that France, the Atheus of our modern Rome, with which our real interests, once opposed, in the future, like two diverging lines, can never come in contact, should force on us a fruitless war, bootless to herself and injurious to us in common with humanity, by arousing fresh enmities and checking that civilisation and enlightenment to the progress of which the union of these nations is so essential, and to which the genius, the talent, and the learning of her children so powerfully contribute. We may regret, but we cannot be surprised at an eventuality so lamentable. We may lament that war may arise from the arrogance and conceit of American mobs, intoxicated by the adulations of those flatterers to which the plenitude of power gives rise in a democracy the same as in a despotism, and from whom it has an equal tendency to conceal unpalatable truths, and acting the more readily on a semi-educated nation where an ignorant man is as scarce as a well-educated one. Education, as we have too often experienced, acting sometimes in the inverse ratio of those medicines, which taken in larger quantities are poisonous; education being poisonous only in the smaller doses, medicinal in the large. Let us not, however, be understood as guilty of the sacrilege of advancing an argument against the spread of knowledge, for it is obvious that the small dose must be taken before the larger one, of which we acknowledge the efficacy and merit. We may regret that war may arise, which, without benefiting humanity, will, for so many years, retard the prosperity of a young and thriving people. But we must acknowledge that predispositions to it exist in the envy, vanity, and ignorance of its democracy, no less than in the wounded pride of the French people, to whom we, the conquerors, extend the hand of fellowship, willing as such to bury in oblivion injuries which, as the conquered, we might still as sorely and acutely feel. This feeling it has not been the lightest task of the statesmen of these nations to restrain, but the bold politician, when a favourable opportunity presents itself, influenced by the considerations into which we have entered, will only have to rouse and give the rein to them when the fitting moment is arrived. With regard to Russia, which, like a vast inanimate body, has not a breath or feeling to animate it, excepting that which, galvanic-like, its Government inspires, it is naturally more difficult to gather indications of its future conduct; and we are led to place an emphasis on signs which, in a free country, would be unworthy our consideration. For instance, the jealous despotism of Russia advances aliens and foreigners, without credit, kin, or influence in the country, to all offices of responsibility, in preference to her native subjects. Russia appreciates the services of British adventurers, in every branch of her civil and military administration, except-

ing the naval, for which their peculiar adaption is obvious. From this career, which is open to all other foreigners, of late years they have been strictly excluded. We cannot, therefore, doubt that Russia, who finding in British power the great obstacle to her aggrandisement at half the points of the compass, has, in the conceit of her Cabinet, swollen her natural enmity into rivalry, has not been the last of those who have understood the moral of the allegory of the lictor's rods. Whilst we, therefore, appreciate and acknowledge the colossal resources of England's maritime power, and the certainty, as far as human calculation can avail, not only of her unshakeable security, but of her eventual triumph against all and any external foes, we see in them no security that her power will not be once more assailed; and on this account we think that there are things which an English public neglect, which, independent of the technical interest they afford, an English public should study,—we mean the real amount of the nation's strength when it chooses to exert it; and the strength or weakness of those who, before becoming brethren, will be yet arrayed against it as enemies and rivals.

It is far from the verge of improbability that we may yet see a Russian navy, with its fifty thousand sailors, arrayed against us, amongst other foes, startling, if not alarming, our countrymen; and it is, therefore, well that they should learn what value to put upon that thing of "shreds and patches," woven into the scarecrow giant's form, which, seen from a distance, indistinct and dim, looks awful,—but, closely viewed, becomes merely ludicrous to the beholder. It is, however, difficult to give an account of the Russian navy, any more than of any of the other national institutions of this country, without reverting to the man who was the founder of them all, and within the narrow circle of whose biography the history of the most brilliant period of their existence is contained.

When Peter the First, who,—savage and barbarian as he was,—so well deserved the name of Great, stood on the islands of the Neva's Delta, the newly-conquered soil of Ingria, still within reach of the hostile Swedish cannon, and resolved to build there a city and a fleet, possessing then no outlet to the Great Northern Sea but the one river whose marshy banks and islets he occupied, and exposed to the aggression of a redoubtable enemy, in whose very teeth it would be necessary to complete his undertaking, there was a boldness in the conception which success has justified. When, a few years after, he made his triumphal entry into the new capital which had risen up from the morass,—palaces and dwellings having sprung up where only the bulrush raised its head, and the acclamations of a vast population greeting him on the spot where only the cry of the sea-mew and the voice of the marsh-frog fell formerly upon his ear,—when history tells us that it was on the occasion of a naval victory, obtained over the Swedes with the very fleet of which a few years before he only contemplated the construction,—a design towards the accomplishment of which he had neither a single artisan to construct, a sailor to man, or a port to harbour the ships, which were still trees in the forest,—when we remember these things we must confess that the annals of the past offer no parallel to the boldness of the idea or the success of its execution, except in the solitary instance of the rise of the Roman naval

power, in the face of the Carthaginian supremacy. Indiscriminately as the wisdom and talent of this man has been praised in all his actions by the enthusiasm of his admirers, and overrated as his merits have been, the real grandeur, hardihood, and skill of his efforts to create a maritime power defy the panegyrics of his warmest eulogists to exaggerate. The genius of Peter was essentially nautical, and, whatever may be related of his early aversion to the water, through his after-life he gave ample evidence that it was his natural element, his marked predilection for everything concerning it proving instinctive of the peculiar tendency of his talent in this direction. Setting aside all the fables of contemporary flattery, and of the adulation of posterity, which attribute to him the personal execution of herculean labours, and a skill as universally comprehensive as it was marvellous, we may distinctly gather that he was really one of the boldest and cleverest seamen of his time, and acquainted in the minutest details with all the collateral branches of his profession relating to the construction of fleets,—an advantage which few men, if any, have ever combined in the same degree, and which in his situation, perhaps, alone enabled him to perform what he did. Peter,—at once the despotic sovereign, the shipwright, the sailor, and the pilot,—succeeded in building an excellent fleet, which his liberality gained over a due proportion of foreign officers and seamen to man; whilst his discrimination and knowledge of the subject allowed him to distinguish the exact ability of those he employed. He commanded himself,—skilful and bold as an Admiral, he was at the same time the supreme arbiter of reward and punishment,—and thus, with a fleet which he had just created, he defeated the navy of a warlike nation, whose flag had been already formidable on the waters a thousand years before. It must, however, be admitted that the Swedes, who as soldiers have performed the most remarkable exploits of any nation whatsoever, both in point of talent and bravery, at sea have distinguished themselves more by reckless gallantry than by skill; and, if surpassed by none in valour, they have certainly held a nautical rank inferior to the English, the Dutch, and the Danes. Peter rendered his fleet decidedly superior to that of Sweden, and from his contests with it we may take the measure of the naval power which he had the merit of thus calling suddenly into existence, to occupy a very prominent station in the European scale. Far from keeping the promise of its early and auspicious years, the infancy of the Russian navy proved the most brilliant period of its existence. Since the days of Peter it has never shown itself so formidable as under his command; and in recent times it has so far degenerated as to be one of the very worst in Europe. Although it consists of fifty sail of the line, and though these have fifty thousand armed men to work them, if it were necessary to hold two-thirds of the number in commission, so small would be the proportion of even tolerable seamen on board each ship that they would be about as ill managed as the Chinese war-junks. Independent of this, two-thirds of the vessels constructed in the Baltic are too rotten to put to sea,—but even if this were remedied, the deficiency of proper crews cannot.

It was, no doubt, the idea of Peter, when he founded the Russian navy, that it would be supported by a commercial marine, which he might naturally suppose would flourish with such an extent of coast

as he appropriated to Russia on the shores of the Gulf of Finland, where every material for ship-building existed in abundance, and where an extensive trade would soon have furnished ample occupation for a merchant-fleet, if early measures had been taken to afford it sufficient protection against foreign competition. But the successors of Peter, who were no sailors themselves, could never be convinced that it is beyond the power of a Tsar to make a sailor by ukase,—and, therefore, entirely neglecting their merchant service, which was the only school for them, they never thought of removing the social obstacles which insuperably opposed its prosperity, and contented themselves with building fine ships, sending soldiers to man them, and hiring the services of foreign officers to command their fleets.

The obstacle we allude to,—which prevents, and has always prevented, the Russian from adopting a sea-faring life, if, indeed, it offered sufficient inducements to remove the prejudices natural to a nation of landsmen,—is simply the fact of his servitude. Almost every Russian of the labouring class is, and always has been, a slave, whom his master will not trust abroad, and who, without his permission, cannot leave the country; and of late years, since the effect of this state of things has been too clearly perceived, the jealousy of all foreign intercourse which has sprung up, and which dreads "the march of opinion" more than the inefficiency of the fleet, has prevented any attempts at remedying the evil. In the whole of the Baltic there is, therefore, no such thing known as a Russian sailor serving on board a merchantman,—the crews of the few vessels engaged in commerce being composed exclusively of Finns, Germans, Danes, and Swedes. It is true there is a law which obliges every vessel sailing under Russian colours to have a Russian captain; but, whether the ship belong to a Russian, or, as is generally the case, to a foreign owner, a peasant, who does not, perhaps, know the head from the stern of the ship, is engaged as nominal captain, and receiving a salary of thirty shillings a month, as soon as the vessel goes out of port is sent down to sleep in the fore-cabin, resigning the command to a Finn or a foreigner, to whom he very often acts as cook. The sailors for the navy are, therefore, recruited in the same manner as the soldiers for the army, from the class of agricultural peasants. Obliged, by the ice, to remain utterly inactive in the Baltic for half the year, and in the Black Sea for several months so, on account of its periodical storminess, they are destined to act half as sailors and half as soldiers, and, perfectly military in their organization, habits, and uniform, are disciplined to the use of the musket, and the infantry evolutions, much the same as our own Marines. They are formed into equipages, which represent regiments or battalions, and into companies. They are dressed in stiff military coats, or great coats, very tight at the collar and waist, and this seaman-like costume is completed by boots, and a heavy glossy leather chako, which may serve as a fire-bucket, of which it has much the appearance. Of the fifty thousand sailors employed in the navy, thirty thousand are stationed on the Baltic, and twenty thousand on the Black Sea. Those of the Baltic fleets, composed principally of the refuse of the army recruits, are as miserable in appearance as they are lubberly. At sea only a small portion of the seven months during which the navigation

is open, the greater number of them never thoroughly get over their sea-sickness; and, on account of the expense of sending vessels on any foreign station—where the pay increases to more than treble, besides the merciless plundering of the officers,—they are kept cruising in the brackish water of the Gulf of Finland, between Cronstadt and Revel, where they can never, on a clear day, lose sight of land. In fine or moderate weather, considering all the disadvantages under which they labour, they manage to work their ships tolerably; because, with all their ignorance and awkwardness, strict order is preserved. As soon as rough weather comes on, the officers, losing all confidence, resign the command of the ship to a few of the older sailors on board,—for the little knowledge that is possessed by a ship's company is usually to be found before the mast,—and exchanging the stern brutality of their manner for a sudden affability, loose the rein to all discipline, and every one begins to talk and advise together, who is not obliged by the confusion of his stomach to hold his tongue. The want of dexterity in manœuvring a ship—the want of silence when fighting her—and the want of active courage to board an enemy's vessel, or to repel the attack of his boarders—constitute all the evils requisite to ensure the capture of a vessel by one of far inferior size; yet these are evils to which every Russian ship in the Baltic fleet will be subject on the day of trial, with the exception of, perhaps, one or two, the crews of which are a collection of all their choicest seamen and officers, chosen whenever a Russian man-of-war is sent abroad.

Those who have had the opportunity of closely examining Russian vessels on a foreign station, seldom imbibe any very exalted ideas of their efficiency; but they are generally unconscious of the fact that it is the very pick of the whole navy which is ostentatiously selected to give foreigners as favourable an idea as possible of the condition of their fleets, when they have been led to scrutinize thus severely. A portion of the sailors of the Baltic fleet form the Marine guards, and are on that account chosen men; and also it contains a considerable number of Jews, who, in Russia, are not exempted from military service; and it is remarked, that they make some of the best sailors in the navy, being diligent, quick, and intelligent. The observation has frequently been made that the Hebrews, whom both Napoleon and the Emperor Nicholas have tried to force to fight, have never been brought to stand in the field; but on ship-board they generally behave with determined courage. Does not this show that it is the want of taking the remotest interest in the quarrel, for which he is forced to endanger his life, which makes the Israelite seize every opportunity of placing it in security; since, when he finds that he cannot run away, he behaves with as much presence of mind and courage as the best of his neighbours? Even from the land forces, the Jews have been gradually draughted into the fleet, as the Emperor is by no means partial to them, whether it be that he follows his own prejudices, or yields to those of his subjects against them. We remember, whilst many of them were still in the Guards, that one of this persecuted race was placed as sentinel on one of the posts which surround the Winter Palace; it happened to be the anniversary of our Saviour's resurrection, a festivity which Russians of all ranks, from the Emperor to the "moujik,"

observe by kissing every one they meet upon the cheek, and saying "Brother! Christ is arisen." The Czar on quitting his palace, according to custom, thus embraced the sentry at the gate, and uttered the usual exclamation; but the Jew, instead of making the accustomed reply, answered stoutly, "It is false!"

The food of the Russian sailor at home is much the same as that of the soldier; when on a foreign station he is much better fed, as well as better paid; but the long fasts which he religiously observes, and the sour rye biscuit, which is a rusk made from the common bread, seldom allow him, even in this case, to improve much in appearance. With regard to the Naval Officers—brought up as they are in Cadet Schools, which are half the year afloat on board of Lilliputian vessels of war, manned by the students, although no school is like the broad ocean—it is difficult to understand how it is possible that they should be so grossly ignorant as they prove themselves, if it were not for their avowed disgust and indifference to everything regarding nautical life. It is a very common thing to hear the young officers declare, that in case of war, rather than go to sea, they would exchange into the cavalry; and even at present, these exchanges are not unfrequent, as in Russia the rank a man holds in one department of the service, is understood to fit him to fill a corresponding station in the branch most dissimilar to the one in which he has begun his career. We confess, that not having had the opportunity of seeing the Russian officers at sea, we should have had difficulty in giving credit to the accounts we had received from so many sources of their utter want of seamanship, had we not had the opportunity of witnessing the awkwardness, of some of those considered the smartest amongst the rising generation of embryo Admirals, to whom the command of the Government steamers in the river Neva is given. Although the stream is broad, and no more obstructed than the Thames at Purfleet, they scarcely ever make an excursion without running foul of some craft or another, which they always do with impunity, because, in every case, the blame is laid on the injured party, who, if he do not choose to hold his tongue, will be made to smart for it. We never knew but one instance where the Government vessels had come in collision with anything, where they were not proved to have been blameless; viz., that of an officer who ran foul of the parapet of the English quay in broad daylight, and knocked away two of the enormous stones with the bowsprit of his steamer—five days previous he had run down a brig *at anchor;* but the brig was somehow proved to have been in fault, and so would the parapet of the quay, had it not been Imperial property.

After the police and the courts of law, the grossest peculation exists in the navy, though we are bound to say, that in all departments the extent to which it is carried seems exactly to fit the opportunity afforded. No Russian vessels ever go out into the Baltic without losing their anchors, and parting their cables, and the blessing of a moderate storm always furnishes a long account of stores and guns thrown overboard, which, nevertheless, have seldom been intrusted to Father Neptune. When the Russian fleet, in Alexander's reign, was kept as hostage in England, it is well known that every rope and sail, and cable, was publicly sold in detail by its officers. We had always

formerly imagined, as perhaps our readers, who may be acquainted with this circumstance, do now, that the consideration of England's having to refit the ships, which their officers were fast reducing to naked hulls and bare poles, had given rise to this conduct; but experience soon convinced us that it is the common custom of the Russian navy, which is carried on to a considerable extent, even under the very eyes of the Emperor; but the dangerous prevalence of which, directly a vessel or a fleet sails out of their own waters, it is impossible to check by any severity, since all classes connive at its continuance. If it would be a rare occurrence to see a Russian fleet sold wholesale by its Admiral as the Turkish has been, every part of a Russian vessel of war, except the masts and hull, may generally be purchased in detail.

We could indeed fill a volume with the accounts of monstrous peculations in this department; a deeply-rooted evil, against which Emperors and ministers make occasional efforts by examples of severity, which are as much thrown away, as the angry waving of the traveller's hand against the swarms of musquitoes which buzz upon the Neva's banks. Some years ago, the present Emperor sent down a commission to Cronstadt to seal up the arsenals, and examine their contents; but by a *singular coincidence*, the arsenals were burnt down that very night; and yet, even the ashes of the buildings brought to light a case of public robbery unparalleled in the annals of other states, viz., the guns of a frigate which had foundered some years before in the Baltic—as reported, with all her guns and stores on board,—were discovered; thus proving that her officers had deliberately taken her out empty for the purpose of destroying her, and selling the stores she was supposed to have contained. The good-humoured, indolent Alexander, on hearing some similar instance of peculation, remarked, "They would steal my line-of-battle ships if they knew where to put them."

The naval officers, as well as the sailors, wear mustachios; the latter are also encumbered with cartridge-boxes and short heavy Roman swords, which must both be very convenient to scramble about the rigging with. It is not long since the officers also wore spurs; this custom was abandoned about the same time that it was in Sweden, immediately after Nelson's attack on Copenhagen. The Swedish Admiral being sent over to that capital to make the excuses of his Sovereign to the King of Denmark for not having sent him the timely assistance which policy had held back, the mob of Copenhagen, which was considerably excited, followed him in the street, and noticing his spurs, cried out, "There goes the Admiral, with the Swedish fleet at his heels!"

The Russian navy was formerly principally commanded by foreign officers, and principally Englishmen and Dutchmen. Peter the Great appears to have been the only distinguished Muscovite Admiral—as on land Suwarrow has proved the only remarkable soldier. Some of the Englishmen in her service have distinguished themselves by that daring gallantry which has given them the Empire of the Ocean. Amongst these we may cite as the most remarkable, the renegade Paul Jones, and Admiral Elphinstone, who both served under the Russian flag in Catherine's reign, during which Count Orloff's expedition to the Morea may be remembered, in which he aroused the

Greeks to rebellion, and basely abandoned them—a fault, or a *maladresse* (which the virtuous and philosophic Prince of Perigord once said was worse than a crime,) whose consequences have clogged the march of Russian policy down to the present day, by obstinately living in the memory of the Greek population, and limiting the confidence they might otherwise have felt in their co-religionaries.

After his battle in the Bay of Tchesmè, where the destruction of the two Admirals' ships was followed by the conflagration of the whole Turkish fleet engaged, Elphinstone proposed the daring plan of sailing direct for Constantinople, and by a bold stroke, taking possession of, or at least, destroying the city of the Sultan. Orloff rejected the project as inexecutable, and Elphinstone, departing alone, forced the passage of the Dardanelles, thirty years before the feat was performed by Duckworth's squadron—and landing within sight of the capital, ate his repast on shore, and safely repassed the Straits, thus practically demonstrating how feasible had been the proposition. The fiery Scot—for Elphinstone, as well as Paul Jones, was from the land of cakes, and proved a remarkable exception to the calm and prudent temper which is ascribed to his countrymen,—disgusted with the mismanagement of an expedition, during the course of which fortune had left the very existence of the Turkish Empire at the mercy of the invaders, had they known how to profit by it, in one of the fits of passion to which he was subject, took the tiller of his vessel, and run it upon a rock. The waves, however, seemed unwilling to devour the man who had so fearlessly courted their embraces—he was saved, though his ship perished. He arrived in Petersburgh; his services had been so brilliant—his censure on the conduct of the expedition was so undeniable—that it was not judged proper to bring him to a court-martial—and the influence of the favourite, and the dread of continuing to employ a man who gave way to such insane ebullitions of temper, occasioned his being left—unnoticed and unrewarded—until his resignation was tendered, and gladly accepted. Paul Jones, at the request of England, was also dismissed, but with handsome presents.

Of late years, however, the Russian Government seems to think that it is high time, after a century and a half, that its fleet should be able to furnish Russian Admirals to command it, and few foreigners have been recently advanced to the exalted station in her marine, which formerly was almost exclusively occupied by them, and even for a considerable time past Englishmen have not been admitted into the naval service at all, a fact which, as we have observed, furnishes some indication of the use Russia some day contemplates making of her fleet; since innumerable English names, formerly upon her Navy List—and even now on the superannuated part of it—attest that it is not for want of appreciation of their peculiar adaption for that department of the service. We are aware that the contrary is usually believed of that navy, from the circumstance of one's hearing in every direction of English and foreign Admirals actively employed. Gregg on the Black Sea—Ricord in the Mediterranean—Heyden, the Dutchman, commanding the Russian fleet at Navarino—Hamilton, Ogilvy, and at least a dozen more; but Gregg and Ricord, especially the former, the most distinguished men in the service, were born in Russia; the others are all

exceedingly old men, originally English Midshipmen and cabin-boys of merchant ships, who entered the service in the reign of Catherine, and belong to a period antecedent to the policy now pursued; and from their extreme age, they are dying off so fast, that in a few years probably none will remain. We are far from censuring Russia in trying to render her navy independent, after the example she had, when, on the declaration of war to England in Alexander's reign, his English officers resigned their swords; but this sedulous exclusion of Englishmen—and only of Englishmen—not from the service generally, but only from the naval part of it, shows very plainly that the Government anticipate an eventual collision with that country only.

The Black Sea fleet is in a much more efficient condition than that of the Baltic; the seamen have more practice, and the crews have mingled amongst them many of the maritime inhabitants of its shores, as well as Little Russians and Cossacs. Still the same vice exists with regard to its officers; and being further from the central power, it is still less restrained than in the Baltic. The *Tchornomorskie* Cossacs, our old friends of the Dnieper, as well as guarding the line of the Kouban, furnish a contingent for the arsenal service; and their personal hardihood renders them formidable in gun-boats and galleys, about which they are principally employed. In character, in fierceness, and in the purposes to which they are applicable, they are not unlike the Malay pirates.

In the Baltic, the naval establishments consist of the dockyards of Auchta, on the right bank of the Neva, or rather of one of its branches, situated a little above St. Petersburg—of the Admiralty, situated on that noble river in the city of St. Petersburg itself—and of the docks and arsenals attached to it, though the English quay intervenes between them. Here ships of the line are built, though large vessels can never pass over the bar at the mouth of the river with their guns and stores, and even without them only at high water. The spacious harbour of Cronstadt—the principal sea-port, and the first naval station of the Empire—fortified with all the ingenuity of art, and rendered as strong as art, unassisted by nature, can make such a place, occupies on a low marshy island the mouth of the gulf into which the Neva empties itself, and brings five hundred pieces of cannon to bear from the detached forts which rise from the sea on the one side, and the works of the place which command the narrow entrance from the other.

The next great station is Reval, in which is the second division of the Baltic fleet: it is also fortified, and contains docks, arsenals, and dockyards. Perhaps next in importance on the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland, is Baltisport, because the earliest open to navigation, which is here sometimes only impeded for a few weeks by the ice. All the sea-ports along the coast of Finland are more or less fortified; but the fortifications which defend the harbour and arsenals of Helsingfors, its present capital, are of great strength and magnitude. To the Admiralty of St. Petersburg are attached the iron works of Colpenas, besides several similar establishments of minor importance. On the Black Sea, the principal harbour and naval station is Sebastopol, on the peninsula of the Crimea—a place of natural as well as artificial

strength. The Admiralty is still at Nicolaiew, which is much less conveniently situated, but will shortly be removed to the former place, where the new Admiralty is in the course of construction.

In the year 1839, the last account which we have before us, and in which no important variation has taken place, the united fleet of the Russian Empire consisted of,—

SHIPS OF THE LINE.

5 ships of 100 guns and upwards; and 2 upon the stocks.	Total,	7
18 from 80 to 100 guns; 5 upon the stocks		23
20 from 70 to 80 guns		20
		50

FRIGATES.

4 of 60 guns	4
20 from 36 to 50 guns; 1 upon the stocks	21
	25

The sailors of the Baltic fleet were reckoned at 30,800 men; the sailors of the Black Sea at 19,800, making a total number of 50,600. The fleets are distributed much in the relative proportion of the sailors between the southern and northern waters, excepting that in the Black Sea they have a larger number of small craft.

On the Baltic stations the Russians have about fifteen sea steamers, of which two, the Bogatir, built at Colpenas, and the Kamschatka, constructed in America, are steam-frigates; but as in case of war, the Government will not hesitate to appropriate all steamers whatever, we must calculate also those belonging to private individuals, and thus the collective amount may probably exceed fifty. Though all are very indifferent craft, they are all fit for sea, none (excepting a very fast Thames boat used to convey the court servants, cooks, fiddlers, musicians, and sometimes their masters, to the imperial residence of Peterhoff, upon the Gulf of Finland,) having been merely built for river navigation. The greater number of these have been built either at the private works of Beird, or at Auchta, and the engines constructed at Colpenas. The Bogatir is not, as far as regards her engines, a despicable specimen—there are few of the others of which as much can be said.

On the Black Sea, the Government steamers are seventeen in number, several of two hundred and sixty, and two hundred and forty horse-power: they are all of English manufacture, and are much in request to relieve the garrisons and transport troops along the coast of Circassia and Georgia. Four very large steamers also arrived last year from England. From the circumstance of the steamers being all English, they are on the whole better than those in the Baltic; but there are few private steam-vessels, so that perhaps five-and-twenty would be as many as Government could command the use of. They have not attempted to build any here. It is remarkable that both in the Baltic and the Black Sea nothing is used but Newcastle coal, as wood is much dearer even on the stations of the former, and from its bulk prevents a vessel from carrying sufficient fuel to enable it to leave the coast.

The pay of the Russian navy is, in English money, about as follows:—

A General-Admiral	..	..		£540	per annum.
An Admiral	..	..	..	225	"
A Vice-Admiral	..	..	..	180	"
A Rear-Admiral	..	..	..	135	"
IN THE MARINE GUARDS.					
A Captain of First Class		..	..	100	"
A Captain	..	..	..	80	"
A Lieutenant	..	..	..	63	"
IN THE REST OF THE NAVY.					
A First Class Captain		..	..	80	"
A Captain	..	..	..	68	"
A Lieutenant	..	..	..	50	"
A Midshipman	..	..	..	38	"

The pay of a General-Admiral is rather more than what an English blacksmith receives at Colpenas; the pay of a full Admiral is exactly the salary of the shopmen in the English magazine in St. Petersburg; and a Lieutenant receives what it is customary to give to a valet in that city.

The navy, like the Georgian and Caucasian army, is a sort of refuge for the destitute, and therefore contains few officers who have property of their own; nevertheless, many of those who are known to possess none, may be seen commonly drinking their champagne at 12*s.* per bottle. It is a remarkable fact, that as soon as a Russian vessel is in commission, she is already rapidly beginning to rot; and this tendency is so remarkable, that fully two-thirds of the vessels composing the Baltic fleet are unsound. The navy and the shipwrights are fond of attributing this to some peculiar quality of the water of the Baltic, which, if it exist, must indeed be very peculiar, since it only acts on such vessels as are the property of Government, and also to the bad quality of the wood. This, as far as concerns the oak, may have some foundation. It is undeniable that the Russian oak is very inferior in quality, like that of Canada and of all cold countries, in which its growth, confined to a few months of the year, and fostered by great heat and humidity, is too rapid, but the main cause probably lies in the green timber which the government builders employ, and charge on their books, or take from the contractors, as fully seasoned.

All the stores and appointments of the Russian vessels of war are excellent in quality. Their sails and cordage are the best in the world. The decks and rigging are all in the nicest order; nevertheless, the fastidious eye of a seaman sees at a glance that the latter was never set up by a sailor, the twist of the ropes never having been attended to; his taste is offended by an ostentatious display of brass—the common sin of most foreign navies; and if he penetrate below, he will find that all the dirt that has been so carefully cleared from the deck, seems to have taken refuge beneath it. The immense mass of rubbish which the sailors are allowed to collect, is only exceeded by the furniture of the officers' cabins. As in Russia generally, furnished rooms are unknown, every officer has his own furniture. Those in the navy, when they go on board in the summer, therefore take with them the whole stock which filled their winter apartments on shore. We have seen a Midshipman embarking with a host of chests, two

sofas, and a piano-forte, besides his "batterie de cuisine" of kettles, frying-pans, and tea-urn, and the picture of his saint.

Finland alone, of all the Russian dominions, furnishes her with good sailors, but they are far from numerous, notwithstanding the vast extent of her coast, and being much averse to the naval service, Russia dares not yet resort to any very arbitrary measures to force them into it. Taking all things into consideration, we do not seriously believe that the Russian fleet, in the event of war with England, would offer more effectual resistance to any thing like an equal British force, than the Chinese junks have done; and we could quote opinions of great weight in this matter, to show that if the strength with which Cronstadt is fortified, would render the undertaking arduous, a fleet may be destroyed within the shelter of its harbour, and the passage forced, at a determined maximum of loss on the part of the British fleet, with as much certainty as military engineers can calculate on the reduction of one of the artificial forts of the French and Belgian line, within a given space of time.

An experienced mariner, one of that numerous tribe of Smiths and Johnsons, of whom Lord Byron speaks in his Don Juan, who have ever since Peter's days sought advancement and wealth in the service of Russia, and who had served on board the Portuguese and Turkish fleets, assured us, that it would be difficult for him to point out any nation whose vessels of war, in equal force, would not overmatch the Russian.

The Russian navy, therefore, in the hands of her diplomatists, has proved more useful than ever it would have done in those of her admirals; and the fleets so formidable at a distance—so ineffective when closely examined, remind us strongly of the wooden cannon which King Edward III. used to impose upon the garrison of Calais, when he besieged that stoutly-defended city. Nevertheless, we should never forget, that Calais *did surrender* to these guns, all wooden as they were.

The most reasonable hope which Russia might entertain—if it were not for the all-pervading venality corruptive of energy and power—would be in the prospect of eventually manning her fleets with her Finnish subjects, the only portion of the population of her vast empire containing sailors, which it might furnish to the amount of some twenty thousand. The only direction in which the Russian fleet, exclusive of its moral effect, is likely to exercise any immediate influence on the liberties and interests of the west of Europe, is towards Sweden. But at the same time, both from Finland and from Sweden, may arise the greatest dangers to the Russian Empire, and the most effective curb to the ambition of her cabinet, and at all events, for many years to come, they lie as ready instruments to the hand of Great Britain to accomplish for her two-thirds of the work, whenever she may determine on doing so. The value of a navy, like that of a military force, is always relative; there are political situations, where a single disciplined battalion is of more importance than tens of regiments in another; and without some knowledge of the state of Finland and Sweden, it is difficult for us to appreciate the value of the marine of Russia in her Baltic harbours.

THE MOUTHS OF THE DANUBE.

FROM THE NOTES OF A RECENT TRAVELLER.

All the world, of course, are aware that the Danube is the river of rivers of Germany; that it was the northern boundary of the Roman Empire in Europe, and that belligerent hosts have ofttimes mingled their gore with its dark rolling waters; but the same world is guilty of no little inattention to the late insidious encroachments on that portion of it formerly called the Ister. Here all the channels by which the mighty stream is discharged into the Black Sea, are of such increasing importance to the commerce and happiness of the circumjacent districts, and, in the end, even to the integrity of the House of Hapsburgh, that it is now proposed, by recounting a recent visit there, to awaken attention to the doings at that momentous frontier.

It was a fine morning in the month of October that I embarked in the Diana, of Liverpool, a handsome barque, of 400 tons burthen, lying at anchor off the magnificent new palace of the Sultan at Beschik Tasch, near Constantinople, with the view of making an excursion to the long debated point formed by the mouths of the river Danube, and of obtaining perhaps a hurried glance at the frontier towns of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. The master of the barque had unloaded his general cargo at the Turkish capital, and was now about to proceed to the Moldavian town of Galatz, to take in that most unsavoury, though not most unprofitable, of cargoes—bones, which are there obtainable at so low a rate as to repay well the expenses of the distant transport.

I need not attempt to describe the different objects that engaged my attention whilst the rapid clank of the pauls and the song of the men announced that the anchor was heaving. Every time that one can leave for awhile the narrow streets of the city, and emerge on an open plot of ground, or, still better, on the blue Bosphorus, new beauties appear to spring up, the palaces seem to become brighter and handsomer, the wooded hills to put on a fresher green, and the picturesque air of the whole scene to have taken a more advantageous character, than when seen on the previous occasion; and although so much has been said, sung, written, and painted on the subject, and the individual features of swelling domes and taper menarehs, funereal cypress and clustering vine, verdant hills and deep blue sea, remain always much the same, there is sufficient of beauty in the picture, and of novelty imparted by the numerous meteorological changes caused by the neighbourhood of the Euxine, to charm, even when seen ever so often, and to make it impossible to bid adieu without regret to Stamboul.

The wind was blowing pretty strongly from the west, and since it had been in this point for two or three days, a considerable ripple was raised by its conflict with the current of the Bosphorus, whilst the violence of that current was very much diminished, and the velocity of the water, which, under the influence of a northerly wind, sometimes amounts to four, and in some places to five, miles an hour, had fallen to between two and three miles; we were thus enabled, when the sails

once drew, to keep pace with the singularly-built *caïks*—the wherries of Constantinople—which were plying upwards to the summer retreats of Therapia and Buyukderé, and it became a question which was most worthy of admiration, the well-adapted lines of construction which render these the fastest passenger-boats in Europe, or the beautiful and well-kept-up pulling of the Turkish *caïkdgis*, a race of watermen from whom, owing to our preconceived ideas of the people, we should not be disposed to look for unnecessary exertion.

The weather was dull and cold, and as we sailed past the Giant's Mountain, and exchanged the luxuriant hills of the western end of the Bosphorus for the rugged and barren rocks which hem it in on the east; and as the wilder forms of the shores loomed heavily from the damp mist which hung around them, and appeared not to feel the influence of the brisk breeze which in mid-channel impelled us at six knots an hour, it appeared as if we saw the transition to the gales and other disagreeables of the sea, so long termed by the ancients "the inhospitable," and bearing in our own day, both among poets and the more matter-of-fact tourists, the character of the most squally and comfortless sheet of water which exists in Europe. The various long, low batteries *à fleur d'eau*, which are placed beneath the cliffs, were passed in quick succession, the dreaded Symplegades were left a cable's length to windward—the waves dashing and roaring upon them impotently, since, if the position of the rocks be the same as in days of yore, it would prove that the mariners of those days possessed considerable ingenuity to run their craft into the narrow chasm which separates the frowning cliffs, near which there is not the slightest occasion for passing —and thus at length, gradually running out of sight of Fort Poiraz on the Asiatic, and Fort *Kilia* on the European side, we were cutting our way rapidly through the dark waters of the Euxine—not amid the cold and raw fogs, which had been represented to us at Constantinople as generally hanging like an incubus over its waters; but in a delightful clear atmosphere, warmed by the rays of the sun, now setting beneath the distant hills of Thrace. A few Turkish coasting craft, rigged with latteens and square topsails, were visible between us and the coast, steering for the ports of Bourgas or Varna, and we alone were standing out from land, north by east, and running between six and seven knots an hour. Amid the increasing darkness, we soon lost sight of the faint ridge of mountains on the horizon, and then during a couple of days were left in complete solitude—excepting only when the Russian steamer, on its way from Odessa to Constantinople, passed within a couple of miles of us.

It was on the third day at length, that large flocks of gulls and other sea birds, some wheeling around in the air, and others pursuing their piscatory employment on the waves, indicated that we were approaching land, and in a short time afterwards we were steering for a rock which was evidently their abode; it was the *Yeelan Adasi*, Serpent's Isle, called *Fidonisi* by the Greek and Italian sailors navigating these seas, and supposed to be identical with the *Leuce* mentioned by Arrian, Strabo, and other ancient authors, as sacred to Achilles. It is a bold, rocky-faced islet, of about half a mile in length, and crowned by some thickets of shrubs, among which, it is said, may be found the traces of very ancient edifices. Of the white colour which imparted to

it the name of Leuce or "the white," nothing remains, unless perhaps when a cloud of gulls, terrified by the approach of strangers, rise into the air, and, with the pureness of their plumage, give the bright appearance celebrated by Pindar; but I fear me that more conclusive reasons will make it questionable whether the islet have any right to be considered the present made by Thetis to Achilles, although the name and traditions, still existing among the people of the opposite coasts, appear to bear a great affinity to the tale related by a writer of antiquity, who tells us that it was dangerous to land, on account of the serpents which guarded the treasures buried there. The main land, at the Soulineh mouth of the Danube, is distant twenty-three miles west by south, whereas the ancients who speak of Leuce, describe it as lying close off the mouth of the Danube, and only one exception, Scymnus Chius, estimates the distance at four hundred stadia, or about fifty miles, and says that the coast was not visible from it. They also give its extent at thirty stadia, or three miles and three-quarters in length, which proves at all events that, if it be the same island, a great portion of it, and probably that containing the temple of Achilles, has fallen a prey to the constant action of the waves—a ruin not more rapid than that of which we have an example in Heligoland, but less easy to account for, since the most important cause in the latter case—the tidal currents—are in the Black Sea imperceptible, and that caused by the huge quantity of water contributed by the Danube cannot act very forcibly at so great a distance, and is moreover observed to tend somewhat to the southward the more it recedes from land.

Leaving, however, for the present the Isle of Achilles, we made for the mouth of the Danube—that gigantic drain of half of Europe—the shores around which are so low that the trees may be frequently seen on the horizon before the land on which they grow comes in sight. After running ten or twelve miles, we had lost the island, and saw distinctly some of the mountains called *Besh tepeh*, or the five peaks, which lie at the distance of sixty miles inland, and which we shall again have occasion to notice. The Sulineh mouth, which we were approaching, was marked on the south bank by a lighthouse, and on the northern by the remains of a wreck, an English brig, which they said had gone ashore there some months since, by not rounding up sufficiently towards the southern bank; the channel was marked by buoys, which rendered a pilot unnecessary, although he came off to us,—a Moldavian, habited in the coarse brown jacket, with blue and red trimmings, usual among Greek sailors, and not belying by any delicacy of complexion the rubicund character of face common to his fraternity in more northern climes.

The waves were breaking a little on the bar which we had to cross, and we found upon it only nine feet of water, which, though it increases sometimes under the influence of certain winds and seasons to as much as twelve feet, forms a serious obstruction to the navigation of the river by large vessels, since the only means by which a vessel of considerable draught could take in or deliver a cargo, would be by anchoring outside, and making use of lighters, a plan which our skipper observed, with an expression indicative of discontent, he would be obliged to adopt for a portion at least of his cargo. Arrived about a cable's length within the river, we dropped our anchor near a group of

a dozen merchant vessels of different nations, which were awaiting a favourable wind to carry them up the stream; some were from Odessa, to load with the wine of Moldavia; some from Constantinople, for corn; and an English brig had brought iron for Braila, in Wallachia. Casting my eyes, however, from the river upon its shores, I was astonished to see on the southern side, where even the most detailed maps give us only a "ruined tower," a complete little town of wooden houses, which has been rising up within a very few years; and I was at a loss at first to know whether it was Russian or Turkish, since, with the lamentable negligence which in the west of Europe has so long obtained of much that, though geographically distant, lies very near our interests, the frontier of the two empires at this most important spot is always given erroneously in our newest and best atlases, and the gate of what ought to be the great highway of Europe, is represented in one map as belonging to the Sultan, in another as belonging to the Czar, whilst the frontier line seems to be drawn quite at random, and those who take an interest in the fate of these countries, and in watching the progress of Russian ambition, are unable, without referring to the treaties of peace between the two powers, to judge of the actual state of affairs.

On desiring to land, the truth was soon made apparent; there were Russian soldiers, a Russian commandant, and a Russian sanitary establishment, which put it out of the question for us to land without going into quarantine: no fort was yet built there, but it may well be expected that the Cossacks will soon be employed in constructing one, and then we shall see what becomes of the free navigation of the Danube. Before, however, we say anything farther on this head, it will be as well to look to the configuration of the delta of this river, and the manner in which it is divided between the two rival powers. The Danube very soon after receiving its last tributary river, the Pruth, divides its waters into three main branches, of which the southermost is again subdivided, so that the total number of mouths amounts to seven: those of importance however, are only three in number, viz., the *Kili Boghazi* on the north; the *Sulineh Boghazi* next in order; and thirdly, the *Kedrille Boghazi*, called also the St. George; but the first and the third are so obstructed by shoals, as not to be available for any but very small vessels: the land lying between them is flat and swampy, covered with coarse grass or reeds, and bearing every appearance of a delta formed by the deposition of silt, from the powerful stream which brings down the spoil of so many kingdoms and provinces; and the nature of the district therefore prepares us for the tortuous course of the river-arms, the shoals by which their navigation is obstructed, and the constant change to which they are liable. In bygone times, as is well known, when the crescent beamed triumphantly in the heart of what is now Southern Russia, the embouchure of the Danube was entirely in the power of the Turks, although they allowed it to be infested by piratical Cossacks who hesitated not, each man rowing his own little canoe, to attack large vessels—as is described by the Jesuit, Père Avril, in his "Voyage en divers Etats d'Europe et d'Asie," 1693. By degrees, however, the Russians encroached upon Bessarabia, and at length arrived at the bank of the Kilia arm, where the capture of "Ismail, hapless town," by Suwarrow, in 1789–90, gave them a firm hold of their new acquisitions.

Here it would have been well if the other Powers of Europe had set them their fence,—beyond which they should not advance. Later wars ended in the cession of one point after another by the debilitated Sultan to his bitter enemies, till the treaty of peace signed at Adrianople in 1829, whilst it appeared in the blinded eyes of Europe, to yield to Russia nothing more than an unprofitable tract of islet and marsh-land, conferred upon her in reality the key of the river, with which she may at any time shut out the nations of the West from the rapidly improving principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.

The third article of the treaty asserts, that "the Pruth shall continue to form the limit of the two empires from the point where that river touches the territory of Moldavia, to its junction with the Danube; from that spot the frontier line will follow the course of the Danube as far as the mouth of St. George's; so that leaving all the islands formed by the different arms of the river in possession of Russia, the right bank shall remain, as formerly, in the possession of the Ottoman Porte. * * * The merchant vessels of the Powers shall have the liberty of navigating the Danube in all its course; and those which bear the Ottoman flag shall have free entrance into the mouths of Kili and Sulineh, that of St. George remaining common to the ships of war and merchant vessels of the two contracting Powers."

It is specious enough that the right bank of the river is to remain in the possession of the Porte, and that the St. George mouth is to remain common to both Powers, but the Russians were at that time the only party aware that by planting their foot on the south bank of the Sulineh, they had gained the whole river, for the St. George's is so shallow that its free navigation by the merchant ships and men-of-war of both nations becomes a dead letter.

Austria is at present the country most interested in preserving open and free the course of the lower Danube, particularly since the line of steamers which run from Vienna to Constantinople have greatly increased their exports of manufactured articles for the markets of European Turkey and of Trebisond; and yet Austria, with that pacific policy, which sometimes amounts to cowardice, has seen the increasing evil without making an attempt to arrest its progress, and the only opposition to the gradual encroachments of the Colossus of the North was made by England, in refusing to pay the toll which was all at once imposed upon vessels passing up the Sulineh branch.

The town of Sulineh, as it at present exists, presents nothing very formidable in its appearance, save the deep mud which appears ready to swallow up the stranger who designs to land; and though its wooden houses are excellently constructed, and its commandant is a sociable good-natured soldier, the skippers of vessels long detained here, complain grievously of the clouds of musquitoes, of the filthiness of the Cossacks, and of the inelegance of the two or three coffee-houses and billiard-rooms where they seek to while away the time: fevers are said to be very frequent, and the wretched appearance of many of the soldiers confirms the statement. Another very just ground of complaint on the part of our merchant shipmasters, is the negligence of the Russian authorities—now that this mouth is unequivocally in their possession—in allowing the bar gradually to increase, and the entrance

to become from year to year more difficult for large vessels. Nothing would be easier than to dredge out a deep channel, since the bar is of no great thickness, and a slight assistance would enable the river to scour out the passage, for its width is here small, and the velocity—partly on this account—so considerable, that the rush of fresh water continues unbroken for as much as two or three miles out into the Black Sea, and is rendered very visible by the muddy yellow waters of the river flowing eastward, in sharp juxtaposition with the clear green waves of the Euxine.

The wind was now blowing from the S.S.W., and was therefore unfavourable to our proceeding up the river; but in the course of the morning we heard that a light boat, with some of the pilots from Galacz, was about to proceed up the stream, trusting mainly to towing; and since they had been employed in guiding several vessels into the river, and were not yet in pratique, they had no objection to our joining them, since on arrival we should all be obliged to perform quarantine together. The Captain of the Diana was desirous of speaking with the British Consul, and making arrangements for having his cargo ready, and I was glad enough to escape lying wind-bound for a few days at Sulineh, till either a favourable breeze should spring up, or the Austrian steamer arrive on its way from Constantinople. A compact was entered into, and the boat was brought alongside,—a somewhat Turkish-built craft of 24 feet in length, which could pull six oars, and was provided with a latteen and foresail: the after part was covered in by an awning which served the purpose of a cabin; and here we deposited a store of provisions calculated to hold out several days, to which the skipper forgot not to add a couple of stone bottles of genuine Schiedam—to correct in taste, if not in appearance, the thick water of the Danube. One passenger already occupied a berth abaft, and hailed our arrival with pleasure, as he had little liked the prospect of making the voyage in the company of men with whom he was unable to communicate, although speaking a language very nearly related to his own: he was the master of a small trading vessel from the coast of Dalmatia, and his name, Gregorio Lazarevics, showed him to be one of that amphibious portion of the Austrian subjects who, though Sclavonian by birth-place and family, adopt the Italian language, as that best suited to their coasting-trade, and speak both with equal fluency: he possessed a middling portion of education, which perhaps few of our merchant skippers could boast, but only a middling share of courage, where the comparison at once ends; and although he seemed at first open and good-natured, it was soon apparent that a mean calculating and petty avarice strongly distinguished his character from that of the English blue jacket. Capt. ——, of the Diana, was the very Antipodes of our new acquaintance; straightforward and blunt in manner and dealings, large-limbed, and muscular in person, with a manly countenance, whose tint rivalled that of a very underdone beefsteak, a stentorian voice, and a pair of fists which might have crushed all our boat's crew together; but allied as were my two companions in profession, it was fated that no conversation should arise between them, for the Dalmatian understood no English, and the north-countryman had in his Italian advanced no farther than making the first salutation of "*Bone joiner, sinyore!*"

In the midst of our first sentences all was made ready; the boat was rowed to the bank, and three of the men jumping ashore, harnessed

themselves to slings at one end of a rope, whose other end passing through a block near the masthead, was fast to a cleat in the side, and thus commenced the tedious navigation of a most uninteresting tract, which we found every effort ineffectual to lighten; for conversation after a while grew dull, and the abomination of flies and gnats rendered reading an occupation of little pleasure: the river banks were generally steep to, and of four or five feet in height, washed smooth by the stream, which runs about two knots an hour; patches of rushy grass sometimes presented themselves, and at others all view was shut out by groves of huge reeds, whose height being as much as ten or twelve feet, effectually debarred us from all farther prospect: an occasional willow would at times be seen overhanging the stream, as if shortly about to plunge into it; but of other trees there was a great deficiency, and nothing was there to tell of cultivation or improvement. We had unfortunately no gun with us, or we might have reaped a welcome harvest for the ornithologists, as ducks, water-hens, and various to us unknown smaller wild fowl, frequently flew up, or skimmed across the water when disturbed by our approach; while cranes and storks stood in unmoved solemnity in the shallows, and gigantic pelicans were continually soaring over us, and showing apparently their disregard of our presence, by sweeping up within a few yards of the boat: so lifeless, however—with this exception—was the scene, that it was a source of great pleasure when we occasionally met one of the uncouth vessels of the country gliding rapidly down the stream, or still more when we passed some heavier craft towing painfully upwards.

The first inhabited place we arrived at was *Touldja*, a Turkish town situated close to the point whence the Sulineh and St. George arms of the river branch off; and the southern bank of the river at once greatly rose in interest, for besides the picturesque appearance of the little town, and the few trees that shadowed its environs, we had now approached very near the mountain-group of the *Besh Tepeh*, and enjoyed the varied tint of their slopes, and the broken outline, so refreshing after the tameness of an extensive flat. The position moreover of the group is remarkable, standing as it does like an island in the midst of a broad expanse of plain, and turning the course of the Danube about a hundred miles to the north, out of the direct course which it might otherwise have taken from *Rassova* to the sea. Their elevation is not very considerable, but the rocks of which they are composed are primary, whilst all the districts for many days' journey around, are either of the tertiary era or alluvial, and the nearest point of the Balkan range, where the same rocks occur, is as much as a hundred and fifty miles distant, and its offsets almost die away into the fen land before they arrive at the *Besh Tepeh*. The district towards the hills is dotted by frequent villages, chiefly inhabited by Bulgarians, and the little town of *Baba-dagh*, which may be considered their capital, is agreeably situated near the lake *Rassein*, or *Ramsin*, communicating with the southernmost arms of the Danube, and enjoys the honour, in common with two or three other places further to the north and south, of being considered to be the place of exile of the unfortunate Ovid; who, on the inclement shores of the Euxine, attempted, by his beautiful lament, "De Tristibus," to soften the hearts of those who kept him in banishment. The generality of authors agree in fixing the

site of Tomi, his hated residence, about fifty miles to the south, near Constantiana, the present *Kiustendgeh*.

On passing the end of the island *Tchátal*, about sixty miles above the mouth, we found rather a greater breadth of water, and, commencing from *Touldja*, the Russian frontier on the north, and the Turkish on the south bank,—the latter continually interrupted by trees and ditches, whilst the towing-path along the former, only trodden out by toiling feet, is also rendered very inconvenient for vessels ascending the stream, by the numerous guard-houses which stand at a short distance from the water's edge: these edifices consist of one story, and are constructed of wood, the beams smoothly and firmly fixed together, and the roofs formed in that overhanging Swiss-cottage-like style which gives a log-hut so snug an appearance. In each of these *tschardaks* there remains constantly on guard a body of ten or twelve Cossacks, whose coarse attire and dirty condition prepossess no one in favour of the empire at whose threshold he has arrived; this, however, would be a trifle, were it not for the vexatious interruption which they offer to the tracking of vessels up the stream, for they allow no one to pass by in front of the guard-house on the shore, and the unlucky men who have been laboriously towing their craft against wind and stream up to the neighbourhood of the *tschardak*, are obliged then to embark, and pass it as they best can, till they can disembark again on the other side.

In the case of ourselves, with our light boat, the inconvenience was scarcely felt, for we were able in a few minutes to row by; but "fancy" said my skipper, "a tightish breeze blowing from the northward, and half-a-dozen poor fellows tugging their lives out to track up a brig of a couple of hundred tons, labouring along above their ankles in the mud of those swampy banks, and scarce able, with all their endeavours, to keep her pretty close to the windward shore, and make a beggarly knot or two of way. Is it not, then, enough to rouse one's blood to have them boomed off by those rough dogs of Cossacks, so that, without incurring a loss of time in making the craft fast to the bank, and sending a boat with a hawser ahead, she is sure to be drifted over to leeward, and then there is an hour's work, at the very least, in getting her off again. This has been my case before now, and I was half inclined to have a shot at the rascals; but you see, there are too many of them, for one guard-house is always within hail of another: and, after all, the poor sodgers have only to do as they are ordered. In times when the plague is really raging at Constantinople or Smyrna there might be reason in it, but at present, when it is nowhere to be heard of, it seems to be only one of the Russian numerous modes of making themselves disagreeable."

"But you consider this, probably," observed I, "no very great grievance, compared with the imposition of a toll?"

"Why no," replied he, "and it was very fortunate that the matter was brought forward with spirit in Parliament, in 1836, or we should have been shut out of the river altogether by this time. It was a cool thing of Russia to impose a toll on foreign shipping, directly in the face of the treaties, which said that the Danube should be free to ships of all nations; and Lord Palmerston's apology for these proceedings was couched in such general terms, and was so indistinct for a man who knew the whereabouts of the river, that it did not in any degree improve

the state of the case. He acknowledged that by the treaty of Vienna the navigation of the Danube was free to vessels of all the European nations, whence it is very plain that Russia has no right to lay hands on English vessels in the Sulineh branch, although it now belongs to her. Moreover, he observed that the powers whose states were separated or traversed by the same navigable river, engaged to regulate, by common consent, everything relative to its navigation, and were, therefore, to appoint commissioners to decide all plans of improvement, fix the amount of the tolls, &c. 'And,' said Lord Palmerston, 'the Danube is a river fully answering this description.' Now, I should like to know what his Lordship meant by 'the Danube,' when he ought to have said something about the particular arms. The Sulineh branch, which is the only navigable one, is certainly not within the description, and that of St. George, which separates the Turkish from the Russian States, is given up to the influence of natural causes; and where both parties are engaged to keep in order its navigation, neither trouble their heads about it."

"And it seems not unlikely," replied I, "that the more designing of the two powers will purposely allow the channels by degrees to be silted up, if this be the intention of nature, in order to exclude the interfering people of the West from all participation in the dramas that are enacting in all the principalities bordering on the river, of which those on the northern side being already in the embrace of the Great Bear, he would like the attention of other people to be drawn off for a time, in order to lay his paw on those of the southern."

"Well," said the skipper, "I suppose there must be some idea of the kind, for we have seen no sort of improvement going forward in the navigation; and, indeed, if anything had been done,—dredging on the Sulineh bar, for instance,—there would not have been so much impudence in the demand of a toll."

Our attention was here occupied by seeing the British flag high over the reeds on our left hand, and, doubling a sharp point, we saw that it was waving at the peak of a schooner of about 180 tons, near which were lying a couple of smaller vessels of the country. The schooner we boarded, and found that she had come up to load grain from Moldavia; nor was the skipper a little delighted to see countrymen again, for he had been lying moored to the stakes on this muddy shore, and out of sight of any inhabited place, for several days, and had occupied altogether twelve days in making his way from Sulineh to his present berth. It was already our third day, and, as we were desirous of arriving quickly at Galatz, we proceeded again after a few minutes, and passed the night off *Isaktcha*, a wretched little town on the Turkish bank.

On the next day nothing varied the monotony of the voyage,—not even the frequent and long-continued songs of our Moldavian boatmen; for they partook so much of the Turkish, or one may say of the Oriental character, as to be most dismal and uninteresting to the ear of a European. One of them used to sing solos in a very forced falsetto, which greatly excited the admiration of our Dalmatian, and we had almost come to a quarrel with him for rewarding the man for his nightingale tones, and encouraging him in the wearisome practice, for exerting which we could readily have thrown him overboard into the opaque waters of the Ister.

Towards night we reached the confluence of the river Pruth with the Danube, the point where the Russian empire—on paper—ceases to extend along the north bank, and the *protected* principality of Moldavia commences; nor, according to the treaties with Turkey, are Russian ships of war permitted to advance higher up the river than to this boundary-line,—a proviso of very small importance, for whoever possesses the entrance of the river may at any time send in his armed vessels to whatever point he pleases, the very moment he may consider best for breaking through such a treaty; and the exertion of his undue influence is to be feared not so much along the river line as from the land side. Near the junction of the two streams is situated the Russian town of Reni, which being advantageously situated for receiving by the Pruth the produce of the interior of Bessarabia, consisting of corn, hides, wool, &c., is a place of some trade.

We now saw no more of the frontier Cossacks, but passed guard-houses of a very similar construction, tenanted by Moldavians, who looked, if possible, even worse. In front of each house is erected a tall pole, on the top of which is tied a bundle of hay, whilst a wisp of it is brought spirally down to a moderate height from the ground, so that in case of a sudden alarm the dry combustible may be readily fired, and, acting as a beacon, form one of a rapid, and easily-seen, series of signals. Moldavia possesses but a very small strip of land along the Danube, bounded on the east by the Pruth and on the west by the Sereth, and not measuring more than fifteen or eighteen miles in length, so that the country possesses but one town on the banks, which drawing to itself all the foreign commerce by navigation, is likely soon to increase. The first mark of improvement which we discerned on approaching it was an extensive lazaretto,—the chief point in which a traveller would rejoice, if the reforming Oriental nations would not imitate the more civilised Europeans. No sooner arrived off the meanly-clustered houses of Galatz than we were immured in this establishment, whose regulations have completed the wall of separation which now divides the principalities from their nominal masters the Turks, and there, in fact, during the four days in which we had to do penance, we saw several Osmanli merchants, who complained bitterly that they could not come over to transact a little business, which would only occupy a couple of days, in the interior,—not including the time of journey,—without being detained twice as long on the threshold. "It wasn't so," they said, "before the last war with the *Ogenabat Moscoff*,—the cursed Russian,—when fate had ordained that the devil was to triumph." No Turk is now allowed to hold property, or to reside, in any part of Moldavia and Wallachia, or to enter, except on business, and provided with a regular passport. Whilst we were thus detained the Consul gave us an audience through the wooden bars; and the skipper determined to wait a couple of days longer for the next steamer, to proceed down the river, whilst in the meantime we should have leisure to look round in the—seaport, I was about to say,—river-town of Moldavia, and to make a few excursions in its neighbourhood.

In observing some of the conferences at the grates I had remarked that all persons coming from the town were attired in huge boots, which were plastered with mud up to the knees, and was at a loss to divine the reason of this unusual mode of adorning them. When, however,

the prison-door was opened all was explained;—before us lay the main street of the lower town of Galatz, bearing the strongest resemblance to the bed of a canal, whose water has just been let off, and acting at once as a bar to the further progress of all new comers; there was no lack of bustle in its appearance, numerous carts heavily laden were dragging ponderously through the mire, whilst lighter vehicles, built of rough plank, like so many deal boxes, dashed about with the mud flying off from them so rapidly that a spectator might fancy they were borne along on Catherine wheels. Foot-passengers there were not few, both male and female; but they might all be divided into two great classes, the *booted* and the *unbooted*, the first of which, with a pair of huge leathern protectors, covering all other nether garments, stepped boldly into the deepest quagmires, and were careless of seeking the best parts of the way. The other party adopted the opposite system, and, unincumbered with any covering for the feet, tucked up their unmentionables or drapery—as the case might be—and went through it, for better for worse, adopting the path where it was visible, and trusting themselves to unknown depths when it was no longer available. We were desirous of going into the upper part of the town, and endeavoured to make our way on foot, but at length, after endeavouring by détours, to avoid the worst spots, we found that we were cut off on every side, and that no resource was left than to "call a coach;" whereupon a fellow, who had been following us, foreseeing what would be the end of our attempt, received us into his little cart, where a handful of hay formed our seat in its bottom, and we drove off triumphantly towards the newer part of the town, bespattered sufficiently with the composition which flew off from the horse's heels. The street admitted pretty well of locomotion where it mounts the hill, a few yards back from the river, and passes by the house of the British Consul; but beyond this point, the scene was worse than before, for ahead of us extended a huge sheet of water, reaching from the wall of one house or garden, to the opposite one, and a cautious traveller would have required the charioteer to take soundings as he advanced; the number of waders here became smaller and smaller, and at length, near the outskirts of the town, we arrived at the new hotel, built about a year since on a tolerably large scale, and conducted and fitted up pretty well, in a manner somewhat between the German and the Italian.

Half-a-dozen brigs were lying off Galatz, of which one only was English and had brought a cargo of iron; they were loading with the various produce of the country, corn for our market, and maize, wine, hides, wax, prunes, wool, butter, &c., for various ports in the Black Sea, and for Constantinople; it is only a lamentable thing to see such fine countries as this, and its neighbour Wallachia, supporting so insignificant a commerce, although rich enough by nature to contribute largely to the comforts of other nations, whilst increasing their own; but it would be here out of place to attempt to inquire into the causes which press so heavily upon the principalities, as to prevent their making any but slight progress in rising from their degeneracy, for those who have seen the miserable—nay, almost brutish state of the people —will not easily be blinded by the unnatural luxury of the capitals of Jassy and Bukharest, and the attempt of a few vain and ignorant nol to ape with their theatre, equipages, dress, and even language, flourishing states of the West.

The lower part of the town of Galatz is built very much in the style of European Turkey, and, from a distance, bears a pretty rural character, mingled as are the numerous trees with the red roofs of the low houses; a nearer approach, too, shows the same taste for narrow lanes, overhanging upper stories, open shops, and as the reader will perhaps already have judged, for impure streets. The upper part of the town contains houses built with greater solidity, and as the population is increasing, and the importance of the place becoming daily more obvious, since the establishment of the Danube steamers, it is hoped, that few years will elapse before Galatz will bear something of a European appearance, and that Prince Stourdza will expend his thousands not only in the fitting up of a palace out of proportion to the means of his nation, but also give something for the improvement of roads, and not neglect the quays when nature has already done her utmost by giving a depth of water where the largest ships may lay alongside the shore.

Crossing the river Sereth, and whirled along the morassy roads in a little four-wheeled quadriga, which at every instant threatened dissolution, I arrived, after about fifteen miles, at Braila, or, as the Russians call it, Brahiloff, the port of Wallachia, distant about 120 miles from the sea. It is a larger town than Galatz, numbering, I believe, upwards of 8000 inhabitants, but very similar in many respects, as in the deep mud of its streets, the meanness of its lower town, and also the spirit of improvement which appears, though slowly, to be manifesting itself. The chief article of export from hence is corn, which is, however, produced in a quantity by no means proportional with the capabilities of the country; some time since, when the principalities were obliged to pay a certain tribute *in kind* to the Turks, it was said, that Wallachia formed the granary, and Moldavia the wine-cellar of Constantinople; and there is no doubt, that were cultivation somewhat improved and extended, and proper means of transport to the Danube adopted, this country might enter into successful competition with the south of Russia.

The environs of Braila are very marshy and flat, and the only object of interest in the landscape from the little gloriette near the river side is the group of the Besh Tepeh mountains, often pointed out as a part of the Balkan, although it be cut off from that chain by a large extent of low land, and is not nearer to it than to the eastern Carpathians. I had but just time to look round at the little there is to be seen here, and to observe several ships loading and unloading in a great depth of water close to shore, when one of the Danube steamers arriving on her downward voyage I embarked, and bade adieu to the rich plains of the misruled Wallachia. An hour sufficed us to steam down to Galatz, where some delay generally occurs in consequence of the river steamer remaining here, whilst passengers and goods have to be trans-shipped into a larger boat which plies between this place and Constantinople. My friend, the master of the Diana, embarked with us in order to rejoin his vessel, and about 1 P.M. we were again under weigh with a speed agreeably contrasting with our former painful progress up stream.

We neared, in a few hours, the island Tchatel, about which the stream parts itself to form the commencement of the different arms, the northern of which reaches in about ten miles the diminished town *of Ismail,* and thence passes by Kilia in a course of fifty or sixty miles

to the sea, suggesting, by its length, rather a curious question on the growth of the delta of the Danube. We are told by Herodotus that, on the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, his fleet sailed from the Bosphorus to the Ister, and arriving *in two days* from the mouth, at the place where the river begins to branch off, there constructed a bridge; the distance, at present, up to the point which answers this description is seventy miles, and as the stream runs from two to three miles an hour, (in some parts even amounting to four) it seems by no means probable, that the fleet would have been able to arrive there in so short a space of time, and hence, that they must have had a shorter distance to sail. Polybius also (as has been observed by Dr. Goodenough, in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society) speaks of a large bank of silt which was formed off the mouths of the Ister, nearly 1000 stadia, or above 100 miles in length, and one day's course from land; it was known under the name of Stethe, and was very dangerous to ships at night; no bank occupying this position is now known, and the only conclusion we can arrive at for the disappearance of so well-known an object is, that it has been joined by the gradual augmentation of the delta to the mainland, a phenomenon which might take place very rapidly when once, by the deposition of the long bank, a basin form had been produced in the bed of the sea outside the embouchures, and the fresh water, therefore, obliged to drop within it all the heavier particles which it held in suspension. It speaks also for a very late large increase that Mr. Bell, in his journey from Moscow to Constantinople in 1738, says, "January 15, we left Tartar Kew, and came in the evening to the town of Ismayl, standing on the north-bank of the famous river Danube; the place is very pleasant, within sight of the Black Sea." The town, however, stands nearly in the flat, and at a distance of more than fifty miles from the sea, so that—as far as I could learn from persons who had been there—the sea is not visible from thence; and unless we determine that the author did not employ his own eyes to determine the fact, we may infer, that the land has been gaining considerably on the sea, even in the course of the last century. Mr. Bell was, it is true, in some points very inaccurate, as, for instance, where he tells us, that although the Danube was divided into several arms about Ismail, they all meet again and fall into the sea by one common mouth; he does not, however, pretend to have assured himself personally of the fact.

To proceed, though, with our voyage; at night-fall we brought to—making the boat fast to stakes driven into the bank, off Toultscha, though our skipper expressed, in no measured terms, his wrath at the idea of lying up with a steamer on a bright moonshining night, and also his contempt at the manner in which she was brought up and laid alongside the bank; "I should just like to get that *Capitarner*, as they call him, aboard my barque and ropes-end him; why he knows no more how to handle his craft than an old cow." He was, however, obliged to pocket his anger, and we strolled off together to the wretched little town, where we had nearly fallen from a roof before we saw that we were among the houses, for many of them were posted against a slight declivity, and were covered with earth like those of more southern countries; we knocked up two or three families of Bulgarians in our laudable curiosity to see something of the natives, and after disturbing all the *many dogs of the place*, lighted upon a very den of a coffee-house

—the owner of which actually spoke a few words of English, and as might be expected from his nation—for he was a Greek—cheated my companion most soundly in a purchase of potatoes for his ship's crew.

The next morning we ran down the Sulineh arm; a couple of sportsmen were posted in the bows, and had many an unsuccessful shot at the pelicans who soared majestically above us, and whilst the majority of the passengers appeared to be affected by the monotony of the landscape, my captain would, at very short intervals, call out in a voice which seemed to terrify the Italian waiters, "Steward, a glass of brandy and water!" a formula perfectly understood and instantaneously attended to; and it never appeared to strike him, that his English remarks were not intelligible to all on board; when, at length, we arrived near the shipping at Sulineh, and the steamer captain—a poor unsailorlike Italian—was parading on the paddle-boxes, my rubicund friend coolly walked up, and snatching the trumpet out of the hand of the other, proceeded to hail his barque, which was lying to windward, in such tones as entirely drowned the directions of the steamer's man and every other sound on board; and whilst he waved, and roared, and paraded, like the king of the winds and the waves, and everything floating upon them, all our Greeks, Moldavians, Italians, and half-castes on deck, regarded him in silent awe, whilst one of a couple of Mediterranean *padroni* with whom I had been talking, whispered to his neighbour, "Thank God, we are about to get rid of this *diavolo d'un Inglese*." A neat boat, with the union jack flying, came alongside, and the skipper shaking hands with myself and a couple of other acquaintances, and throwing a ducat to the steward, as indemnification for his frequent runs backwards and forwards, he rowed off to his vessel, whilst we, quickly passing the town and bar, were soon in the Black Sea.

The steamers which run from Austria to Constantinople make alternately this passage by the mouth of the Danube, and a shorter one effected by landing the passengers at Cserna-voda near Rassova, and transporting them by land to Kiustendgeh, a distance of barely forty miles, by which two or three days' steaming is saved, and the marshy land of the Delta, with its accompanying plagues of fever and mosquitoes, is avoided: it has been proposed to cut a canal across this neck of land, but since Austria is the chief party interested, and is not remarkable for activity of execution, no advance has hitherto been made towards the desired end; and yet the advantages to be gained are not confined to the cutting off of a wearisome navigation, but might at once repair all the errors committed by the West of Europe, in allowing Russia to forward her ambitious views at the mouths of the river; that power has—as we have seen—the only available entrance in her possession, but a ship canal along the isthmus, once occupied by Trajan's wall—aided as the plan is by the depression in which lie the lakes of *Kara-su*, black water in Turkish, as *Cserna-voda* signifies in Bulgarian,—would at once annihilate all that the Czar has gained by his well-laid schemes, and would throw his empire back to the north of the entrance of the Danube,—to the position it occupied before the lamentable treaties of 1812 and 1829, whence it would then be plain sailing for the Powers to interdict its farther progress.

We trust that these matters may be better looked to in future.

MILITARY LITERATURE.

"Military science is not the growth of a day, nor is there any nation so rich and populous that, *despising it*, can rest secure."

During a late visit to the library of the United Service Institution our attention was caught by the antiquated form of various volumes, whose very external and time-honoured appearance told the tale of the jewels concealed within; many of them being, also, in a foreign language, our curiosity was further excited, and each of the valuable galaxy was consecutively examined, with a view to a future less hurried perusal.

The first, however, that was subsequently removed from its shelf for a more lengthened examination was written in so pleasing a style, and was replete with so many sensible remarks on one of our favourite Italian authors, that we fairly gloated on its pages, and doubly valued the author of "Lettere Militari," (Tommaso Giuseppe Farsetti, 1759,) for his praise of the military judgment and opinions of Machiavelli. Those readers who have not had the inclination, opportunity, or patience to study the expressive and mellifluous language of Italy will not, perhaps cannot, enter into our feelings: but those who have mastered the difficulties of acquiring a language that, especially in poetry, is often obscure and puzzling, from the abbreviation of words, will readily understand the gratification with which we lately became possessed of "Tutte le Opere di Nicolo Machiavelli, Cittadino et Secretario Fiorentino," a musty quarto volume, printed throughout in italics, with the venerable date MDL. in its title-page; moreover, graced with a wood-cut of the author, the carving of which is valuable from its very contrast to the present perfected style of wood impressions.

We had fully purposed, as soon as we had leisure to undertake this "task of labour and of love," to exert our humble efforts in making known to the British Army the merits of many works published in foreign languages, translating for our readers in general such portions of them as were considered apposite, and likely to prove beneficial: an article in a professional publication, has, however, given an additional spur to our national zeal, and without further delay will we commence our gleanings from the accumulated, rich, and too-long neglected sheaves of military literature of the olden times.

First, however, must we, in common with every member of the Service, express our fervent thanks to the various military periodicals, the editors and correspondents of which cordially unite in furtherance of one praiseworthy object,—the amelioration of the British Army, both as to *personel* and *materiel*. At the present time we cannot refer to the multitudinous instances in which the attainment of professional knowledge has been recommended, and the authorities urged t[illegible]rd zealous, studious, and reflective officers; but we are i[illegible] ourselves of the following portion of the article alluded [illegible] to the military survey and exposition we are about t[illegible]

"The total, and perhaps systematic, neglect [illegible] land, necessarily precludes us from all hopes [illegible] established in this country; but the great i[illegible]

and consequently of military literature,—for it is only by aid of the latter that the former can make any progress,—entitles us to call on the most influential Reviews and critical Journals to bestow a due degree of attention on military works, and use, at least, some honest efforts to raise the military literature of England to the level on which we find it in other countries."

In the translation of the several passages of the Military Letters of T. G. Farsetti, we shall endeavour to keep as near as possible to the spirit and meaning of the original, and shall take our extracts consecutively, quoting also the number of the letters, in order that further reference may be made to them by those readers who are not satisfied with our brief notice of this interesting work.

Letter I.

Military science is a conjunction of the knowledge of the modes of offence and defence, gathered from experience, and the practice of all nations and ages; subjected, moreover, to the most rigorous and searching examination; it is a collection of instructions which pervade and influence the principles of discipline. The Chevalier Folard thus judiciously defines the question sometimes asked,—whether war is a trade or a science. "La guerre est un *metier* pour les ignorans, et une *science* pour les habiles gens." Who does not, therefore, clearly perceive that such a science cannot be so effectually acquired by practice in a few brief years as by the fruit of much reading, reflection, and deep study.

Letter II.

To extract satisfactorily from a work on the art of war is almost impossible; to comply, however, with your desire I will endeavour to transcribe a brief portion of this book to justify the good opinion I have formed of it, and to induce you the more willingly to undertake the perusal of it. Machiavelli thus alludes to the army then embodied: "Infantry soldiers were in little repute, the troops being generally cavalry, and, above all, was the attention mainly directed to the magnificent train of artillery which the French Monarch, Charles VIII., conducted to the attack of Naples. So high a value was attached to this arm of the service, that the result of the war was considered to depend principally on the strength of artillery. Moreover, the troops of the Italian States were all mercenaries, disorganized and licentious, devoid of valour, and puffed up with pride. To diminish fatigue and banish fear every exertion was made; they destroyed not life in battle, but took prisoners; their camps were neither inclosed by palisades nor trench; the soldiers were courageous when surrounded by friends, and cowardly in the face of the enemy."

The Florentine Secretary, therefore, strives to persuade the Italians to have recourse to their proper arms, in which they can implicitly trust, and by the judicious employment of which they may defend their country, and maintain their honour. He recommends that soldiers should chiefly be raised from the peasantry, they being accustomed to fatigue, able to endure heat, work with the spade, excavate trenches, carry weights, and endure every species of hardship. Further, that they should be constantly employed in order to harden the body, and to render them expert in the use of their arms, thereby enabling them to carry into operation every movement and evolution of warfare. He

then endeavours to inculcate valour, and by the religious enforcement of an oath, and similar provisions, to render the soldiers obedient to their officers, disciplined, humble, and sober.

However useful may be the artillery in the attack and defence of fortresses, in the protection of the camp, and in the field of battle; however useful may be the cavalry to cover the advance, to explore the country, to harass the enemy, to capture provisions, and to follow up a victory, the true strength of war, he considers to be based on the infantry, which can advance and sustain itself at all times, and under all circumstances; equally prompt and efficient with every weapon, the soldier not being dependent on the spirit or strength of his horse: in conclusion, he considers the organization of infantry the most simple and approaching the nearest to perfection; for impotent when opposed to well-disciplined infantry is the charge of cavalry however well directed, and equally powerless is the fire of artillery.

Guided by the true principles of the art of war, he endeavoured to eradicate the errors that ignorance and barbarism had planted; and the better to carry into effect this noble intention he studied the tactics of the ancients, and urged, that *in Legions* the army should be embodied and brought into action. His legion consisted of 6000 infantry, and 300 cavalry, and was further strengthened by artillery; a portion of the cavalry was light, and the remainder heavy armed; the infantry was divided into cohorts, composed of 500 men, similar to the Romans, having a commander, centurions, and leaders of subdivisions of 10 men: of these troops 3000 had helmets, breast plates, and armour on the legs and arms, their weapons being the sword and shield; the remainder of the legion was divided into 2000 men armed with pikes, and 1000 with muskets. The pikemen were placed in the front of battle to penetrate and overthrow the infantry of the enemy, or to act where charges of cavalry were most to be dreaded, there being no arms better for resisting and vanquishing these latter troops. The soldiers armed with sword and shield supported the attack of the pikemen, who having succeeded in breaking through the line or columns of the enemy, could effect but little further injury, whereas the swordsmen were then enabled to act with greater efficiency.

It thus appears, that the arms of the Tedeschi were employed to force through the ranks of the opponents, those of the Romans to vanquish and complete the rout, the musqueters sharing also in the conflict and contributing to the success of the engagement; the peculiar advantages to be derived from the adaptation, according to circumstances, of each nature of arms were thus duly considered, and the various troops were judiciously placed in battle array.

After the death of Machiavelli, the *Black Band* of infantry, composed of Florentines and French, was in high repute, the Italians being at that period again renowned for their obedience, patience under fatigue, and gallant bearing when opposed to the enemy. Not only did Italy avail itself of the well-appointed legion of Machiavelli, but Francis the First of France, clearly perceiving the value of this mod arming and organizing an army, instituted in his kingdom the celeb legion; and at the battle of Pavia we find that this highly disci body of troops manifested glorious evidence of individual prow of the superiority of the legion.

Letter III.

Short was the existence of the legion in France, for the son of Francis, soon after the death of his father, resumed the previous organization of the army, dividing it into regiments similar to those at present embodied. This change does not, however, prove the inutility of the legion; by not duly attending to the instructions of Machiavelli, a fair trial was not given to it by the French; in the legion of whom neither the men nor the arms were selected with judgment, nor, indeed, could it be considered a Roman legion in any respect but in the mere name. The more perfect military regulations are, the more strict must be the discipline, and it is well known how impatient under restraint have ever been the French soldiers. I know not if you have ever perused the Reveries or Dreams of Marshal Saxe (the dreams of such a man are more valuable than the profound reflections of many authors); this renowned commander perceived the immense advantages which would result from an army being organized in divisions of hundreds and tens; a portion of well-selected and well-disciplined infantry being light armed, and the remainder heavy, with weapons not only to assault the enemy, but also to defend themselves; having likewise some cavalry incorporated with them; so that in the engagement the various arms might mutually and readily support each other; in short, that the system, as he says with Vegetius, inspired by a god, should be established and maintained.

Letter IV.

Having now conceived a just opinion of the formation of the legion, you would wish to be made acquainted with the order in which the troops were drawn up on the field of battle. The legion was composed of ten cohorts, which formed three consecutive fronts, or lines—five cohorts in the first, three in the second, and the remainder in the third; the five first distant from each other about four arms' length; the three next having a greater interval between them; and the two last being still more distant. The fronts are forty arms' length from each other; each cohort has ten men in file, the leading five armed with pikes, and the rear with swords and shields. The legion being thus drawn up, imagine three others to be similarly arranged alongside of it; the army, if consisting of four legions, would then have the first front composed of twenty cohorts, the second of twelve, and the third of eight. The flanks would be protected by pikemen, near whom would be drawn up some divisions of musqueteers; on the wings of the infantry the heavy-armed cavalry will be stationed, next to which will be the light cavalry, both being in line with the leading cohorts; in front of all of which the artillery will be posted.

You will perceive many advantages from this mode of drawing up an army, the readiness with which the light cavalry and the musqueteers can commence the attack, the support to be afforded by the pikemen to the heavy-armed cavalry, in the event of their being repulsed and defeated by the enemy; and do you not also observe that the pikemen, placed on the flanks, protect the infantry in the event of the superiority of the opponent's cavalry; or, in the event of their general attack being *too* vehement, your own cavalry being vanquished and routed.

If, then, you duly consider *the armament* and *the disposition* of the above-mentioned infantry, you will comprehend that the system of Machiavelli possesses the advantages of the phalanx as well as those of the legion. With respect to *its arms*, it can, by means of the pikes of the Greeks, which are in the front of each cohort, break through the ranks of the enemy, throwing them into disorder, and completing their destruction by the swords of the Romans, which are in the rear ranks of the cohorts. With reference to *its disposition*, the leading front being complete and continuous, ten men deep, it has in a great measure the strength and weight of the phalanx; and taking into consideration the other fronts which are in the rear, it has also the efficiency of the legion. Should the leading cohorts be overpowered, they are enabled to retire through the intervals of the second front; should the cohorts of the second be also driven back, they can both retreat between the larger intervals of the third front, resume their formation, and strive again for victory. It has not consequently the defect of the phalanx, which was solid, and composed of thousands of men, condensed together, whose fate was dependent on the impetus and success of the first assault. It has moreover the activity and advantages of the legion, being divided into three fronts, each of which, though able to act efficiently when single, can also mutually assist and support each other; it therefore becomes necessary for the enemy to conquer three several times before the victory can be rendered complete. If, however, all these comparative advantages are not sufficient, I will finally add that the troops, not being in one dense mass, have less to apprehend from the heavy and continuous fire of artillery.

Letter V.

Let us now proceed to the encampment, with the mode of which, at the present time, you are perfectly conversant; the camp is formed in the same order as the battle, generally in two consecutive fronts, the infantry being in the centre, and the cavalry on the flanks. The extent is equal to that of the troops, and in front there is sufficient space for the army to draw up in battle array. Endeavours are made to secure protection to the flanks by villages, woods, &c., similar to those taken advantage of in engagements; it is defended by various detachments of cavalry, infantry, sentries, batteries of artillery, and sometimes entrenchments. One benefit to be derived from this system is the readiness with which the attack may be commenced; but there are two attendant objections—one, the difficulty of finding a site available and appropriate for these purposes; the other, the large proportion of guards required to secure the camp.

The ancient Romans, on the contrary, restricted the extent of the encampment, surrounding it with parapets, palisades, and ditches; and, by thus making it a species of fortress, removed these objections. By exertion and industry, they rendered the site subservient to them—not them to the site; and were therefore enabled to dispense with a number of guards and sentries. The soldiers became daily m rious by the invariable custom of fortifying their camp; a effected this, they remained secure within their entrenchm less of the assaults of the enemy. In addition to their being repulsed on the field of battle, they

the camp, and thus avoid a total defeat. Moreover, the commander became, as it were, master of the war, not being so readily forced by the enemy to hazard an engagement until he was fully prepared for it.

Machiavelli, in the "Art of War," proposes the mode of encampment that he considers most appropriate for modern armies; his camp is either square or oblong, enclosed by a parapet, having bastions at the four angles; the infantry and cavalry are quartered at different parts, the military stores and provisions being placed at suitable stations, and nearly in the centre are the head-quarters established, in the immediate vicinity of which are the commanding officers of divisions. The parapet is lined by guards and sentries, between which and the quarters of the troops a sufficient space is left for the artillery to be placed in position, and for the whole army to parade. Such a camp may be termed a moveable city, that transports with it dwellings, stores, market, and everything required for a body of armed men; and is further defended by artillery and judiciously fortified.

Letter VII.

I remember reading in the works of Davila, that the celebrated Duke of Parma, in traversing an enemy's country, was in the habit of completing each day's march in sufficient time to allow his camp to be entrenched; the Chevalier Folard also, who, though occasionally visionary in his ideas, sometimes manifests sound judgment, prefers the mode of encampment established by the ancients; and I have also been informed, that Prince Eugene, in this instance, was desirous to return to former customs. Difficult, however, is it to eradicate errors, and to induce men, by dint of reason and argument, to adopt the course which is most to be preferred. How often have commanders of the present day cause to fear the arrogance and ignorance of their subordinates more than the courage and discipline of the enemy.

Numerous are the instances in ancient history of the brilliant success obtained by rapid marches; similar examples may be found in more modern times, and at the present period the Prussian army is as temperate and patient under fatigue as were the Romans during the reign of Julius Cæsar. Extraordinary, however, is it that every nation has not endeavoured to diminish as much as possible the impediments to carrying on war. Cyrus had in his camp portable mills, and iron ovens are now in use. The delicacy of the soldiery has often been inveighed against by authors, one recommending that biscuits should be issued instead of bread, and another flour or meal, which the men were to prepare for food as best they might; much, however, might be written on this subject without eliciting more information than has been made known two hundred years back.

Letter VIII.

Faithful to my promise, I will now advert to the honours of Italy, renowned for its supremacy in the fine arts, but not equally celebrated for the science of war. You are aware that Marchi was the preceptor of Vauban, that parallels in sieges were invented by Italians, who were the military architects of nearly all Europe; the citadel of Anvers was constructed by Pacciotto di Urbino, and the fortress of Spandau according to the plan of Girumella: moreover, Italy is certainly not deficient

in military authors, nor were good predecessors wanting to the Florentine Secretary.

Letter IX.

Machiavelli tendered his advice to Count Munich when about to undertake the war against the Tartars; in carrying on which immense deserts were to be traversed, provisions, stores, and every requisite article had to accompany the troops, opposed to enemies entirely cavalry, who with an incredible velocity fly from place to place, assaulting first one flank, and then rapidly attacking the other. How did the Count act in a war thus difficult? Precisely as Machiavelli recommends in similar cases: the army marched in a hollow square, having each side prepared for combat; within were the baggage waggons, stores, &c., the pikemen and artillery being stationed in the front, the better to oppose the charges of the horsemen. At the flanks of the square the cavalry was posted, the heavy being nearer than the light, which was employed as videttes, &c.; and branches of trees were also carried to form palisades, should they be required. Everything occurred as foretold by the Secretary, for in vain did the furious Tartars, with loud cries, attempt to charge the compact body, that firmly and patiently waited for their attack, similar to a noble mastiff when surrounded and worried by yelping curs.

Having now brought the Secretary under your notice as counsellor of war, let us next follow him to the head of the army, where, though he encountered no dangers as commander, he could at all events cause others to carry his instructions into operation.

Letter X.

Castruccio fought three battles, for the favourable result of which much credit is justly due to the directions of Machiavelli: the first took place at Monte Carlo, not far from Pescia, at which engagement Castruccio, having previously ascertained that the Florentines were accustomed to place the flower of their army in the centre, and the weakest troops in the wings, drew up his soldiers in the contrary order, and commanded his centre divisions to advance slowly, so that the wings might precede them, and vigorously attack the weakest points of the enemy: this stratagem succeeded, and secured the victory. The next battle was fought at the Hill of Serravalle, on alternate sides of which the opposing parties were encamped; but Castruccio having, during the night, taken possession of a castle previously neutral, advanced with his infantry to the attack of the van-guard of the Florentines, who, taken by surprise, and having their flanks also turned by the troops stationed in the castle, were finally defeated. Not less glorious was the third battle against the same enemy, posted on the left bank of the Arno: Castruccio, having strengthened Pisa with a portion of his troops, pitched his camp on the opposite side of the river, selecting a site both capacious and strong by nature, and keeping his soldiers retired, in order to induce the Florentines to cross the Arno. This stratagem was successful; and scarcely had the opponents entered the ford before Castruccio drew up his army in two lines, and ordered the leading one instantly to attack the enemy. Brilliant was the onset, his troops, though inferior in number, advanced in perfect order against

their antagonists, broken and in confusion, no time being allowed them to form in battle array: he had also previously stationed at other places some infantry to guard the passage of the river, and to prevent an attack on his flanks. For some time the fortune of the day was doubtful, the Florentine infantry resolutely sustaining the attacks of their assailants; but Castruccio having brought up the second line to the support of the first, scattered in wild confusion the cavalry of the enemy, and eventually obtained a glorious victory.

Letter XIII.

I deny not that the artillery merits the utmost respect, and you are aware, that a great commander was in the habit of bowing every time he saw the flash of the enemy's guns, adding, that a cannon shot deserved at least such an acknowledgment. So much astonished were the Italians at the magnificent train of artillery of Charles VIII., and so much credit was given to the power of this arm of the service, that men began to imagine that by virtue of it the combat should be maintained at a distance instead of hand-to-hand; and that on the artillery was the whole success of the campaign to be dependant. The first person who raised his voice against this doctrine was Machiavelli, who asserted it was not, as was then imagined, a certain means of obtaining a victory; and that in opposing it the troops should act according to the customs of the ancients.

You may remember, that in his order of battle, the musqueteers and the light cavalry are placed in the wings of the army: these commence the engagement, and lose no time in attacking the batteries, which must either be abandoned by the enemy or defended; and as men more courageously carry on an assault than oppose an advancing foe, the guns will be speedily silenced and captured. Moreover, artillery does not always produce the effect intended or expected to result from its fire, some shot from too high elevation pass over, and others from too much depression reach not the object aimed at; and for defence against cannonade, but a small declivity of ground is necessary. These considerations ought to render soldiers less prejudiced in favour of artillery, without having recourse to the following expedient gravely suggested by an author—viz., that as a preventive to the power of the guns, the ears of the troops should be stopped with wax, as were those of Ulysses to secure him from the seductive melody of the Sirens. Quitting, however, the burlesque on a subject so important, let me add that the novelty and the imposing sound of ordnance have contributed more to victories than the effects resulting from its use; and finally, that the Romans, though without musquetry and artillery, had at all events missiles, and machines for throwing darts, &c., notwithstanding which they lost no time in coming to close quarters with their enemies.

Letter XIV.

With reference to the power of the military engines employed by the ancients, it is stated that Archimedes on seeing the catapulta, then first introduced into Sicily, exclaimed, "By the gods, the valour of man is now useless." The discharges from this machine were more frequent and more true to their mark than those of guns; similar to the effect produced by the bow and cross-bow, when compared with the musket.

The catapulta hurled stones so large and ponderous, that the angles of towers were demolished, and merlons of walls were scattered in the air: as Vegetius states, nothing could resist them, they destroyed and reduced to dust the most powerful defences. Some experienced men of the present day have considered that the balista might again be advantageously made use of, as in its construction, transport, and effects, the same results would be obtained as those now derived from mortars. In Roman legions a balista was attached to each cohort, and a catapulta to each band of one hundred men, the latter being drawn by mules, and having eleven men told off for the various duties required in discharging it, &c. Not only was it of service in defending the camp, but also in the field of battle, being first stationed in the rear of the heavy armed troops, and subsequently posted according to circumstances, on elevated ground which commanded the position, &c.

When in the field, the ancients availed themselves likewise of military engines similarly to the mode in which we use guns, erecting also batteries of attack or defence, and thus it may almost be said cannonaded each other. In the passage of rivers, military engines were not inactive, the balista and catapulta being employed on the banks to drive back the enemy during the construction of bridges. The cause, however, of so little allusion being made to engines in ancient fields of battle, is to be attributed to the custom of olden warriors speedily engaging the enemy hand to hand; and if our armies acted thus, ordnance would not be the vaunted and important personage it now is considered to be.

Letter XV.

No change has taken place in the fundamental principles of war; excepting that fire-arms have been substituted for the balista and catapulta, every thing else remains as it was. Commencing with sieges, universally believed as it is, that artillery has effected such great alterations, it appears, notwithstanding, that the modes of offence and defence resemble those of former times; the towers which were then at the angles of the curtains, are now replaced by bastions; the walls were also constructed oblique, and with projections to take the assailants in flank; the roads that led to the gates of the fortress were not made straight, but winding; ditches were not wanting to keep the enemy at a distance; nor were parapets omitted; and, conformably to the precepts of the most approved moderns, the works and places of arms were made sufficiently capacious for efficiently carrying on the defence.

Nor was there any variation in the system of besieging a fortress; every precaution was taken to protect the camp not only from the sallies of the besieged, but also from the attacks of those who might come to their succour; towards the place they advanced under cover as much as possible; and to secure the communication from one part of the camp to the other, a species of trench was dug; they also endeavoured to throw down and destroy the walls of fortresses by means of subterranean passages, those within the place acted in a similar manner to those attacking it, and in the mines or passages fierce encounters often occurred: under cover of the missiles dis [illegible] mines, the troops moved to the assault of the wor [illegible] sorties to drive the enemy from the [illegible] balista hurled enormous stones to b [illegible]

batteries of their opponents. To bring to a conclusion this long discourse, does it not appear to you, that if the valorous Greeks and Romans were again to return to earth, they would, notwithstanding our guns, make no alterations in their system, nor in their order of battle.

LETTER XVII.

Let it not be imagined that I consider Machiavelli infallible in his opinions; man by nature is both mortal and prone to error, and it would therefore be unjust to condemn the Secretary for a few faults in a science so intricate and difficult as war. The famed Turenne was once taken by surprise, which is the worst error a soldier can be guilty of; moreover, he was himself in the habit of asserting that the greatest commander was that man who had committed the fewest errors; and Marshal Saxe termed war a science enveloped in darkness.

We have thus endeavoured to select such portions of "Lettere Militari," as would probably be the most interesting to our readers in general; many instructive remarks and comparisons between ancient and modern warfare have unavoidably been omitted; enough has, however, we trust, been written, to satisfy zealous and reflective soldiers, that from similar works much information may be gleaned. The warm, friendly, and indeed affectionate passages of the letters we have not considered necessary to translate, confining our attention simply to the "Art of War."

In concluding this, our first article, on "Military Literature," both churlish and ungrateful should we be, did we omit to acknowledge the pleasure we have derived from perusing both the works of Machiavelli and Farsetti in their original language; alas! how few military men are aware of the gratification they would experience by reading professional publications in this most elegant of all languages; let the student, after patiently studying the noble science of war in the prose works of the modern Romans, turn to "Orlando Furioso," for brilliant relations of chivalric deeds; and let him also not only imbibe lessons of discipline, and instruction in military knowledge, from the pages of "Gerusalemme Liberata;" but above all let him take as his prototype the pious soldier, sapient and valorous commander—Goffredo di Buglion.

THE NAVAL CHAPLAIN'S NOTE-BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

Anglia nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem
Hausimus, Europæque plagas prope visimus omnes.
Casibus et variis acti terrâque marique,
Sistimus hìc tandem atque Lares veneramur avorum.
Regnard. Earl Macartney. Gent.'s Mag., vol. 9, N. S., pp. 146, 576.

Erras, si in navigatione tantùm existimas minimum esse, quo à morte vita diducitur.
Seneca's Epistles.

THERE are but few capitals in Europe to which I have not personally paid my respects; but among all the places to which my travels have carried me, none, for a while at least, seemed to my eyes so perfectly a *land of* enchantment as Naples and its neighbourhood.

The city itself is all noise, hurry, and bustle, an everlasting much-a-do about nothing. The very streets are paved with lava ejected from its fiery neighbour, Mount Vesuvius; and along them are continually rattling carriages of every description, from the cumbrous wooden-wheeled creaking tumbril, which has undergone no improvement since the time of the old Romans, to the gaudily-decked curricolo, and the splendid equipage of some fair principessa, protected by a whole regiment of liveried lackeys, packed together at its back, each wearing a huge rapier by his side, and on his head a Field-Officer's cocked-hat, surmounted with a plume of wide-flaunting feathers. Then there are all the charms of music; and, by way of contrast to this "concord of sweet sounds," ever and anon are heard the piteous notes of throngs of lazzaroni. There is the ripple of the lovely wave on the smooth pebbly shore, and the sickening sight of the loathsome catacombs. There are threadbare poetasters, "extremis in vicis balba senectus," with spectacle on nose, and with all the grimace and action so common among the natives of a southern clime, reciting to an audience ragged and sunburnt, yet wrapt in mute attention to the words which "sweet as honey from his lips distil," the gentle strains of Tasso, from a volume more tattered, thumbed, and dog's-eared than old Horace ever dreamt would be the lot of his book, though he had such evil forebodings respecting its fate,—

> Contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere vulgi
> Cæperis.

Next follow hosts of punchinellos, gaily-painted maccaroni-stalls, harlequins and quack-doctors, "ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ," and other such novel sights, "quæ nunc perscribere longum est," as the Eton Latin Grammar very pithily and appropriately observes in its well-known rules for Propria quæ maribus. Change but one word in the line of the French satirist, substitute *Naples* for *Paris*, and the secret is revealed:

> *Naples* est, pour un riche, un pays de Cocagne.

If frivolity be happiness, you may enjoy it here *usque ad nauseam;* but once let the eye penetrate beyond the surface, and there is little to be seen but the dregs of misery! On the one hand is rank and nobility, decked off in tawdry magnificence; on the other, living representations of squalid wretchedness and want, so disgusting in garb and importunate in manner, as to steel the heart rather than melt it into pity and charity.

It was in the year 182—, after having spent the winter in this modern Capua, where the *entrée* to all the gay and fashionable soirées was open to me, as it probably would have been to any other bachelor who, like myself, was in the enjoyment of an easy fortune; of acquirements, if not very deep, yet such as had been rewarded with honours at that university, by the margin of whose secluded walks flows "Isis' gentle stream," and, moreover, what is of no trifling account in this semi-feudal part of the world, of a family, though not boasting of nobility, yet of gentle descent; as a splendidly-illuminated and very costly pedigree, enrolled among the archives of the Herald's College, will amply testify. It was in this year that a friend and myself, *arcades ambo*, on a lovely spring morning,—and who knows what the loveliness of a spring morning on the shores of Southern Italy is, but those who

have inhaled its balmy breath and gladdening breezes? wended our way on foot, from one of the hotels in the Chiaia, to take a parting look at the fairy neighbourhood of Baia Bay, where are seen blended together nature's matchless beauties and art's magnificent remains, the distant Vesuvius with its smoking cone, Cape Miseno, the Lake Avernus, the Sibyl's grotto, the Elysian fields, all of which will ever be recollected with an indescribable interest, as long as the polished strains of the Mantuan bard survive to charm the ear!

Besides all this, there are the remains of ancient temples, and the relics of one of the celebrated Roman roads which terminated here, some of the massy pavement of which, now existing, was, perchance, laid there by the hands of Roman workmen. While even the sea which washes its shores is not without a peculiar interest; for the traveller, as he crosses the Bay of Baia, from the clearness of its waters is enabled to trace at their bottom the foundations of extensive buildings. Whether these foundations are anything more than those of the mole which one of the Roman Emperors had in contemplation to erect here, is more than our antiquarian knowledge will enable us to decide. But, however this may be, there are sufficiently evident tokens that Nature has at some time or other played very mischievous freaks here; nor should we be at all surprised to hear some fine morning of other strange effects of her volcanic propensities, since the ground in many places is so hot to the feet that it is anything but agreeable to walk over it; and the abundance of sulphur ore found near the surface of the soil at Pozzuoli, and which supplies the manufactories there, shows that it requires but little to produce a convulsion as fearful as any of those which have hitherto occurred. Owing to the exhalations from a substratum such as this, the neighbourhood is as unhealthy as can well be imagined, to which the sallow sickly looks of the inhabitants bear but too true a testimony. Even in the time of the vintage, when in other places there is a joyous crowd collected, here not a soul is to be seen but those actually engaged in the harvest! How totally different is all this from the times when Baia was the favourite resort of the rich and mighty, the gay and the fashionable of Rome, the mistress of the world! Notwithstanding all these heavy drawbacks, there is yet a charm in the place which makes every lover of classic lore fain to linger among these relics of fallen majesty,—the association of ideas which it forces into his mind can very well be imagined, though it would be by no means an easy task to analyse them clearly. When one looks at the present appearance of the place, and recollects how much that appearance was enhanced by the city of palaces which covered its surface, how salubrious its air once was, he cannot surely charge the moralising Flaccus with exaggeration when he expresses himself in such terms of rapture concerning it:—

"Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucet amænis."
Sed satis diu cum Baiis litigavimus, nunquam satis cum vitiis.

Time fled unconsciously, both to my friend and myself, as we lingered among these impressive remains of other people and other times; and it was a somewhat advanced hour of the afternoon before we thought of retracing our steps towards Naples. The progress made in our return was but little before we were overtaken by a carriage, which had conveyed a party of English ladies and gentlemen with the same object in

view, as that which had brought us hither; and as my companion had the advantage of being acquainted with those who occupied the seats of the equipage, the "bright eyes" of the fair ones within it "rain'd influence" enough to prevail on him to join them; leaving me to find my way back as best I might, "musing all alone." Not but what a nook in the carriage was pressed on my acceptance; but such is my foolish aversion to everything in the shape of a stranger, that notwithstanding the biddings of this bevy of beauty, I declined the proffered seat in the most polite terms my tongue could at the moment command; and the party soon quitted me, under the impression, probably, that I was a great simpleton for my pains. But whether or not this was their version of the matter, events soon proved that such a conclusion was the correct one. For thus left to myself, I had scarcely reached the outskirts of the town of Pozzuoli, before the clouds, which had been for some time gathering, poured forth such a deluge of rain, that I was right glad to use my utmost speed, and seek shelter in the best inn which the place afforded, and there wait patiently the return of fine weather. And never was luckless wight's patience put to a more severe trial than mine was on this untoward night!

The rain continued to descend in such incessant torrents that it would have been nothing short of stark madness to set foot abroad; and darkness came over the land before I fully perceived the awkwardness of my present position. Jaded and fagged, however, as I now felt myself, though hitherto excitement had kept away every idea of fatigue, it was some little comfort to find that I could be provided with a tolerably decent bed; but, alas! the luxury of sleep, on whose inventor the redoubtable Sancho Panza, in one of his "wise saws," so pathetically implores the blessing of Heaven, and to which I began even thus soon to look forward with a world of delight, was doomed by a cruel destiny never to visit my eyes during this live-long night!

Of all places within the dominions of His Majesty, the King of the Two Sicilies, there is not, perhaps, one which bears a worse name than this same town of Pozzuoli, a perfect *diversorium vitiorum*, as Seneca has it. The looks of the inhabitants are repulsive, wild, and haggard; a circumstance attributable to the noisome effects of the sulphureous soil of the place, and the extensive manufacture of the ore in its immediate neighbourhood; and their villainy is notoriously proverbial. In such a town as this, a stranger and alone, my forlorn situation brought a thousand times more forcibly to my mind by the noise of the pitiless storm which still raged furiously without, was I now doomed to remain till morning.

All this, however, would have been a comparative trifle, "le moindre de mes maux," had there been nothing else to trouble me.

As I ate my evening repast in a small room, into which I had been ushered by the buxom brunette of a landlady, who stood for a while addressing me, according to the established "jus et norma loquendi" of the country, by titles which would have been much more appropriately applied to an ambassador extraordinary or a minister plenipotentiary, not by any means, however, forgetting to intermingle with her grandiloquent obsequiousness, very high encomiums on the excellence of every arrangement of her establishment, my attention was called off from my meal by the boisterous mirth of a party of guests assembled

in the adjoining apartment, which, in plain English, would be called, the inn-kitchen. And surely never was there a group which the wild genius of Salvator Rosa would have better desired to transfer to the canvass with his magic pencil, than the one which was now here quaffing its cups in free and uninterrupted jollity. There were seated, at one and the same wine-stained deal table, operatives from the sulphur works, with a paleness pervading their whole countenances, more hideous than the paleness of death; vine-dressers from the neighbouring vineyards, with no signs of that ruddy health which an out-door employment is wont to give to the peasantry of other realms, but with an ague-like sallowness of look which the impurity of the air they breathed had spread over their cheeks.

> .....Durus
> Vindemiator, et invictus, cui sæpe viator
> Cessisset, magna compellans voce cuculum.

In addition to these worthies, there were also of the party two or three gamekeepers from the royal preserves in the vicinity, who seemed to look upon themselves, and to be looked upon by the rest of the company, as the leading personages of the group. There was a greater degree of freedom in the speech of these guardians of the woods than in that of their companions, a self-complacency in their tone of voice and in their manner, as if they considered themselves as a kind of oracle, and their "sic volo sic jubeo" to be indisputable authority.

It was not till I had decided on retiring to my dormitory, the only road to which lay through the common apartment, the kitchen of the hostelrie, where this motley assembly was seated, that an opportunity was afforded me of witnessing how much additional spirit was imparted to the volubility of the tongue by the incessant gesticulation of the hand; and the strange and novel scene, which now presented itself, at once banished all idea of sleep from my troubled thoughts. In one corner of the room, against the wall, stood the fire-arms of the forest-rangers, while the lighted wick of an earthern lamp, which was burning on the table, appeared to throw its glare nowhere else, but on the dark bright eyes, and raven locks of the guests, whose wild countenances were shrouded by the slouching hats which form such conspicuous objects in those paintings in which the figures of the Italian peasantry are prominently portrayed.

No notice whatever was taken of the hapless stranger as he passed through the room, not even a *buona notte* bestowed on him, a circumstance, insignificant in itself, but which, in my present bewilderment, seemed to convey a very ominous import, and added, in no slight degree, to the alarm that haunted me all through this night of horrors. Accordingly, on retiring to bed, I found it utterly impossible to close an eye. I first turned myself on one side, and then on the other, but old Morpheus, notwithstanding all these stratagems and coaxings, was not to be caught. The voices which reached my ear from below, called up to my affrighted imagination recollections of a thousand dismal tales of banditti and their dark deeds. I ever and anon started from a momentary feverish doze, under the impression, that one of this crew, with the instrument of murder in his hand, had set upon me, and was in the very act of carrying into effect the foul work! Horace

Walpole, when, actuated by the strange fancy that the white-robed portrait of Lord Falkland had started from the canvass in his room at Strawberry Hill, and was stalking towards him, he first conceived the idea of writing his Castle of Otranto, never felt half the dread that I now laboured under. Nay, I have sometimes questioned whether, when Priam's bed-curtains were drawn aside, and it was announced to him that half his Troy was taken, the aged monarch was more harassed by such appalling intelligence, than I was throughout the whole of this live-long night, by the phantoms which, one after another, kept flitting before my eyes.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, when at length sleep did really overtake me, just as the dawn began to break, the period, I presume, the party below broke up their noisy conclave, that the drowsy god should have detained me in his embraces till rather a late hour in the forenoon. When, however, I had fairly rescued myself from his arms, my toilet was very speedily arranged, and I hastened down stairs to break my fast with a cup or two of strong coffee before starting on my return to the noisy capital. Short as the preparations of my toilet had been, they were not so short but that, during their progress, I had cast many a wistful look from my bed-room window, which opened on the sea, towards an English frigate at anchor in the bay. She rode there in majestic pride, her tapering masts towering high above those of the country vessels around her; and the sight of her flag flaunting to the breeze seemed to impress the mind with the gladdening conviction, that even here Britannia ruled the waves. It cheered the very vitals of my heart, when I looked down upon the goodly ship in the distance, and remembered that, though now so far from "England's good green wood," in case of emergency, I was sure of finding a refuge and a home on her deck where no one would dare to molest.

Though the morning was not ushered in by that fair, bright, Italian sky, which has been the theme of so many poets' songs, and a darling subject of the painter's skill, yet the violence of the storm was evidently past; and the comparative serenity of the weather, as often happens under similar circumstances, was now only disturbed by occasional squalls. And still further to mend matters, and to make what atonement she could for the annoyances lately caused, Dame Fortune seemed now to regard me with an unusually favourable eye, for the very first object that presented itself on my leaving my bed-room, was no other than the portly figure of Sir L. S.'s coachman, who, having frequently seen me at his master's hospitable table, with a good-humoured smile, which ran through the whole length and breadth of his plump countenance, made me a profound bow; acquainting me at the same time, that the object of his present journey was, to convey the chaplain of the frigate to Naples, preparatory, as he said, to unite in the wedding-knot, one of his master's lovely and accomplished daughters and a young English baronet.

Whether it was the effect of a piece of silver, which I presented to this worthy knight of the whip, that he might quaff a goblet to the happiness of the intended couple, or from his supposition that I stood high in the good opinion of his master, is a point which I will not pretend to decide; but this fact is certain, that of his own free will and

accord, he offered to convey me back to my domicile, an offer which, after the lesson taught me by my yesterday's bashfulness, as may well be supposed, I did not think fit to decline.

Some little time before this very satisfactory arrangement had been concluded, I had observed a boat leave the frigate during a lull between the occasional squalls, and having reeled fearfully under the violence of two or three encountered on her passage, she at length reached the small pier of Pozzuoli in safety. The only sitter in this frail bark, in addition to the little midshipman who was sent in charge of her, was a gentleman apparently about six-and-twenty years old, above the average height, with bright dark eyes, and flowing glossy hair, now dripping plenteously with salt water. He was enveloped in a loose dark-blue boat-cloak, and from the speck of a white cravat visible under the clasp of the cloak's collar, I at once concluded this was to be my fellow-traveller. There was that peculiar brightness in his eye, that manly and frank expression in his countenance, which distinguishes naval men, and which so usually prepossesses us in their favour. Nor could I avoid being forcibly struck with the cordial manner in which the chaplain and the youngster of a midshipman parted amid the howling squall and pelting rain. The smile of this latter, as his companion rose to leave the boat, appeared to come from the heart, a "smile without effort," as if he would have said, "Sir, I am sorry to lose your company." While that of the chaplain carried with it an equal air of sincerity; and conveyed its meaning more affectingly than any words could have done, "We have been fortunate thus far, and I wish you a much less boisterous passage back to our good old frigate."

The coxswain of the boat had no sooner deposited my future fellow-traveller's carpet-bag, which the weather-beaten tar had carefully protected from the rain and surge by the aid of a tarpauling cover, in the boot of the carriage, than off we started on our way back to Naples, under the masterly guidance of our experienced charioteer.

There is a hacknied anecdote concerning two Trinity men from Cambridge accidentally meeting on the summit of Mount Vesuvius, and gazing together with fear and admiration on the burning cauldron at the bottom of its crater; but, though personally well-known to each other, from being members of the same college, they did not venture to speak, as the same authority goes on to inform us, because they had never undergone the formalities of a regular introduction. Whatever we might have done in the sombre atmosphere of England, my companion and myself were too old travellers to allow any such punctiliousness to stand in the way of an immediate colloquial familiarity. We, therefore, became almost instantly on the best terms of acquaintance, and our conversation continued to roll on so agreeably, that before I had the remotest idea of being near my journey's end, the carriage stopped, and I was set down at the entrance of my hotel on the Chiaia of Naples; not, however, before my newly-acquired friend had confirmed the account which the good-humoured coachman had before communicated of the purpose of his errand, and reminded me of what, to my shame be it told, I had, owing to the restlessness of the preceding night totally forgotten, that the day, part of which we had thus agreeably spent together, was Good Friday.

What may be the state of things now I cannot pretend to say; but

some twenty years ago, the date to which I have been all along alluding, it was a rare thing in Naples to hear the celebration of the Anglican Church Service. For, by an intentional, or, if this expression should sound too harsh, by a very strange oversight on our part, there was not a syllable mentioned on the subject in any treaty entered into between the English and the Neapolitan Governments. Whenever, therefore, a chance opportunity occurred, and any clergyman who happened to be sojourning there undertook the performance of the service, the congregation assembled in some private house, and the whole affair was conducted entirely, as it were, under the rose. This gave rise to frequent remarks on the part of foreigners, many of whom did not scruple to say, that, whatever our professions might be, we had no real value for our religion. And all this was so much the more observable, as every Power, with the exception of England, had made an express stipulation in their treaties with the Neapolitans, that they were to be allowed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion. Even in the case of the death of any English subject at Naples, no open mark of respect to the memory of the deceased could be shown; and to such a pitch was this bigotry carried, that the funeral obsequies were not unfrequently obliged to be performed under the cover of night—a degrading method of seemingly desiring to convince us of the truth of the sarcastic expression of the Roman satirist, "facilis jactura sepulchri."

The same remark will hold good with respect to the South American States, which the fiat of Great Britain called into existence. Not a word was inserted in any clause of the several treaties made between us and them, guaranteeing the free exercise of the Protestant religion—an omission which was seriously felt, and much regretted, by many of the English residents, particularly by those in the capital of Mexico. The fault, therefore, with which foreigners so generally, and it must be confessed oftentimes very justly, were in the habit of charging the English of professing to have so much religion at home, but throwing off nearly every token of it when abroad, ought not to be imputed so much to individuals as to the culpable negligence of former Governments. Whatever difficulties might in some cases have been started, undoubtedly in that of the new South American States, if there were any put forward, they must have been mere shadows, which might have been removed without trouble; since, however feeble and disjointed they may yet be, without our acknowledgment of their independence, they must have remained up to this day perfect nonentities. And experience but too clearly proves, that where there are no public and established rites of religion kept up, there is no religion at all; or, if there be any semblance of it, it runs riot into so many forms, "quot homines, tot sententiæ," that it can scarcely deserve any other name than that of fanaticism.

I am free to confess, that I am not one of those who are fond of running after every so-called popular preacher of the day; not but what their doctrine may be perfectly pure, and the language in which they convey their sentiments of a superior tone, but there is too frequently so much parade made about them, so much publicity given to the times and places in which they are to be heard, that though the present effect produced by their energetic method of delivery, and the new language, in which they clothe old ideas, may be dazzling; yet, however

bright may be the blaze of their eloquence, it too often fails to give that lasting, calm, and consolatory feeling to the mind, which a less ostentatious mode of performing our admirable church service is wont to impress upon the heart.

On entering the apartment in Sir L. S.'s hotel, where everything had been prepared with the greatest care and attention, in order that all admissible solemnity might be given to the celebration of Divine Service, I found the congregation assembled much more numerous than I had expected; and, what was still a further subject of congratulation, there was an air of seriousness and real devotion pervading the whole.

Among them were the families of the majority of the Protestant Envoys resident at Naples, together with two or three German Princes, and several of the English nobility, who, having already witnessed the bustling excitement of the Holy Week at Rome, remained here in comparative quiet till the heat of the approaching summer should induce them to seek a cooler retreat. This assemblage of so much rank, beauty, and fashion, made me tremble for the nerves of my naval friend; for, uninitiated as I was in these matters, my supposition was, that as his usual congregation on board ship was of so totally different a character, he would feel himself somewhat embarrassed by being thus suddenly placed in so novel a position. But if a slight faltering of the voice might be detected when he first began to read, it was only for a moment perceptible, and he afterwards went through the entire service in so solemn and impressive a tone, that, throughout the whole, it was evident he commanded the deep attention of his audience.

The heads of his discourse were clearly marked out, its style plain, yet not without a becoming polish; and the method in which he delivered it, though free from all studied efforts to give it effect, convinced one that he really felt what he was saying. It was strictly confined to the subject which he had at its outset proposed; "pressa sunt omnia, et rei aptata:" there were in it no trains of syllogism, no processes of intricate distinctions. The wisdom, as well as the common feelings that belong to such subjects, lie upon the surface in a few plain and broad lines and to these he gave so distinct, yet harmonizing a colouring, that at the conclusion, all present were so much carried away by the earnest simplicity of his manner, and so unexpectedly interested in his matter, that we were full loath to depart.

Seneca, in one of his Epistles, says, "In peregrinatione vitam agentibus hoc evenit, ut multa hospitia habeant, nullas amicitias;" and though I am not prepared to accord altogether with the philosopher when he thus makes the unqualified assertion, that travellers gain no friends, yet I will go one step farther than he has done in the other clause of his sentence, and maintain, that no one forms so extensive and so varied an acquaintance as he who, like the sage Ulysses, has seen the cities of many men, and known their manners. But, alas! whether a truant disposition induces us to rove the wide world over, or we are content to enjoy the quiet comforts of our own firesides, how few do we meet with whom we can mingle our thoughts as friends, in the true and full meaning of that endearing term!

Years had now passed away since I spent that troublous night under the roof of the noisy albergo at Pozzuoli. I had long since succeeded

to the lands and old-fashioned mansion of my forefathers, and become sobered down into the plain country gentleman; yet, as I sometimes sipped my bachelor-glass over the winter fire, or fixed my eye on the portrait of some ancestor, whose name was not altogether unknown to fame in the wars of other days, the wind meanwhile rustling through the avenue of oaks which led to the hall entrance-door, would bring to my mind "sundry contemplations of my travels." And among the many pleasing, as well as melancholy, recollections, which at these moments would alternately flit across my memory, the thoughts of Pozzuoli, the mode in which I was so unexpectedly, yet so comfortably, removed from its noisome atmosphere and all its other *désagrémens*, and restored to the busy hum and ceaseless whirl of Naples, the frankness of manner, the good sense and interesting conversation of my fellow traveller for this short distance, and the impression which his earnest style of delivery in his professional capacity had made upon me, would at intervals find a place in my "fancy's rich domain."

But though these events, as they passed through my mind, brought with them a serene pleasure, void of all the alloy of regret which is mingled with the recollection of some of those circumstances into which I was thrown, either unavoidably, or by the impulse of the moment, during my ten years' sojourn in foreign lands, yet, in all probability, they would soon have left no more lasting impression than is made upon me by a myriad of other incidents of travel, which still occasionally float before my mind's eye, had not accident again revived them in all their pristine freshness.

Near the inland village in which my residence is fixed, and of which I am the chief proprietor, lived an army officer, who had signally distinguished himself in the Peninsular War, during which the loss of a limb had obliged him reluctantly to abandon active service, and to retire in the prime of life, under the shade of his dearly-bought laurels, to his present sequestered abode, which his own good taste, and that of his accomplished family united, had served to render a perfect little fairy-land.

Such was the appearance which the exterior of the residence presented to the admiration of all passers-by, who were universally struck with the arrangement of its surrounding pleasure-grounds, which all but hid the quiet-looking manse from the public eye. Nor was the interior arrangement of the residence less prepossessing than its outside. United to that practical knowledge of mankind which so decidedly marks the military character, there was here also a much more than superficial acquaintance with ancient and modern literature, yet with an entire freedom from every tinge of pedantry,—a freedom but rarely met with in the limited society which a country neighbourhood affords. And if there were but few or no absolute luxuries of the table, which was here so often and so hospitably spread, there was that refinement which intercourse with those of polished manners can only give, that easy flow of enlightening conversation, the result of solid intellectual acquirements, which banishes all awkwardness makes the guest feel as free and unrestrained, as if he were si ease in his own study.

It was at the board of this mutual friend, that, tota my part, I again, for the first time since we parte

old acquaintance, the naval chaplain. Our recognition was warm and heartfelt; and before the cloth was removed, the remembrances of former acquaintanceship seemed to have brought us to understand each other perfectly, and to have rivetted the bonds of friendship more closely than ever. Time, it must be confessed, had fixed on either of our brows many an additional wrinkle; the glossy hair of youth was somewhat bleached, "cani nigros læsere capillos:" yet we suffered not these, though somewhat unpleasant facts, to disturb our equanimity, but indulged in all the luxury of discourse, which is the prime delight of old fellow-travellers when they meet again after a long separation, and revert back to scenes and places to which, in other days, their pilgrimage has led them. The result of his communication at this interview was, that "with coming patronage beguiled," he had quitted the active service, and been placed on the retired list; possessing, in addition to the retired allowance, a small patrimony of his own, which enabled him to gratify every desire which his moderate habits and unexpensive mode of living suggested.

Shortly after this interview, in consequence of the death of the incumbent of my own parish, the living of it was placed at my disposal; and I was thus enabled, poor though it was, to make the chaplain an offer of it. This trifling token of my respect for his worth he did me the favour to accept. Nor had I ever for a moment the slightest reason to regret the choice I thus made; for there was in his composition so much of the winning frankness of the sailor, blended with the staid demeanour of the divine—so conscientious was he in the discharge of his sacred office, yet so entirely free from that over-officious zeal, that pragmatical ardour, which, from a want of experience or of tact, often causes much injury to the influence which a village pastor ought to exercise over his flock, that the Man of Ross could hardly be more loved by those around him, than was this straight-forward, consistent clergyman, among his parishioners. He was at once respected by the wealthy, and adored by the poor, who looked to him as their adviser, and ever found in him a true friend in the hour of need.

The conjectures which were rife among the inhabitants of this secluded and inland district respecting their future pastor, before he was personally known to them, were clear proofs of their simplicity, and of their being totally unhacknied in the ways of the world. The squire's lady of the neighbouring village could form to herself no other idea of a naval chaplain, than a stout thick-set personage, with a face weather-beaten, and indicative of his having a high relish for that monosyllabic nectar, ycleped grog; whose virtues she imagined, and in this her imagination she was supported by the authority of the ballad, must necessarily be overtly exemplified by every one connected with the wooden walls of Old England, whether "at sea, or on shore, or well-harboured." The surprise, therefore, which the good-natured dame evinced was no little, when, on his being for the first time introduced to her, she found him to be in stature and appearance so diametrically opposite to what her anticipations had led her to expect; and this agreeable disappointment, when it afterwards became the subject of allusion, as it every now and then did, when they grew better acquainted, caused many a hearty laugh. On his first taking up his residence *among us*, the humbler classes looked on him with somewhat of a sus-

picious eye, regarding him as a kind of amphibious being; "the sea-parson," as they were pleased to call him in familiar conversation one with the other, could never be like any other mortal being—could never surely resemble any of the ministers of the neighbouring parishes! This note, however, was soon changed; he had been among them but a very short time, before their natural good sense and penetration led them to discern that he was in reality their parish-priest. The greetings of his fellowship, his visits of kindness, his firm though gentle reproof, his honest counsel, these and such charities as these formed, infinitely beyond his many gifts, the charm which powerfully and irresistibly drew towards him the hearts, and affections, and respect of his simple flock.

Heaven, however, in its wisdom, had decreed that no very lengthened period of existence should be allowed him for the exercise of his usefulness in his present sphere. Scarcely had he entered upon the fourth year of his ministry, when a sudden attack of disease fell upon him on the Sabbath morning, as he was in the act of preparing for the duties of the day; and after lingering some six weeks, he sank under the pressure of his malady.

His last moments, which were solaced by the unceasing attentions of a sister, the only near connexion to whom, notwithstanding our intimacy, I ever heard him allude, though the sequel will, perhaps, in great measure, account for his silence on this head, were moments of peace —such peace as no one could contemplate without a secret prayer that his own end might be like the end of this Christian pastor! The tears which ran down the cheeks of the homely villagers, who, on the day of his funeral, in voluntary token of respect for the deceased, grouped themselves in the churchyard under the aged yew-tree which shaded the spot to which his last remains were consigned, were proofs, if they had never evinced their feelings in any other way, of the estimation in which they held the worth of him who had been thus prematurely summoned to that "bourne whence no traveller returns."

Shortly after his decease, an unexpected opportunity enabled me to ascertain, from the authorities at the head of our naval administration, the character which the chaplain had borne during the period of his services afloat; and nothing more satisfactory could have been desired than the information conveyed to me from this official quarter. It seems that he was acknowledged to have blended together an eminent easiness of temper and a rare tact of deportment, which, though they be no decisive proofs of very superior talent, can only be the result of sterling good sense;—a quality in a pre-eminent degree necessary in a naval chaplain, if he would maintain that influence which he ought to possess, and to which the indiscretion of a moment may unfortunately give a death-blow. For as the position in which he is placed is a singular one, so the task which devolves upon him is no less arduous—he is thrown, perhaps, from the fictitious life of a college, into the rough reality of a naval life—from the precision of a college-h dinner, into the frank and open-hearted convivality of a *frigate* room mess, where it is seldom, except through his own fastidi or want of knowledge of the manners of this up-and-down wo the high gentlemanly feeling pervading its members will inter allow any expression to escape them which might

then it requires time before he becomes acquainted with his new mode of life—before he can collect his ideas sufficiently to follow the conversation, whose subject, perhaps, turns at every moment from one quarter of the globe to another—before he can even clearly and distinctly comprehend the language in which it is being carried on, mingled, as it often will be, with so many aptly-brief expressions, which sound strange to all but those whose "home is on the main." And in this interval an innocent betrayal of his ignorance of these conventional phrases may cause him much additional trouble to set himself right, and recover the reputation for good sense which, notwithstanding an occasional *gaucherie*, those about him were beginning to perceive formed an integral part in his composition. They have all, too, some one at their elbow to whom they can appeal on professional subjects, equally interesting to both; he is, as it were, an isolated being, and has no other resources to fall back upon but his own thoughts, for counsel and advice in any clerical emergency; and these thoughts, none of the clearest, by reason of that squeamish listlessness of which those not long inured to a sea-life cannot divest themselves, and which will not allow the faculties of the mind to fix themselves on any definite subject with an intense application. So that, if a deep tinge of the "truant disposition" led him to embark in so novel a career, he needs no little help from "staid wisdom's" guidance to direct him in its intricacies.

Through this strict ordeal, the chaplain had passed unscathed; and could he have been prevailed upon to lay aside his modesty, which in him amounted to a fault, or rather to a morbid sensibility, and in justice to himself have pressed the claims which his services gave him an honourable right to urge, with half the earnestness and assiduity exerted by others, whose pretensions, had they been weighed in the balance of equity, would have been found wanting, in all probability he would have been blessed with more of this world's wealth, than that pittance which a village vicarage placed at his disposal. Notwithstanding, he had amply sufficient means for the supply of his few simple wants, and the murmur of discontent was never heard to issue from his lips.

Among his papers, carefully tied up together, was discovered a manuscript of his "travels' history," with a request in his own handwriting, that the packet might, in the case of accident, be presented to me; he would have given more, he added, but that his "hand lacked means," with a few other lines, in which he expressed his feeling of obligation towards me in infinitely stronger terms than any kindness I had had it in my power to confer upon him could have entitled me to deserve. The perusal of this apostille, or postscript, created within me a melancholy pleasure, arising from this unequivocal assurance, that I held a much higher place than I had imagined in the valued esteem of the upright worthy incumbent of my native village.

From the varied contents of this manuscript journal, are selected the pages which will henceforth assume their proper title, The Naval Chaplain's Note-Book.

SINDE UNDER THE AMEERS.

BY CAPT. HART, BOMBAY ARMY.

As misfortune naturally invests a fallen dynasty with an interest it would not have commanded in its prosperous days, some reminiscences connected with the rule of the Talpoor Princes over the fertile territory of Sinde, may not be uninteresting at the present time; the more so, as that province having now become an integral portion of the British Empire in the East, all traces of the machinery of its late government will soon be entirely obliterated. Until within a very recent period, Sinde was a forbidden land to European investigation and enterprise, for the line of policy adopted by its rulers to protect themselves from foreign aggression, was to keep other states in total ignorance of their wealth and resources, and thus induce a belief of their ability not only to resist encroachments upon their own territory, but if provoked even to invade with overwhelming force the dominions of any troublesome neighbour. Circumstances over which they had no control, forced their descendants to depart from this wise policy of the founders of their line, who viewed with just alarm the gigantic strides towards universal dominion in the East of the mighty European power on their frontier, and the consequences have been such as were foreseen, both by themselves and every person of discernment under their sway. At first, a temporary occupation of a line of military posts through their territory; heavy demands upon their treasury, and a curtailment of their privileges, thus causing a diminution of their influence and exciting heart-burnings and intrigues, with the almost hopeless object of casting off the yoke of the stranger; then the discovery of these plots leading to more galling restrictions of their power, and the final attempt to break their bonds, followed by defeat, exile and captivity. Little more than half a century has elapsed since the chieftains of this race flew to arms to avenge the slaughter of their kindred, and drove the last unworthy representative of the Calora Princes from a throne which his ancestors had occupied for even a less period, to end his days as a poor and despised wanderer in a distant land. Then was exhibited that phenomenon in Asiatic history, of the successful leader of an hostile party after possessing himself of the reins of power, and obtaining the confirmation of his Lord Paramount, (the Afghan monarch,) to his usurpation, crushing the seeds of jealousy and rivalry in the bosoms of his warlike relatives, by admitting his three younger brethren to a share of his high dignity, and amicably reigning with them, under the denomination of the Ameers or Lords of Sinde. The result proved either the consummate wisdom of the measure, or his knowledge of their affectionate dispositions, for their strong and unvarying attachment during life gained them the honourable appellation of the "Char Yar,"—the four friends. The sovereignty which they had won and retained by the sword, has been wrested from their descendants by the same powerful weapon, and their fall adds another instance in the page of history of the uncertain tenure of dominion by Oriental Princes.

To give an idea of their system of government, its practical w ing in one of their most important towns must be shown, explanato

the detail of which it has been necessary to allude thus briefly to the origin of the authority exercised by the Ameers. The constant reference which has been made to Kurachee in the dispatches from the seat of war on the Indus, and the fact of its being the only sea-port of Sinde, point it out for selection on this occasion. Its situation at the head of a creek communicating with a spacious harbour, must render it the entrepot of goods sent from Europe, and the picture about to be drawn of its condition under its former rulers, will afford grounds for the formation of an opinion of the benefits or otherwise which may hereafter accrue to it from the change of masters. Three years ago its population amounted to upwards of 13,000 souls, of whom two-thirds were Hindoos, essentially the trading portion of the community, the Mahomedans being mostly fishermen, carriers, and labourers. The persons in authority were a Military and Civil Governor, with four collectors of customs, the two former appointed by the joint concurrence of the Ameers; the latter acting on behalf of, and attending to the interests of their own particular chiefs. Unanimity, however, did not always prevail in the nominating to these situations, for in the case of one official, three only of his masters acquiesced in his appointment, the fourth giving his vote to his own collector. But no inconvenience resulted from this difference, as the more powerful exercised the duties uncontrolled by his rival candidate for the office, who contented himself with receiving one-fourth of the emoluments. The military chieftain had the command of the troops stationed in the town, and garrisoning the small fort at the mouth of the harbour. When the British force landed at Kurachee in 1839, this functionary fled to Hyderabad, to make his personal excuses for not having defeated or repelled the invaders, carrying with him one of the 32-pound shot which had been fired from the man-of-war, as a specimen of the artillery he had deemed it useless to attempt contending with. The conduct of a few of his soldiers who formed the garrison of the small fort, deserves honourable mention. When the British vessels came to an anchor off the harbour, these men were summoned to surrender the post intrusted to their charge, to which they replied, that although perfectly aware of the hopelessness of resistance, they could not submit without orders from their chief. At this time the plea was thought a mere subterfuge, and the fort was battered down; but it afterwards appeared, that had they acted otherwise, they would have been accounted infamous, and immediately discharged, and found it impossible to have obtained service again. The military duties performed by the soldiers were little more than nominal, their principal employment being the serving as escorts to caravans of merchandise leaving the town for the interior of the country. As the tribes to which these men belonged, resided in the neighbourhood, it was merely necessary for one, or at most, two of them, to accompany a caravan, their presence being sufficient to secure the property from plunder, and its owners from molestation, as long as the road lay through districts under their influence. On the confines of their territory others relieved them, and the merchant was thus enabled, for a comparatively trifling charge, to send his goods in safety from one end of the country to the other. Instances had indeed occurred where the escorts were attacked and overpowered; but such an event never failed to bring upon the offending parties the speedy vengeance of that

tribe whose guarantee had been violated; no mention was ever made of the confidence reposed in individuals having been betrayed, however great the temptation. A small portion of the sum received by the guards was the perquisite of their Commander, to increase the amount of his trifling salary. At Kurachee, his office precluded him from all interference in the affairs of the inhabitants, and consequently his influence was but little sought after, nor any attempts made to propitiate his good will by presents.

The post of Civil Governor was a far more important one, the only restraint on his authority being the chance of complaints of his tyranny or oppression reaching the ears of his superiors. The police of the town was his special care, and all punishments for offences against the revenue laws, reported by the collectors of customs, were inflicted by his orders. It was a matter of the utmost importance to obtain his countenance and favour, particularly on the part of the Hindoo class of the people; but occasionally even their meek and patient tempers would be goaded to desperation by acts of injustice and cruelty. On such occasions, with that passive endurance which was more than a match for the active coercion of their oppressor, they would close their warehouses, draw their vessels on shore, shut up their houses, and quit the town in a body, forwarding at the same time a statement of their grievances to the capital. This decisive conduct seldom failed in its effect, as the stoppage of all trade, and consequent loss of revenue, was so forcible an appeal to the feelings and purses of their rulers, that a favourable reply to their complaints was usually forwarded, and sometimes the obnoxious governor immediately removed.

This speedy attention to the petitions of the inhabitants of Kurachee was owing to the fact of no grain of any description being cultivated within many miles of the town, and its entire revenue, in consequence, dependent on the amount of tonnage frequenting the port, where Hindoos were owners of the greater number of vessels. At the inland towns they were maltreated and fined for the most trivial offences without ceremony.

The civil governor could not inflict capital punishment without reference to the government. The only instance which occurred during the first three years a British force was encamped near Kurachee was the hanging of a chief of a band of plunderers, for the murder of a British officer. It appeared, from the evidence collected some time after this melancholy event, that a Syud, (a descendant of the Prophet,) residing at a distance in the mountains, imagining that some of the cattle or sheep belonging to the camp might be driven off without difficulty, quitted his place of residence, and visiting several encampments in his neighbourhood, collected a body of five-and-twenty or thirty men to assist him on his expedition. The prospect of plunder was an inducement no Sindian could withstand, and, under the guidance of so holy a personage as the Syud, they felt confident of success. All were on foot, but by well timing their marches, they reached during the night a range of hills which overlooked the British lines, where they could lie concealed until a favourable opportunity of carrying their designs into execution should occur. The total want of cavalry with the force prevented the country being patrolled to any distance, and enabled these plunderers to retain their position unobserved for two

days; but as no cattle happened to be driven in the direction of the hills, they were disappointed of their prey. The third morning an officer taking a ride unfortunately passed near them; a steep descent induced him, unsuspicious of danger, to retrace his steps. The party at once concluded their designs were suspected, and the Syud, fearing that if he returned to the camp he would give the alarm, and troops be detached in pursuit, gave the order to slay him, which was instantly obeyed. After throwing his body into a ravine close by, the murderers, taking his horse with them, decamped with all speed. But it happened that another officer, riding in the same direction, had observed his comrade, who was no longer visible, ascending the hills, and remarking several men near the spot where he was last seen, he galloped onwards, in case anything had happened which needed his assistance, or to share in whatever danger might present itself. At that moment the remembrance of there being a Sindian in confinement in the camp for camel-stealing crossed his mind, and induced him to suppose that the party he had seen might make an attempt to carry off the officer to the mountains, as a hostage for the good treatment of their countryman. To rescue him, if possible, or, at all events, to follow their track, was his immediate resolution. Spurring up the range, he was surprised to find that the party had quitted the hills; but at some distance in the plain beyond he could indistinctly perceive a body of men hurrying along, with one person on horseback amongst them. Convinced of his brother-officer being made a prisoner, he pushed down with all speed into the valley to reconnoitre the captors more closely. The large and thick bushes of prickly pear, with which the face of the country was there covered, concealed the party from his view on his reaching the level of the plain; but, continuing his course for about a mile, he unexpectedly, on turning the angle of a hillock, found himself within a few yards of the Sindians, who had posted themselves behind some bushes to receive him. He had barely time to rein up his horse before three matchlocks were discharged, the ball of one passing through his thigh. Thus wounded he galloped off in the direction of the camp, certain that the officer was a prisoner; for in the hurried glance he got of the party he had seen the horse, though he had not recognised the rider.

On reaching the lines he was so faint from loss of blood that it was some time before he could explain what had occurred; but as soon as it was understood that a British officer had been carried off, every other who was not on duty, and possessed a horse, mounted and rode in the direction pointed out. Unfortunately a high wind began to blow just at this time, and raised such clouds of dust as to obscure objects a few hundred yards distant, and though the country was scoured for miles round no trace of the fugitives was found. A small party of the officers, who on their return were leading their jaded horses from their unsuccessful search, recrossed the range of hills where the men had been first seen, and observing some vultures hovering over a ravine, were induced to look for the object of attraction; which proved to be the mangled remains of their unhappy countryman. It was evident that his death had been instantaneous, for there were at least a dozen mortal wounds upon the body; yet it seemed he was not killed for the sake of plunder, as his pockets were not rifled, nor even a gold ring upon his finger taken off,—so that the general opinion was, his life had been sacrificed to religious antipathy.

Many months had elapsed, and the wounded officer nearly recovered, before any clue to the perpetrators of this deed could be obtained, when chance brought to light what the promise of reward and strict investigation had failed to accomplish. A petty tribe in the vicinity received information that a plundering party from the hills had fixed on a certain day to rendezvous near a well-known spring of water, for the purpose of deciding on their future movements, and electing a chief to command during the expedition. Dreading that their flocks and herds might suffer from such dangerous neighbours, they made known the circumstance to the governor of the town, and he, anxious to show his care for the security of those under his rule, detached some soldiers to seize the strangers. When the British Commander heard of this circumstance he sent for the Chief of the captured party, in order to interrogate him; but he, supposing he was arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the murder, after a few denials of his own guilt, stated that he knew the parties implicated,—had seen them on their way to the camp, as also on their return after committing the crime,—and, further, that one of his own people, then in confinement, was present at the deed. On questioning the man alluded to, he at first firmly denied all knowledge of the matter; but his Chief having ordered him to speak the truth, he immediately, and without prevarication, after saying that obedience to his superior alone induced him to place his life in jeopardy by acknowledging his share in the transaction, proceeded to relate every particular connected with the occurrence. When asked why they had not carried off the officer as a prisoner to so great a distance as to preclude, on releasing him, the possibility of his giving an alarm before they had reached a place of security, he replied that no one thought of acting otherwise than in obedience to the Syud's orders. They had lain in concealment for two days without obtaining any plunder, and want of food and water had made them so desperate, that when their leader cried out "Kill him, kill him," they cut him down, and fled, because they observed another European on horseback following them, whom they hoped to have slain also; but as he was merely wounded they gave themselves up for lost. The Syud, however, bade them have confidence in his power, and immediately commanded a high wind to blow, which enabled them to make good their retreat to the mountains, under the friendly shelter of the dust it raised.

This evidence having been corroborated by that of other persons, application was made to the Court at Hyderabad to apprehend the Syud as the principal delinquent, less criminality being attached to the actual perpetrators of the deed than to him, as the instigator; their fanatic bigotry leading them to venerate him as a saint, whose commands were law, and the fear of his curse more terrible than death. Although for some years his violent and savage conduct had rendered him an object of dislike to those tribes among whom he dwelt, still no one dared to refuse compliance with his demands for whatever supplies he required, or even to avenge the death of a former enemy, whom he had lured under his roof upon a solemn promise of forgiving past offences.

To issue an order for the seizure of so sacred a personage was a most unpleasing task to the Ameers, whose religious prejudices were fully as deeply rooted as those of the meanest of their subjects; indeed,

a proof of this had but a short time previously occurred, when a squalid and filthy individual of this very man's tribe, meeting the retinue of the Princes on their way to a hunting excursion, rushed up to one of them, and, seizing his horse's bridle, ordered him instantly to dismount, that he, who was an honourable descendant of the Prophet, might occupy his seat. The Ameer at once did so, and the mendicant Syud in his rags, sprang into the gilt and embroidered saddle, where, after remaining for a few minutes, he descended, and gave the party his blessing. As, however, it was absolutely necessary that the criminal should be handed over for trial to the British authorities, it was resolved, by feigning friendship, to allure him to the capital, for it would have been useless forcibly to attempt his capture, as even if the tribes did not rise in his defence, he could, without difficulty, have escaped out of the Ameers' jurisdiction. A confidential person was, therefore, charged with the delicate commission, which he cleverly executed, and the Syud quite unsuspicious of anything having transpired regarding his share in the murder, journeyed towards Kurachee with the camels and servants of the Ameers, in high spirits at the attention paid to him. A visit to the tent of the British Commandant at once opened his eyes to his situation. He at first stoutly denied the truth of the depositions which were read over in his presence, nor was it until those of two of his slaves who accompanied him at the time had been taken, did he even admit having witnessed the murder. The governor of the town, who was present at the examination, reluctantly allowed that the proof of guilt was incontrovertible, but declined taking charge of such a prisoner, on the plea, that he could not be answerable for his men keeping a Syud in safe custody. Although not stated, the true cause was his crime being merely that of slaying an infidel, it did not rank as a very heinous one in the estimation of the Mahomedan portion of the people, and he consequently wished to avoid the unpopularity certain to attach to any one concerned in his punishment. The Syud was therefore put in irons in the British camp, and the whole of the documents relating to the case forwarded to Hyderabad for the decision of the Ameers.

It was evident that a strong prejudice existed throughout Sinde against inflicting capital punishment on any of the Prophet's descendants, from the circumstance of another Syud, a long time previously convicted of murder under the most atrocious circumstances, having been sentenced to imprisonment for life at Tatta. This wretched being was confined in a wooden cage about six feet square, placed under a shed in the court-yard of the house of the person appointed to watch over his safe custody. It had evidently been built around him, as its only aperture was a small trap door sufficiently large for food and water to be put through. He was said to have passed twenty years in this contracted space, and as might be imagined had, in appearance, become more like an animal than a human being. He rarely spoke or even moved, rejected clothing, and refused to allow his den to be cleaned. Once he had attempted to set fire to the bars of his prison by igniting some scraps of linen with the charcoal from a pipe which a charitable person had given him to smoke, not forseeing that he must have perished before they could be sufficiently burnt through to admit of his escaping. The attempt was, however, discovered and prevented. *As is usual* in most of the native governments, he was entirely

dependant for his subsistence on the benevolence of the public, yet he never failed to have more than a sufficiency of food brought to him. The intellect of this miserable creature had at length given way under his prolonged sufferings, though, doubtless, his mind had been fortified to the utmost by the conviction of the truth of that portion of his creed which teaches that whatever misfortunes may in this life befall mortal man have been decreed by an uncontrollable fate, and that it would be as useless as impious to repine at or endeavour to avert its inflictions; a maxim which induces Mahomedans to submit without murmuring to the most sudden reverses of fortune, or the most painful bodily sufferings. The sole expression of his countenance was a vacant idiotic stare, and he never shewed the slightest sign of animation, except where the stick of a pipe was thrust through the bars of his cage for him to inhale a few puffs of smoke. Judging from the case of this man, it was concluded, that of this Syud would be attended with a similar result, until a favourable opportunity might offer either of releasing or allowing him to escape. But a wish to propitiate the favour of the British Government induced the Ameers to encounter the odium of sentencing him to death, and an order was issued to hang him on the spot where the murder had been committed. When notice was given to him of his approaching disgraceful end, he refused to believe that the intention of the British was sanctioned by the Ameers, but when fully convinced that they had actually sentenced him to die, he endeavoured to anticipate his doom by swallowing a large quantity of opium which he had secreted. This was prevented by the discovery of the drug, which was immediately taken from him. A gallows having been erected on the hill, he was escorted thither by a party of British troops. Without deigning to plead for mercy, he firmly and undauntedly mounted the scaffold, and looking towards the distant mountains where he had passed his life, prayed for a blessing on his home, his family, and friends, then turning round in the direction of the capital, he bitterly cursed those rulers who, with hypocritical professions, had lured him to destruction, and predicted that they would shortly rue the day when they had spilt the blood of a Syud. The only Mahomedans present at the execution were the governor and his personal attendants, who were of necessity forced to obey their masters' orders. The Hindoos of the town, much as they rejoiced at the breaking of the charm hitherto supposed to guard a Syud from all bodily suffering, dared not openly to shew their exultation. Two days after the execution some relatives applied for permission to carry away the body. It was not refused them. They placed the remains in a bier, and loading it on a camel, carried it to their dwelling-place where they were interred with much ceremony, and a tomb having been built there, pilgrimages were subsequently made to it by the people as to that of a saint and martyr.

The sentences which the Governor had the power of awarding, and immediately inflicting, were, mutilation, flogging, and exposure in the stocks. The first-named was rarely resorted to, except in cases of flagrant violation of the Mahomedan law. Smuggling and petty delinquencies incurred the punishment of the bastinado, and no more severe instrument for this purpose could be used than the stem of the date leaf, as each stroke laid open the skin. If possessed of money it

was not difficult for the culprit to escape the rod of justice, as each misdemeanour had its well-known price, so that these mulcts were a great source of emolument to the Governor, who, of course, neglected no opportunity of inflicting them. In cases when the fact of his having received money was matter of notoriety, in order to save appearances, part of the amount was carried to the credit of the Government, but the custom of appropriating the entire sum to his own purposes was so generally practised, that most frequently, no remarks were made upon the subject. Another perquisite was the right of claiming a fourth part of all sums of money in dispute which were brought before him to be adjudged. In general, the people preferred leaving such matters to the arbitration of the elders of their tribes, but in angry dispositions parties would sometimes rush over to the ever-open town-hall to register their claims against each other, and when once entered on the list there, the payment of the fourth part was rigidly enforced. These increasing endeavours of the Governor to increase the small salary he received from the state and so keep up a shew of respectability, did not, as might be imagined, degrade him in the estimation of those under his rule, for the absolute necessity of increasing the government remuneration by some unauthorized exaction was not only fully admitted, but also acted on by every other public servant. Consequently, peculation and dishonesty prevailed in every department, from the highest functionary to the most subordinate officer. The custom-house officials received fees to elude the vigilance of the clerks, who, in their turn were bribed to defraud the collectors, and these, notwithstanding the check imposed by their jealousy of each other, managed to cheat their employers. But these unlawful demands on the pocket of the trader had certain limits assigned by custom which were never exceeded. Propitiatory presents from the Hindoos for permission to celebrate their religious festivals, and complimentary offerings on Mahomedan feasts, enabled the Governor, with what he derived from the above-mentioned sources, to double his nominal salary.

To the four collectors was assigned the duty of levying the customs on each article brought into or taken out of the town, and, as their tenure of office depended on keeping up the amount of revenue, their vigilance was incessant. As soon as a vessel entered the harbour, a man was put on board to prevent the clandestine removal of any portion of the cargo. After examining the manifest and granting permission to land the goods, the revenue collectors and owners attended at the pier, the former to levy, the latter to pay whatever amount of duty was placed on them by the valuation of the landing-waiter. This officer usually added thirty per cent. to the invoice price to guard the state against fraud; on some articles he would fix the then marketable value, on the principle of letting the government share in the benefit of a rise in prices. When the investment belonged to a mere occasional speculator, two or three per cent. more than the market rate was added before levying the duties, and in this was not included the customary fees, all of which were claimed as if authorised charges, which it was not prudent to object to; but the resident merchants were apparently treated far more leniently, being required to settle their accounts only once a month. In one instance

the policy of the Government was most liberal, for according as the annual amount of custom dues paid by each firm, raised them in the scale of traders, a bonus, in the shape of remission of a third or a fourth, was granted, to induce them to speculate more largely. Still, as it was not consistent with the usages of the country to grant any boon without some corresponding return, a per centage was deducted from the amount remitted, under the head of "benefit to both parties." The large importer had thus a great advantage over his less wealthy rivals; but in other respects he was no gainer. At the monthly settlement of his accounts, he was not allowed to pay the total amount due; twelve per cent. was struck off this sum, and carried to account as a running debt due to the state by the merchant. Every two years persons were sent from the capital to audit these books, and if they chose to fancy that any goods had been undervalued, or, what was more to the purpose, did not receive those compliments in the shape of fees which they expected, they fixed their own price on the articles, and levied an increased amount of duty, to which no valid objection could be offered, as the accounts had never been passed and closed. This system, which was adopted by the Ameers to prevent collectors from favouring their friends, was justly complained of as rendering the profits of the merchants uncertain for so long a period.

The octroi duty system of Continental Europe prevailed in full force at Kurachee: every person entering the town with goods or grain, was obliged to go first to the town-hall, and submit his packages to examination; nor could anything be taken out without a pass-note of all dues having been paid. Thus, if a peasant from the country brought a few mats or coils of hair rope for sale, his name, business, and value of the articles were duly registered, with the amount levied as customs; and a person leaving the town with a few pieces of cloth, some grain, cotton, or even a couple of bullock-bells, had them all noted and charged, and if their value exceeded a certain sum, a trifling portion of the duty was carried to the credit of a charitable fund for the benefit of religious mendicants. After their importunate demands had been disposed of, the remaining sum was divided into three portions, two of which were the perquisite of the clerks, and the third reverted to the state. These complex accounts, intended to check fraud, were severely felt by the poorer classes, who were never certain of paying only the lawful charges. Grain was more heavily taxed than goods, when brought in small quantities: if imported by a merchant after he had paid the fixed duty, a per centage on his purchase was again demanded from the retail dealer, which, increasing the price of all grain of good quality, placed it far beyond the means of the labouring classes. Their food was chiefly composed of dates, a small portion of coarse rice made into bread, and fish, of which last great quantities are caught on the coast, and the duty levied on it formed a most important article in the custom-house receipts. On fishing-boats returning to the harbour, the cargo was landed in presence of an officer, and the number of large fish counted. If less than sixty, *one-fourth* were set aside as Government dues; but if more than that number, one-sixth only. The owner was then permitted to carry the whole away, and dispose of them; but at the expiration of a month the authorities sent for him to settle his account, and as a set off against the credit he had been

allowed, was made to pay the value of the Government portion at a trifle above the market price. Small fish was measured by baskets-full. Before it could be offered for sale, the seller was obliged to register his name, with the quantity he had to dispose of, at the office of the clerk of the market, who also noted down the estimated value. When the stock was sold, one-fourth of the amount realized was paid to the custom-house, and an additional five per cent., levied in kind, was the perquisite of the clerk. No tax was laid upon the boats of the fishermen or the trading vessels, but the crew of the latter paid a poll-tax each time they left the port: the commander was charged double the sum levied from his men; the boatswain paid a little less than this, and the cook but a trifle more than a common sailor. The amount averaged about one-fourth of their wages.

To obviate the necessity of keeping up a large establishment for the collection of the duties on spirits, cattle, &c., they were annually farmed out to the highest bidder, but if during this time a more advantageous offer presented itself, no scruple was made in depriving the contractor of his bargain, unless he preferred keeping it on at the advanced rate. Those Sindians who indulged in spirituous liquors, adopted the Russian practice of swallowing a dram as a whetter of the appetite before commencing their meals, and sometimes concluded the evening by a few more. Yet drunkenness is not a prevailing vice among them, for the negro slaves are the only class who take advantage of an opportunity and indulge to excess.

The gambling-house was a Government building, in which alone were games of chance allowed. If discovered elsewhere, the contractor was empowered to seize upon the money and have the players punished. At the licensed house, his clerk was always in attendance to watch the amount gambled for, and take six per cent. of all winnings. The usual frequenters of the place were Mahomedans, and as there was no lack of sharpers, many a poor fellow, who had come in from the country, and disposed of his camels in the British camp, from being induced to linger a few minutes and try his luck at increasing his capital, found his pockets emptied of the proceeds. Some would then part with the very clothes off their backs, and even stake their labour for a prescribed term, in the vain hope of fortune favouring them at their very last throw. In such cases, the clerk made the winner pay in ready money the proportion of hire he was supposed to save by having the loser's services free of expense. Those persons who earned their livelihood by keeping camels and bullocks to carry burdens to and from the town and suburbs, were obliged to report every evening to the contractor the sum they had earned during the day, and pay to him a tax of one-eighth of the amount. Of the craftsmen, the goldsmiths were the most heavily burthened, for it was incumbent on each of them to enter in his book the amount of his daily profits, and at the end of the month produce them for examination by the collector, who took one-fourth of the earnings.

From these various sources the total amount of revenue raised at Kurachee has averaged about ten thousand seven hundred pounds sterling per annum, with a charge on it for Government and collection of something more than three-quarters per cent., but it is capable of great and rapid increase by judicious alterations in the system here described.

The abolition of the petty taxes, which press so heavily on the poorer classes of the community, opening the port to the free importation of grain (none being grown within forty miles of the town), the establishment of a fixed tariff, just administration of the laws, and assurance of the protection of property, without the fear of the display of wealth exciting the cupidity of the ruling power, will attract people from all quarters, and speedily raise the port to the rank it aught to hold, as the chief entrepot of trade to the north-west of Asia. Under the old system, if a vessel, before entering the harbour, discharged part of its cargo for transmission to villages on the coast of Sinde, a calculation was made of what duties would have been paid had the whole investment been landed at Kurachee; and however small the portion actually brought there, only one-fourth of the entire sum was remitted. This and similar exactions lay like an incubus on trade; they cramped the energies of the merchants, and narrowed the sphere of their speculations.

It was the custom of the Ameers to send annually one of their confidential attendants to Bombay, to purchase a thousand or twelve hundred pounds' worth of European manufactures. This person was furnished with a draft on the Kurachee governor, who used to call the merchants together, and direct them to advance the money, on the promise that a corresponding credit on their future imports should be allowed them in the custom-house books. As the most wealthy merchants were called on to pay the largest shares, it was not of course prudent to appear very affluent, and most of them, therefore, kept their capital so distributed, that if oppressed at one place, they might have something to fall back upon in another.

As a British force has now occupied Sinde for several years, ample opportunity has been afforded of perceiving the impolicy of attempting any *sudden* innovations, either in the customs or government of its inhabitants; for with a people of strong prejudices, even abuses, when sanctioned by time and familiar from habit, are best corrected by a gentle and gradual reform, which will not excite such absurd expectations as must naturally end in disappointment. Should the plan of re-opening the canal which once brought the waters of the Indus to within a few miles of Kurachee, be carried into execution, no difficulty will exist in at once shipping the produce of Northern Asia direct to Europe; but at present the expense of land-carriage from Tatta deters merchants from following that route. With so many advantages, which only require to be carefully considered and prudently brought about, it may confidently be predicted that in a few years Kurachee will be looked on as one of the most important emporiums of trade in the Indian Ocean.

NARRATIVE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF AN ARMED CONVOY IN THE BAY OF ROSAS.

BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

In the latter part of the month of October, 1809, a squadron consisting of three line-of-battle ships—Le Robuste, of 80 guns, Rear-Admiral Boudin; Le Lion, 74, and Le Borée, 74, and two frigates, with a numerous armed convoy of store-ships and smaller vessels, were dispatched from Toulon for the relief of the French garrison of Barcelona, at this time much distressed for want of necessary supplies. The British fleet was probably supposed by the enemy to be in Port Mahon, its customary harbour station; a look-out frigate or frigates being constantly stationed off Cape Sicie, to watch and report the movement of the Gallic fleet. Nothing was to be seen of our fleet from the signal stations on the French line of coast, and getting out of Toulon, probably in the night, and thus eluding the recognition of the British look-out ships, the above-mentioned squadron and convoy, deeming the coast to be clear, proceeded with imagined security to the westward. In this conclusion they were, however, destined to be deceived, and on arriving off Cape St. Sebastian, on the Spanish coast, with a fair wind to prosecute their onward course, they discovered, to their no very pleasant surprise, to leeward and ahead of them, the fleet of Lord Collingwood, who having received some intimation of an intended movement of the enemy to relieve Barcelona, had here taken up his cruizing ground. They of course immediately hauled their wind, in the endeavour to escape, and were chased to windward by the fast-sailing line-of-battle ships of the British into the Bay of Cette, or, as it is more usually denominated, Gulf of Lyons; and so well were they followed, that two of their line-of-battle ships—Le Robuste and Le Lion—were finally driven on shore in the bottom of the bay, and burnt by their crews to prevent capture. The Borée and a frigate, fired on by the British line-of-battle ship Tigre, succeeded in gaining the port of Cette, but appeared to have grounded in the attempt to enter it. The convoy had dispersed. Several of them were captured by the British frigate Pomone, which being to windward, had been the first to descry and give notice of the enemy steering down. Of the scattered remnant, eleven, including one large frigate-built store-ship, La Lemproie, armed with sixteen 8-pounders, and manned with 116 men, and three other national vessels—La Victoire, Le Grandeur, and La Normande, of from 10 to 14 guns—under favour of thick weather, found their way into the Spanish port of Rosas.

Ere these occurrences had fallen out, the Apollo frigate had been detached from the fleet on a cruise in the Bay of Cette, when it happened that, while yet in total ignorance of the movements of the enemy, at about eleven in the forenoon, of a very hazy day, with a moderate breeze, a ship of the line was announced from the mast-head to be in sight, and in quick succession another and another. The number seen, all of the line, soon amounted to seven. They were standing in-shore, but one of the sternmost tacked and stood towards us, with signals flying, which the prevailing haze hindered us from making out, although well *within* signal distance. We had left the fleet cruising off Cape St.

Sebastian, and had not the remotest suspicion that a strong force of the enemy had passed us in the bay, or that anything could have happened to place the whole or any part of our own fleet in the circumstances of position and locality in which we now encountered the ships in sight; and we therefore entertained no doubt as to their being part of the enemy's fleet, and that probably the haze alone prevented our seeing a larger number, or the whole of their ships. With this impression we made all sail from them to join the fleet off Cape St. Sebastian, with the intelligence we deemed in our possession respecting the enemy. The ship with the signals flying continued for some time to stand towards us, but finding the experiment useless, she again tacked to rejoin her companions. It need scarcely be remarked that we had been led to a conclusion the reverse of the true one—that the ships we had seen were the chacing British, desirous, as we were one of the fastest vessels of the Mediterranean fleet, of our assistance in arresting the progress of the flying French, then in sight of them, and whom they were pursuing in shore. Such are the mischances in war arising from slight incidents. We thus unconsciously proceeded on our way from the scene of action, and reached the fleet about ten o'clock at night, making, as we ran down to them, the night signals announcing the enemy, and causing them to clear for action. On communicating with the Admiral, the mystery was solved, and in another two days Rear-Admiral Martin, with the chasing squadron, returned to the fleet, with the news of the great, although partial, success of their enterprise, in the destruction of the French Rear-Admiral's ship and another of the line, and the varied dispersion of the rest, as above related.

So important a part of the convoy as had succeeded in getting into Rosas, and which doubtless contained a very large proportion of the supplies destined for Barcelona, was not to be neglected. Accordingly, the signal was made for the Tigre, 80, Cumberland, 74, Apollo, 38, Volontaire, 38, Topaze, 36, and Philomel, Scout, and Tuscan brigs, to close round the Admiral, and these vessels being placed under the orders of Capt. Hallowell, of the Tigre, made sail from the fleet, at the close of the day of the 30th October, to effect with all practicable promptitude the destruction of this remaining portion of the enemy. On getting inshore, however, on the succeeding day, the state of the weather,—light airs with some swell,—would have prevented the ships from acting, had this been intended; they were, therefore, anchored in the bay, within sight of the enemy, and about five miles from the port of Rosas, and it was determined that the attack should be made in the night of the 31st, by the boats of the squadron, the squadron itself, with the exception of the brigs,—which were ordered to proceed inshore, to afford any required aid,—remaining at anchor in the position it had taken.

The night was moonless, starless, calm, as we marshalled the boats of the squadron in two compact lines abreast, and on the larboard side of H.M.S. Tigre. There is something inexpressibly grand in the aspect of a large man-of-war when seen at anchor on an open coast in such a night, and on such an occasion. Vast yet compact in her bearing, she lies like a giant on his quiet couch, in the might of silent power, brooding over some fearful deed. The boats completely armed and equipped, and furnished with tar-barrel staves, tarred junk, and

other similarly-prepared combustibles for setting fire to the vessels of the enemy, were formed, as stated, into two divisions, each boat of each division having its painter, or head-rope, made fast to the stern of its next ahead. The first division, destined to attack the largest vessel, a frigate-built ship of 850 tons, was led by the boats of the Tigre; the second, destined to attack the remaining and smaller vessels, ten in number, was led by the boats of the Cumberland. The boats of the Apollo, being next in seniority to those of the Cumberland in this second line, followed next in its order. The scene of this armament, marshalled under the veil of night abreast of the noble ship, was solemn and impressive. Among the gallant spirits who formed the crews,—as usual in such cases, all volunteers,—some were certain to return no more to the noble vessels which constituted their ocean-homes: more would return scathed and wounded from the conflict. But, in the breast of the man-of-war's man, enthusiasm on the prospect of battle is ever found to be the absorbing sentiment. The incidents of strife and struggle, common to the element he contends with, doubtless induce the habit, and with it the delight and gratification, of surmounting danger. He thus imbibes a kind of salt-water instinct in favour of extremes, often exhibited both in peril and in mirth, and courts them with an avidity unknown to a tamer nature or a less venturous existence. He is, moreover, at intervals subjected to a monotony which he longs to vary. Uniformity to him is dulness, from which his spirit rebounds, and loves to break in upon by novelty and incident, either fanciful or stern,—he glories in the grotesque or the fearful, the frolic or the fight*. His hilarity, when once fairly let loose, beggars all other in its extravagant intensity,—his appetite for the conflict is no less engrossing and complete. The character of the man-of-war's man is thus, by habit, allied to the romantic; and it may, perhaps, be further observed, with reference to the present narrative, that there is a certain peculiar and chivalrous character attached to boat expeditions, which, in accordance with the tendency above mentioned, may be considered in the light of an additional stimulus; volunteers being ever readily found to engage in the boldest and most desperate enterprises of this description.

Final instructions were now received, and the divisions slowly proceeded on their way inshore in the Bay of Rosas, and in the direction of the port of Rosas, which may be described as a small bay within the larger one, and on the eastern side of the latter. A death-like calm now reigned over the expanse of water, the dense darkness scarcely permitted vision at a distance of more than a few boats' lengths, and a solemn stillness, unbroken save by the distant murmurs of the slow-heaving swell, as it reached and split upon the small bays and inlets of the coast, and by the hushed and feebly-heard measured stroke of the muffled oar, noiselessly dipping in the passive element, combined to establish a settled and universal repose, and to call up a sentiment of peaceful meditation wholly opposed to our sanguinary errand. Thus silently and slowly the boats plied on in line abreast, that is, in two

* It is recorded by Dr. Lind, in his work on the Diseases of Seamen, that the Mediterranean fleet became sickly, but that all vestige of this sickliness suddenly disappeared under the excitement occasioned by the news that the enemy were at sea.

parallel lines, until, from the length of time which had passed without arriving at our destination, we thought we must have missed the harbour, and fallen upon some other part of the coast in the bay. During this interval we had of necessity conversed but little, and in undertones;—many, and doubtless very various, were the themes of reflection indulged in, such as a similar experience can alone fully convey; but suspense now began to wield her painful sceptre over our cogitations. Should we find the enemy before daylight, and, if not, should we attack them under this disadvantage, or relinquish for another twenty-four hours the enterprise? To the latter alternative there were strong objections. The enemy might, under the apprehension of attack, unload a large part of their stores, which were destined, as we have stated, to relieve the French garrison of Barcelona.

Severe disappointment is at any time a painful sentiment, but in few instances is it more mortifying than in those connected with the baffled projects of war. Self-importance, as well as expectation, falls as from a height,—we feel robbed of the opportunity of a display of our patriotism and self-devotion, and sink on a sudden from the pinnacle of high pretension, and it may be of high feeling, to the level of ordinary thought. In a scene wherein the lowest justly deems himself important,—in which the most ordinary casket may disclose the fairest gem,—we have looked for some distinction, and are foiled by the hand of disappointment.

In this state of things we hove to, and a jolly-boat was dispatched ahead to grope in shore, and having endeavoured to mark the object of our search, return with the news of success or failure. After some considerable interval the messenger returned, and reported that we were not far distant from the enemy, but that he feared that he had himself been discovered by the guard-boat of the latter. We rowed on —our course had been sure though slow—and now lofty spars were seen looming on the curtain of the sky, ere the hulls were visible. At last we were on them. "D'ou venez vouz!" resounded through the port. The business was in hand. In the dead silence of night three deafening *hurrahs* now burst from the boats, which were echoed back with an awful depth and solemnity, and from a great distance from among the lofty hills which encompass the bay, and which recede from the shore far into the interior of the country. The British *hurrah* is a trumpet-tongued sound. When really associated with the grand in action, and not the mere mock thunder of small doings, few things partake more of the sublime than this shout of human defiance from the voice of a multitude. On the present occasion it arose with appalling effect from the robust lungs of the sons of ocean, amid a serenity so deep, so profound, that nature, sueing for repose, seemed to recoil at the shock—the thick darkness itself seemed to be cleft and shaken by the terrific shout. The effect was electric, and gave the enemy fair warning of the nature of the impending fray. La Lemproie now fired her broadside, the shot from which passed over the boats. She was shortly seconded by a fire ope[illegible] the other vessels, from the citadel and Fort Trinidad, a[illegible] [illegible]etry from troops assembled on the beach. The [illegible] this juncture, was lighted up all arou[illegible] flashes from the ships and the shore. [illegible]ess and determination of the oper[illegible]

the attacking party would have appeared already pronounced. The first division of boats, in conformity with its destination, had now attacked La Lemproie, and the fire of small arms from assailants and assailed was seen playing vividly up and down her sides as the boats closed on her. In less than ten minutes she was boarded and carried, and soon after the reddening hue of her port-holes shewed that she was on fire, and that the eager element was hastening from the centre to each extremity of her hull. In effecting the capture of this large vessel the fighting was severe. On the right of La Lemproie, as viewed from the shore, and nearer the citadel, the attack had also been begun. Several boats had rowed alongside and astern of a brig near the citadel, which made a spirited resistance. Great was now the din in this quarter, yet, amid the general noise of the surrounding scene, these partial sounds appeared quelled and subdued. When the attack on this vessel had already commenced, two or three boats came down upon her, firing musketry, to the manifest peril of friend as well as foe. They were of course unaware of the position of the boats that had preceded them. They were hailed to desist from firing, and soon joined their comrades. Between this brig and La Lemproie lay La Normande, mounting ten 4-pounders, and manned with about 50 men. This vessel kept up an animated fire from guns and small arms, and to her, after a short interval, rowed the launch of the Apollo; but ere this was effected, in giving the citadel a return shot from her 32-pounder carronade, our box of combustible tubes (used for priming by insertion in the touch-hole of the gun) was accidentally fired, and the tubes exploding, burnt and skipped about so fiercely as fairly to drive us out of the stern sheets of the boat, and endanger the explosion of our portable magazine, which would have blown us to atoms. We had to reload the carronade, and while thus occupied were saluted specifically by several shot from the broadside of La Normande, who was evidently observing our motions, and on whom as just stated, we had determined to direct our efforts. On closely nearing her we found that she had a boarding netting fixed which it was difficult to penetrate, and observed an individual from one boat, after fruitlessly endeavouring to cut through it, redescend to his boat. We now rowed to a position just abaft her larboard fore chains, and while thus placed, immediately under her gun muzzles, she discharged over us part of her broadside, which, low as she was, could not however be sufficiently depressed. An exchange from small arms now took place through her ports, and we finally brought our 32-pounder to bear in an obliquely raking direction, and discharged it with round and grape, the muzzle almost in contact with her side. This fatal discharge swept her deck, and a shout was heard on board her, whether of surrender we knew not, but we immediately boarded on the bow. By this discharge the Captain of La Normande lost his hand, and on boarding her the crew made no further resistance, but retired below as we advanced along her deck. The dead and wounded were lying about: one of the former was stretched on his belly across the breech of a gun at one of the ports where we had laid her aboard. The wounded were assisted below. Our boat had been the first to succeed in boarding this vessel, which had kept up a vigorous and determined resistance, firing on the previously captured vessels. Being now aided by other boats, we resolved

to tow out the capture, and accordingly commenced this tedious operation under a galling fire of round and grape from two heavy guns of the citadel, which were discharged alternately at us and at some other boats engaged in towing out the brig above alluded to, which had also been captured. This brig had been perceived by us to be fast by a rope from her masthead to the shore, and we had hailed the captors to acquaint them with this circumstance, as we observed them towing in vain, and in ignorance of it.

Four of the captured vessels were about this period being towed out, and the harbour was now, in so dark a night, fearfully gleaming with the conflagration of the remaining seven. La Lemproie was blazing fore and aft, and from the main-deck to each masthead, while the flames ran along her yards to the extremity of each yard-arm; the conflagration, from the calm that reigned, rising perpendicularly, and presenting a regular and symmetrical outline. Sheets of vivid light from the burning vessels were thrown across the dark surface of the water, which, smooth as a polished mirror, reflected faithfully, when thus illumined, the play of the flames, and figures of boats and men, plying across the scene, were at intervals, by a stream of light, thrown out in strong and gigantic relief over the gleaming tide,—the men appearing the demons of the spectacle. The flaming masts of La Lemproie at last fell in succession over the side, her fore-yard having previously fallen square, and with an almost graceful descent, as if it had been lowered. She finally blew up with an explosion, that in one vast sheet of reddish light, accompanied by a loud but hollow and sepulchral shock, grasped the entire breadth of the harbour, and was distinctly observed by the main body of the fleet at a distance of twenty miles or more, in the offing*. Vast fragments of her timbers and scantling were driven upward with amazing force into the dark sky, in the condition of burning brands, which at last hovered and lingered in their aërial elevation like winged and animated things, until they again, at first slowly, and, as it were, reluctantly, descended to quench themselves in the liquid element beneath. The other six vessels also blew up in succession.

The illumination caused by the burning vessels, had latterly enabled the enemy distinctly to mark our movements, and direct their fire with considerable precision; and the boats were in turn so well covered with grape, that the oar blades were cut by the shot.

We gave way heartily at the oars. At last a light air sprang up off shore, which materially helped us, and by the aid of which, had it occurred a little sooner, the whole of the captured vessels might have been brought off. Trinity Castle, celebrated for its defence by Lord Cochrane, fired at us the last in our retreat, and struck the brig before-mentioned; but these distant salutes were felt by us in the light of parting compliments, which we scarcely cared to decline. Our object had been attained, and we were now close to the brigs of our squadron, which we before observed, had been stationed inshore to cover our retreat, and afford us any necessary assistance.

The morning had dawned, dim, grey, and serene, and with little of the cheerful presence of the sun, but mild and temperate, and clear enough

* This vessel was reported to have had on board 400 barrels of gunpowder.

[illegible]. The port which on the previous [illegible] of eleven armed vessels safely [illegible] now [illegible] naked, empty, and [illegible] in it. They had been [illegible] cleared for quarters, and prepared [illegible] reaching them had [illegible] occasioned [illegible] not take place at so late an hour in the [illegible] an hour of morning, as that of between

[illegible] though sufficiently severe, was much under [illegible] expected from the well sustained fire of the [illegible] consisted of sixteen killed, and fifty-four [illegible] contributed mainly to this result. The [illegible] to be far greater, but most of the crews, [illegible] having been sent ashore in their captured boats, [illegible]ned.

[illegible]OTES AND SKETCHES OF CHARACTER.

[illegible] NANT-COLONEL WILKIE.

[illegible] Oriental affairs have created in England for [illegible] notorious. Goldsmith has [illegible] sort [illegible] by putting into the mouth of [illegible] of his [illegible] "That he cared no more for Ali Cawn [illegible] this sort of feeling was probably vertici- [illegible] for many years attended the representation [illegible] Recent transactions, more particularly [illegible] Mahratta, have of late drawn more attention [illegible] difficult to foresee that coming events will [illegible] The general nature of the [illegible] are now well understood; and a better [illegible] it will be acquired. This [illegible] may be shown in the late affairs [illegible] Mahrattas seems to have been [illegible] this occasion shown that their [illegible] good [illegible] their usual pursuits; they [illegible] general the trammels of [illegible] —their courage and enter- [illegible] appreciated. That [illegible] as well as execute [illegible] many years since, may

[illegible] and their ally Chundah [illegible] 1770, their united [illegible] Trichinopoly, having a [illegible] A Mahratta Chieftain, [illegible] French dragoons were [illegible] imagined the plan [illegible] communicated his plan [illegible] and the following

morning, before daylight, a party of Europeans were sent out to conceal themselves in a deep watercourse, within four hundred yards of the French Rock above mentioned; while Innis Khan, with three hundred of his horsemen, marched out on the west side of the town, and taking a large circuit, posted his men in a deep nullah, or watercourse, with many of which the plain of Trichinopoly is intersected, where, when dismounted, they could not be seen either from the town or French Rock. Everything remained quiet till noon, when forty of the best-mounted Mahrattas issued from their concealment, keeping out of cannon-shot of the French Rock, to the eastward of it, and then galloped directly, sword in hand, on the enemy's camp, where they made no small confusion by cutting down or driving in all the foragers, quite up to the tents. This provoking the French, sixty dragoons sallied forth, followed slowly by Chundah Sahib's horse, to the number of four hundred. The Mahrattas retreated leisurely before them, at the distance of musket-shot, and thus led them as far as the French Rock, where M. Pischard, a brave officer, exasperated at this bravado, formed his troop, and leaving the native cavalry behind him, galloped after the Mahrattas, who now flew before them until they had led them insensibly out of the range of the French artillery on the rock, and beyond their own party in ambuscade; when these, mounting in an instant, sallied from the hollow way and charged the dragoons impetuously in the rear, whilst the flying party, wheeling round, attacked them with equal fury in front. The action was over in a moment; the French had only time to discharge a few pistols, and were cut to pieces, with the exception of ten, who had not been able to keep up with the rest. The cavalry of Chundah Sahib, either from cowardice or suspicion of stratagem, never stirred from the rock; but the officer who commanded that post detached one hundred men, to endeavour to save his friends. Lieut. Trusler, posted in the nullah opposite the rock, seeing them march, and not knowing the success of the Mahrattas, moved out his company to force them to retreat, who, finding all already lost on the plain, returned in haste, and saved the rock, which Trusler was on the point of seizing.

The military operations and adventures of Clive in India may be called the romance of history, more particularly during the war in the Carnatic, and before that celebrated man removed the scene of his exploits to Bengal. It would be difficult to say which of these reflected most credit on that gallant officer; but I may be allowed to select an instance that will show his presence of mind, and it further deserves notice as being dissimilar to anything recorded in military annals, or that may hereafter occur. Although not partaking of the nature of a farce, it might well have been denominated the "Mistakes of a Night." It will appear, also, that desertion to the enemy was more common in our service then than latterly. The affair took place in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene described in the last anecdote.

The British force under Major Lawrence had its head-quarters at Trichinopoly. The French, commanded by M. Law, were posted at Seringham, to the north of the river Coleroon, which, flowing past Trichinopoly on its right bank, falls into the sea at Devi Cotta. It was suggested to Major Lawrence, by Capt. Clive, that it would be a most

desirable object to cut off the communication between Seringham and Pondicherry. The Major, who at all times cherished the rising military talents of his young friend, readily fell into his views, but the difficulty was, how could it be accomplished, seeing that Clive, to whom he wished to entrust it, was the junior Captain of the army. This objection was, however, overruled by the native allies, who refused to give their contingent to the enterprise unless it was commanded by the defender of Arcot. The force placed under Clive,—a pretty tolerable command, by the way, for a young Captain,—consisted of 400 Europeans, 700 Sepoys, 3000 Mahrattas, and 1000 Tanjore horse, with eight pieces of artillery, two of which were battering guns. With this force Capt. Clive marched from Trichinopoly on the morning of the 6th April, 1752, and crossing the Coleroon before daylight, threw himself directly on the French communication, and took a position at the pagoda of Samiaveram, which lies seven miles north of the river, between Seringham and Uttatore, on the high road to Pondicherry. Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry, being dissatisfied with the inactivity of Law at Seringham, sent M. D'Autueil to supersede him, accompanied by 700 men.

As it was of the greatest consequence to intercept this detachment, which it was understood meant to try to form a junction with Law by a circuitous route, Clive no sooner learned that they had left Uttatore than he marched out to meet them, leaving only a few troops to guard his post, which he had strengthened and fortified. D'Autueil, alarmed at his approach, fell back on Uttatore, and Clive immediately returned to his position at Samiaveram. Law, who had heard of his departure, and was not aware of his return, hoped to carry the post by a *coup de main*, and detached eighty Europeans, forty of whom were English deserters, and seven hundred sepoys, for that purpose. The officer who commanded the detachment was met by a spy, who informed him of the return of the British troops; but this was supposed to be a treacherous report, and the French detachment continued its march. Its advance was challenged by the English sepoys, and was answered by an Irish officer who commanded the deserters, that it was a detachment sent by Major Lawrence to reinforce Capt. Clive; the deserters speaking English, confirmed the story so strongly, that the sepoys never thought it necessary to ask for the countersign, but sent one of the guard to conduct the detachment of the enemy to head-quarters. They continued their route through a part of the Mahratta camp without molestation, until they arrived in front of the lesser pagoda, and close to the neighbouring Choultry, where Capt. Clive lay asleep; the sentries from both these places challenged, but the only answer was a volley into each, and rushing into the pagoda, the enemy put to the sword all they met with. Clive started up, but as he never could imagine that an enemy could have found the way unmolested to the centre of his camp, he imputed the firing to some alarm of the sepoys. He, however, started off directly to the upper pagoda, where his European soldiers were stationed, who had taken the alarm, and were under arms; with two hundred of these he returned directly to the Choultry, where he saw a large body of sepoys drawn out and firing at random. As they faced towards the enemy's encampment, he naturally supposed that they were his own people who had taken some foolish alarm;

drawing up his Europeans within a few yards of their rear, he then went in alone amongst them, ordering them to cease firing, and upbraiding them with their panic. One of them discovering he was an Englishman, attacked and wounded him in two places with his sword, but getting the worst of it, ran off to the lower pagoda. Clive, enraged at this attack from a man he imagined in his own service, followed him to the gate, where, to his astonishment, he was accosted by six Frenchmen. In a moment the whole truth flashed on him; but with presence of mind rarely equalled, he told the French, with great coolness, that he came to offer them terms. The firmness with which he spoke, made such an impression, that three of the French ran into the pagoda with the intelligence, and the other three surrendered to Capt. Clive, who led them to the Choultry, when he hastened to join his Europeans, and attack the sepoys, who he was now aware were enemies; but they, in the meantime, having discovered the scrape they had got into, marched off in presence of these Europeans, who supposing them to have received orders from Capt. Clive, and having no suspicion of their being enemies, offered them no molestation. The English troops had all now assembled, and Capt. Clive imagining that such a desperate attack could not have been made unless supported by the enemy's whole force, resolved to storm the pagoda before assistance could arrive. One of the two folding-doors of the gateway had been taken down to be repaired, but the other was strongly stapled down, so that the entrance would only admit two men abreast. The attack was made with great resolution, but the deserters within, who fought "with a rope round their neck," killed an officer and fifteen men, and the attack was discontinued until daylight, at which time the French commanding officer, seeing the danger of his situation, sallied forth at the head of his men, but was received with so heavy a fire, that he and twelve others were killed, when the rest ran back to the pagoda. Capt. Clive then advanced to the pagoda to parley with the enemy; he had his back to the wall of the porch, but being faint from loss of blood and fatigue, he leaned forward, supported by two Serjeants, who stood thus in a sidelong position. The officer who commanded the deserters before alluded to, came forward, and abusing Capt. Clive in the grossest manner, fired his musket at him, the ball missed him, but killed both the Serjeants. The Frenchmen had hitherto defended the pagoda for the sake of the English deserters, but wishing to disavow this treacherous act, the officer who commanded surrendered immediately. Meanwhile the retreating body of the enemy's sepoys had marched out of the camp with as little molestation as when they entered it; but Innis Khan, the Mahratta chief noticed in the preceding anecdote, having been put on the scent, overtook them at daybreak on the open plain, and before they could reach the banks of the river. This was exactly the sort of fun in which the Mahrattas delighted; the sepoys threw away their arms, and dispersed in all directions, but were so eagerly hunted down, that not one of the seven hundred escaped to tell the tale.

While people are hunting up all sorts of fictitious narratives to furnish forth melo-dramas, it is singular that this real story should have escaped them. I recommend it to the notice of the new proprietor of Astley's.

[illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] two other [illegible] arranged. Du Rel[illegible] [illegible]arfs, the distinguish[illegible] [illegible] where the Corporal [illegible] [illegible] their own party, w[illegible] [illegible] time to fall on. D[illegible] [illegible] gate, got possess[illegible] [illegible] the town, being [illegible] Biron.

[illegible] birth-place of [illegible] [illegible]rkable for the restless [illegible] [illegible] has produced [illegible] [illegible]ances which [illegible] [illegible]ment to the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] of the French [illegible] was [illegible] M. de [illegible] of [illegible] M. [illegible] the [illegible] who [illegible] they [illegible] and [illegible] counterscarp [illegible] considerable

depth, but in one place it diminished to six feet, and a little further on was not above four. He also ascertained that the scarp was fraised and palisadoed, and the post defended by several pieces of cannon; it had been previously known that the usual garrison consisted of three officers and fifty men. On returning to make his report, he tied his cockade to some reeds opposite to the place where the water was only four feet in depth, and on his way back, dropped his coat to guide him when he should return to attack the post. When he reported his discoveries to M. Lautrec, on his return to the trenches, that officer gave him forty chosen men for the purpose, and to aid the enterprise, he detached M. de la Morliere, Captain of Grenadiers, to the opposite side of the redoubt, who, by drawing the fire of the garrison in that direction, would favour the real attack. When M. de Roche Fermoy got within a short distance of the foot of the glacis, he made his men lie down close, and wait for the signal, which was given an hour before daylight. When this officer, passing rapidly over the glacis, arrived at the counterscarp, he made his men put their cartridge-boxes on their heads, to keep them dry, and then descended into the ditch. Being provided with axes, they cut away as many of the fraises and palisades as left a clear passage, scrambled over the parapet, and attacked the enemy with fixed bayonets, who, being surprised by such an unexpected visit, sought safety in flight; but a part of the assailants interposing between them and the town, drew up the drawbridge, and the garrison was forced to surrender at discretion.

Presence of mind and decision are of the greatest value to every officer, but more especially to those of light cavalry, as the following instance may prove. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who was one of the most active Generals of his time, took a fancy for beating up the French quarters in the month of February, 1761. He took several prisoners, and forced the enemy to retire a great way and in some confusion before they could collect their force. When that was effected, however, they recoiled, and became in turn the assailants. Sir William Erskine, who commanded the 15th British Light Dragoons, which was so often distinguished during these campaigns, was stationed in a village in front of the army; on a very foggy morning, soon after the patroles had reported that everything was quiet in front, Sir William was alarmed by his videttes reporting that they had seen a large body of cavalry marching to surprise him. He instantly mounted his horse, and rode out at the head of the picket of fifty men, leaving orders for his regiment to follow as fast as they could mount, without sound of trumpet or any other noise. He immediately began a skirmish with the advanced guard of the enemy, while his men were joining him by tens and twenties, whilst the French were preparing to receive an attack. When he had got his whole regiment collected thus, he began his retreat leisurely; the Surgeon of the regiment, Mr. Elliott, having in the mean time retired with the baggage.

Few fortresses have gained so much renown as the Castle of St. Angelo, which, projecting on a tongue of land in the centre of the harbour of Malta, completely commands its entrance; it is generally the station of two companies of Infantry, and the head-quarters of the Artillery on the Burmola side of the harbour. Some time after

place fell into our hands, this castle afforded shelter to Major Sproule, the senior officer of Artillery. The soldiers' barracks, although confined, are constructed with some degree of regularity; but the officers' quarters are, or at least were, at the time I speak of, like the cells of a beehive, without their regularity, and stuck together after the manner when a man endeavours to transform a farm-house into a gentleman's mansion. Among this nest of rooms the Major had chosen for his sitting apartment near the top of the fort one where the floor was sunk two feet below the level of the passage, and into which you descended by a couple of steps. The weather at Malta, at the end of February, is cold and boisterous, and the great gun thought a fire would be a pleasant addition to his comforts; he had bought an English grate, and some coals, nothing was wanting but a chimney in the sunken room alluded to; this was soon constructed by a mason of the Artillery—the grate fitted, and all looked very neat. On the day that it was finished, the Major was engaged to dine and sleep at Valetta, but he directed his servant to have the fire lighted when he returned to his breakfast the next morning. The night proved very tempestuous, with a deluge of rain, and a stream of water, projected from the rampart above, pitched right on the mouth of the chimney, and filled the room below.

The servant would have baled out the water, having removed all the articles of furniture, except a large barrack table; but this was prevented by a Mr. Beetinson, an officer of the 35th, quartered there, who was a bit of a wag, and intended to draw some fun out of this watery visitation. He watched the Major crossing over in a boat from Valetta, wrapped up in coats, with an umbrella over his head, from which he peeped occasionally to see if he could catch a glimpse of the smoke of his pet chimney. After landing, he hurried up the steep ascent of the castle, figuring to himself his breakfast-table laid out near a comfortable fire. On opening his door, however, a very different object presented itself—Beetinson sitting on the table, the bottom of his trowsers rolled up, without shoes or stockings, what appeared a fishing-rod and line in his hand, and surrounded by water: as the Commandant started back at this unexpected sight, the fisherman called out, "Hush, hush! I have just got a glorious bite."

General Villettes, who commanded for some time in Malta, was a man of small and delicate figure, but the most critically-correct military dressed person I ever saw; like others of French extraction, who sometimes use female Christian names, the General's were William Anne Villettes. When he appeared on the parade at guard-mounting, the very beau ideal of a smart-dressed soldier, the youths used to whisper, "Here comes Nancy out of her bandbox."

Although precise in his attire the General was very easy and gentlemanlike in his manners, kind and hospitable. When at the peace of Amiens, Mr. Addington smashed, with such precipitation, the battalions which, six months afterwards, he would have given his eyes for, General Villettes invited all the officers liable to reduction to dine with him, dividing them into two divisions; as they were talking over their melancholy prospects, he said, "Gentlemen, I think I shall be worse off than any of you; at present I am the Commandant here, and Colonel of a regiment, (one of the Greek corps,) and I shall be reduced on ten

shillings a day." This was of course previous to the pay of General officers being put on a regular footing.

I have related, previously, the circumstance of an officer entrapping the judge advocate to let out the opinion of a court-martial; he was a funny fellow that same Mr. Mansergh, and a great lover of practical jokes. There is a stone seat runs along in front of the Palace at Malta, which, being sheltered from the sun in the early part of the day, is a great lounge after guard-mounting, where all sorts of yarns used to be spun, and quizzical stories invented. Mansergh was a constant visitor here. The Maltese lawyers employed about the courts have a regular sort of costume, generally of black silk, with shoes and buckles, and depending from each shoulder a black band, something like a lady's lappet, that denotes their profession; they are also armed with a silk cocked hat, which they usually carry in their hands. Whenever Mansergh would see one of these figures marching solemnly up the *Strada reale*, he would look out on the bench above-mentioned for some young officer just come to the garrison, to whom he would go up, and taking him by the arm would say, "I am going to introduce you to one of the most distinguished men of the island, Signor Pisani," or any name that came uppermost, and lead the youth to encounter the lawyer, to whom he generally addressed himself in Italian, and begged to introduce Mr. Thomson or Mr. Johnson; and when he had fairly set the two to bowing he would slip off and leave them in astonishment and confusion, as neither could ask the other what all this meant for want of language.

He was quartered some years afterwards at Tullamore, in Ireland, with the second battalion of the 30th. They were, as usual, at mess, canvassing the characters of the natives, when mention was made of a quaker whose name I forget, but who had the reputation of being very rich and possessing an excellent cellar of wine, but that he had never been known to entertain a guest. "Oh!" said Mansergh, "that's just the sort of man I should like to dine with;" he was told that was nearly impossible, the man of drab was impregnable; "Never mind," replied he, "about his being inaccessible, I will bet a rump and dozen I dine with him and drink some of his claret;" the bet was taken and booked. The next day, Mansergh, taking off his sash and sword-belt, and putting on a round hat, ran up to the quaker's door, about a quarter an hour before the usual time of dinner; he knocked loudly at the door, which was opened by a servant maid; "Pray, my good girl, allow me just to stand behind your door for a few minutes, till the General leaves the street; if he sees me in this dress, he will be dreadfully angry." "By all means, Sir, pray walk in;" so he did, and the door was shut after him. This might be called making a lodgment in the Ravelin.

The quaker hearing the noise in the passage went out of his dining-room where he usually sate, and was rather surprised to see an officer in the hall; the story was repeated, and the stranger was invited to walk in and sit down; here he found the lady of the house seated with some of her children. M. immediately found the way to the heart of the quakeress, by praising the children and beginning to play with them; he likewise distributed among them some sweetmeats,

which he said he had bought for his own children. While this was passing the maid came in to lay the cloth, which seemed to increase the visitor's uneasiness; he kept poking his head at the windows, saying, that the General, he believed, would never go, that being his near relation, any irregularity on his part would be much more noticed than if it occurred with a stranger, begging all the while the host and his wife to excuse the intrusion; at length the former said, "he was sorry that the gentleman felt so unpleasant, but he hoped he would not think it any intrusion; that as they were just going to dinner, perhaps he would take pot luck; before it was finished, his relation would probably leave the street; this was accepted with feigned reluctance and a thousand apologies; the joint came in, and the trio sate down, the hero of the story pretty certain of winning his bet. There was some good ale at dinner, but no wine; when the repast concluded, the man in drab asked the man in scarlet what he would like to drink? adding, that he generally took a little warm whiskey and water himself, to which his guest replied, that there was nothing he was more partial to than whiskey, but that his medical adviser had strictly forbidden him the use of it, owing to a complaint to which he was subject, and would not allow him to drink anything but claret. Although somewhat startled at the nature of the prescription, the host, "on civil thoughts intent," was not inclined to challenge its merits, but descended to his cellar and brought up a fine ancient-looking bottle, the contents of which the visitor declared to be excellent, and insisted on the hostess taking a glass; he went on chatting in his most agreeable manner, and telling wonderful stories of what he had seen, until the landlord's heart was so opened, that he actually produced a second bottle; at the conclusion of this, the guest saw that he had got to the end of the tether; after ascertaining that the street was clear of General Officers, he took his leave of his entertainer, who seemed much pleased with his acquaintance; his sentiments on that head probably altered in a few days afterwards, when the whole story got wind.

There is a neat little theatre at Gibraltar where the officers used sometimes to get up amateur plays; at one of these exhibitions was present the master of a merchant-ship lying in the bay; after looking about him for some time, he began to spell the motto over the drop-scene, *Canendo, ridendo, corrigo Mores.* "Pray, Sir," said he to an officer of engineers who sate next him, "what is the meaning of those words?" The reply was, "Oh! they mean, by caning and riding, we correct the Moors." "And a very sensible saying it is," was the rejoinder, "as I never saw a lazier or more indolent-looking set of rascals than the Moors that you meet in the streets at every turn, and I should like to give them a caning myself."

When Malta surrendered to the blockading force in September, 1800, the peasants who had got admittance to the Floriana, began to plunder some of the houses from which the inhabitants had fled—an Irish friend said to me, "What a shame it is that the Maltese should be allowed to go into the empty houses and take away the furniture."

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF MILITARY PUNISHMENTS, IN AS FAR AS REGARDS NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND PRIVATE SOLDIERS.

BY HENRY MARSHALL, DEPUTY-INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF ARMY HOSPITALS.

As a useful hint to young Medical Officers, I have subjoined in detail an instructive case, copied from Dr. Bell's work on the diseases among soldiers in the West Indies.

"A private soldier in the 5th Regt. had been repeatedly sentenced by a court-martial to be punished for theft; but the punishment of flogging had always been changed for that of confinement, as, on the instant he was brought to the halberts he was attacked with convulsions; and the medical gentleman who attended, thinking it not proper that in those circumstances the punishment should be inflicted, the man was released."

He was again convicted of stealing, and again he was sentenced to be flogged. At this time Dr. Bell attended his punishment.

"These convulsive fits," says Dr. Bell, "were either feigned or real; but in either case it was deemed proper that the punishment should go on. If they were feigned, the pain of the flogging would soon put an end to every exertion of artifice; and, if they were real, it appeared probable that severe pain, to which he had not been accustomed, and the operation of terror on his mind, at the time the fit was approaching, might prevent the attack, and, by breaking the habit, might prove a useful remedy. I never had seen him in any of these fits; but I was informed that he was frequently attacked by them when guilty of any irregularity, and consequently was sent to the hospital instead of the guard-house. On the morning of his punishment I informed him, in presence of the Serjeant of the hospital, and of another person, that the Commanding Officer was determined to inflict every lash, although death should be the consequence, and that I would on no account interfere in having him taken down. He was told, that if he *dared* to fall into fits, the Serjeant and my servant had orders to burn him to the bone with red-hot irons, which they kept ready heated for the purpose in the mess-kitchen, at the door of which he was punished. While the drummers were tying him to the halberts I placed myself opposite to him, and his eyes were steadily fixed on mine. His countenance was marked with the strongest symptoms of terror, which was not lessened by turning his head towards the door of the kitchen, where he saw a person prepared, as he thought, for the purpose of which he had been informed. He firmly believed that what had been threatened would be executed. The punishment went on,—the pain it occasioned was almost forgot in his apprehension of that which he more dreaded. He received 300 lashes; and while I remained in the regiment I never heard of his being attacked with any convulsive disorder, nor of his being tried by a court-martial for his old crime."

Dr. Bell leaves the nature of the case still doubtful, and concludes with the following expression,—"Whether the fits were real or feigned, impressing the mind with terror produced the effect that was desired."

The following case was obviously feigned:—A soldier belonging to the — Regiment was brought to the halberts to receive punishment. He became apparently convulsed; and the medical officer, believing he had been attacked with epilepsy, recommended that he should be taken down. He was again brought out for punishment, when his frame became greatly agitated, which gave rise to a belief that he again suffered under an epileptic paroxysm. A third time he was brought to the halberts, when convulsions came on. The medical officer, presuming

that the symptoms of epilepsy were occasioned by fear, was proceeding to the Commanding Officer, for the purpose of stating that the man was unfit to receive punishment, when, by accident, he happened to look behind him, and saw the eye of the delinquent watching his motions. This circumstance convinced the medical officer that the symptoms were feigned, and the delinquent received his punishment without further delay.

Pain, but especially pain which is inflicted or imposed as a chastisement, frequently excites fainting, or *deliquium animi;* and when this takes place it becomes highly expedient to arrest the infliction of punishment. When syncope, or fainting, occurs during a surgical operation, I believe it is the ordinary usage of surgeons to cease operating until the patient is restored. But a man under punishment is liable to a partial *deliquium animi*, or fainting, during which it has been recommended, (and it is, I suppose, usual,) to permit the punishment to go on during some seconds of impaired sensibility. In the slighter cases, therefore, of *deliquium* the punishment need not be interrupted; indeed, the stimulus of flagellation frequently restores the sufferer to himself. If, on the other hand, the deliquium continues, and a man cannot be roused in a few seconds, if he perspires much, and if the pulse at the temporal artery becomes weak, or scarcely perceptible, he should be forthwith taken down.

I never considered it expedient to examine the irritability of the iris, as is sometimes recommended in doubtful cases, being always satisfied with the conclusions which might be drawn from the above symptoms. Should a man recover instantly, the medical officer is sometimes supposed to have been unnecessarily cautious,—imposed upon, in fact. This conclusion he may occasionally expect, but not often; for to witness the flogging of a man is, I believe, in general very painful both to officers and men,—the infliction of bodily pain, as a punishment, under whatever name the operation may be executed, having very much the appearance of torture,—consequently, officers in general are pleased to see the infliction brought to a conclusion. Some officers, who in the exercise of their duty are obliged to attend punishment parades, frequently turn their eyes from the sufferer, and obviously show, by their looks and gestures, that they are disgusted with the exhibition. In complete fainting the delinquent becomes unable to stand erect, the muscles of his limbs lose their power, and he hangs by the hands from the top of the triangles.

It need hardly be observed, that as long as a man exclaims and shrinks from the lash, a medical officer may be satisfied that there is not much tendency to fainting.

So long as it was customary to inflict second punishments medical officers were, from motives of humanity, much disposed to allow a man to receive the whole of the punishment which the court-martial had adjudged at once, or, at any rate, as much as he was able to bear, in the hope that the remainder would be remitted. Soldiers who received to the extent of two-thirds of the sentence awarded were seldom "brought out" to receive the remainder. The sentence was, however, not always remitted, it was allowed to *hang over* them, so as that the Commanding Officer might inflict the balance due when it pleased him to do so. Dr. Hamilton has very graphically described the cruel consequences of second punishments.

"Let us suppose," says he, "that a man is taken down at the end of 250 or 300 lashes, and that his sentence was 1000, all of which he must receive, whether at two, three, or more times, before he is released from confinement. Let us suppose he is conveyed either to the guard-house or hospital, is daily dressed till the wounds are healed, and a new cuticle formed, which may be in a month or five weeks. He is now become able to wear his clothes, yet perhaps scarcely able to suffer the weight and friction of his cross-belts, or the pressure of his haversack,—the parts are as yet red and tender; notwithstanding, he is ordered a second time to the halberts, and at the end of 200 or 300 more is a second time taken down, cured as before, a third time brought there, and so on till the whole judgment be inflicted."

An elaborate expounder of martial law and military usages expresses himself as follows in regard to second punishments under one and the same sentence:—

"Every Commanding Officer," says Major James, author of a Military Dictionary, and several other military works, "has a discretionary power vested in him to remit the whole or part of the punishment which may have been awarded against a non-commissioned officer or private soldier by the sentence of a regimental court-martial. But no such power is vested in him when the King's approbation (and I presume I may add that of his authorised representative) has sanctioned the execution of any sentence given by a general court-martial."

"However the culprit may suffer on such an occasion, or have his punishment discontinued through the report of the Surgeon, he must again be brought out to receive the remainder of the lashes; and, should he expire before the *bona fide* complement of the sentence, it must be consummated upon his lifeless and mutilated carcase."

"We cannot omit," says our author, "mentioning in this place that the instant a military culprit receives a lash the Surgeon becomes responsible for his life."—*Regimental Companion*, vol. ii., 466. Seventh Edition, London, 1811.

I remember attending the punishment of a man belonging to the — Regiment, in 1808, who had been tried by a court-martial, and convicted, in consequence of having a small piece of black muslin spread over the ball of the left eye and under the eye-lid. He had previously lost the sight of his right eye. He was sentenced to receive 1000 lashes in the usual manner, and at such *time* or *times* as the Commanding Officer might direct. He was taken down upon having received about 250 lashes. After being cured he was again brought out to receive the remainder of his sentence. The first few lashes tore open the newly-cicatrized skin, so much that his back became instantly covered with blood, which flowed downwards under his clothes. He was taken down before he received forty lashes. The second punishment was a most painful one to all who witnessed it; and I believe the disgusting exhibition was not in his case repeated.

The infliction of pain, without long disabling a man for duty, or endangering his life, being the immediate object of flogging, I am disposed to ask whether that intention would not be amply attained by employing a cat with one tail instead of one with nine tails. The pain inflicted by one cord would be severe enough, perhaps nearly as severe at the moment as with nine cords, while the ultimate injury and danger would be much less.

Dr. Hamilton gives the following account of a case of second punishment, similar to the one above mentioned, which came under my own notice:—

"Hall," says he, "was sentenced to receive 500 lashes for housebreaking; he got 400 of them before he was taken down: and in the space of six weeks was judged able to sustain the remainder of his punishment, as his back was entirely skinned over. The first 25 lashes of the second punishment tore the young flesh more than the former 400, the blood pouring at the same time in streams. By the time he got 75 his back was ten times more cut by the *cats* than with his former 400,—so that it was thought prudent to remit the remaining 25, and take him down. Hall declared that his first punishment was trifling to what he suffered by the second. Other examples might be added," says Dr. Hamilton, "but to multiply cases of this kind is disagreeable."

Some men suffer much more than others from the same amount of punishment, more especially persons of a sanguine temperament, with red or fair hair, and a tall slender frame of body.

"Edwards, in the end of 1781, was sentenced to receive 50 lashes. He had got drunk, and otherwise misbehaved. In the Army this number is accounted next to nothing. So much, however, did this small punishment affect him, that, notwithstanding every degree of attention to his case, it was upwards of three months before he could bear his cross-belts, or even move his arms to work. Perhaps 50 more would have placed his life in most imminent danger. He was of a thin, tall, genteel shape,—his hair black but soft, woolly, and thin on his head, with a skin remarkably white and smooth.—*Hamilton*, vol. ii., 40.

The effects of flogging are so different in individuals, that, although every attention is paid to the probable strength and constitution of soldiers by medical officers, untoward symptoms will sometimes follow.

"Henley, for desertion, received 200 lashes only; acute inflammation followed, and the back sloughed. When the wounds were cleaned, and the sloughed integuments removed, the back-bone and part of the shoulder-bone were laid bare. I never had seen so much of the muscular parts destroyed in any case from punishment before. * * * * * * It was upwards of seven months before he was so far recovered as to be able to do his duty."—*Hamilton*, vol. ii., 44.

In 1806, I recollect having two similar cases of sloughing from punishment to dress; they having occurred in the regiment to which I belonged. One man died, the whole of the muscles of the back having sloughed, and the other was never fit for duty, and required to be invalided.

Hamilton mentions the case of a man who died at the halberts. "Lately, in England, not far from the metropolis," says the authority he quotes, "a soldier received 400 lashes; he scorned to flinch for some time, till by a repetition of stripes he groaned and died." Fever and sloughing of the back are the consequences of flogging which are most to be dreaded. Junius, in a note to his celebrated Letter to the King, (15th Nov., 1769,) shows the partiality which is exercised in favour of the Guards, in strong terms, and then observes as follows:—"So much for the officers. The private men have four-pence a-day to subsist on, and five hundred lashes if they desert. *Under this punishment they frequently expired.*"

With the view of demonstrating to medical officers of the Army the great necessity of their being extremely discreet and cautious in the discharge of a most painful and unpleasant part of their duty—namely, their attendance at punishments, Staff-Surgeon Burmester published, in 1807, (Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal,) the case of a man who died in consequence of what was considered a mild punishment.

The man in question was stout and healthy, twenty-eight years of age, subject to no constitutional disease, and who, for a considerable length of time previous to his punishment, had enjoyed perfect health. He was sentenced by a court-martial to receive 800 lashes, and received 250, which he bore with a manly resolution, and was taken down, the remainder of the sentence being remitted by the Commanding Officer,—not, however, from any appearance that he could not have borne a considerable number more without incurring the smallest danger.

Fever appeared on the second day after the punishment, which was followed by inflammation and sloughing of the back. On the twentieth day from his punishment, there was scarcely an inch from his neck to his loins free from disease. He continued to languish until twenty-four days from the time of his punishment, when he expired. This case happened in the Mediterranean; and other men who were punished at the same time, and to a more considerable extent, recovered in the ordinary time. The unhappy result of this man's case could not, in Mr. Burmester's opinion, be in any material degree attributed to an unhealthy climate.

In such a punishment as flogging, accident will be sure to assist the intrinsic rigour of the system, oversight will conspire with design, and congenial circumstances will develope strict discipline into cruelty. Startling results serve to arrest the attention, and prove the general character of corporal punishment as a means of enforcing discipline.

It may be observed, that in practice the attendance of a medical officer at a punishment parade is more calculated to prevent a man from escaping the amount of infliction to which he has been sentenced, than to meliorate and reduce the severity of punishment. His professional knowledge is employed to detect whatever latent principle of life a man possesses, which may enable him to undergo the sentence awarded. It has been stated to be "less necessary to dwell upon motives of humanity and discretion, than to caution military surgeons against attempts which are sometimes made to deceive them by soldiers feigning complaints to evade punishment, and feigning syncope or fits during its infliction;—to caution them also against any untimely or undue interference with the discipline of the Service, or any vain parade of authority in the only case in which their authority can be considered as at all paramount to that of the Commanding Officer."

I may here observe, that the authority of a medical officer is on no occasion paramount to that of a Commanding Officer; he has, in fact, no military authority whatever. Medical officers are, in regard to choice of quarters, to be classed with other ranks; but this *indulgence* is not to give them any claim to exercise command.

Dr. Hamilton informs us, that he had seen several cases of partial or temporary loss of power of one or both arms, resulting from flogging. I have met with only one case of this kind,—the right arm having become paralytic, on which account the man was discharged.

When an unusual degree of tumefaction of the back takes place during punishment, a delinquent should be taken down, as this symptom is frequently followed by long protracted disease.

Bombadier Alexander incidentally mentions a case of this kind in his Memoirs.

"In 1803, at Chatham, a private of the 9th Regiment having been found asleep on his post, was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be flogged. The soldier was a fine-looking lad, and bore an excellent character in his regiment. The officers were much interested in his behalf, and it was said they endeavoured to prevail upon the General in command, to give his case a favourable consideration, but without success. All the troops were assembled to witness the punishment; and during the infliction I saw the Drum-Major strike a drummer to the ground for not using his strength sufficiently. The man's back became black as the darkest mahogany, and greatly swelled. He was taken down at the recommendation of the medical officer, after he had received 229 lashes, and sent to the hospital, where he died in eight days, his back having mortified. I have witnessed 700 lashes inflicted, but I have never seen a man's back so black and swelled."

I have already stated, that extensive sloughing of the back occasionally occurs from flogging, notwithstanding the utmost care on the part of a medical officer.

"Burck," says Dr. Hamilton, "had so great a discharge from his back, accompanied with a smell so great, that though a more than ordinary robust man, it made him extremely faint and uneasy; he complained more of this than of the pain he suffered, yet he was carefully dressed and washed twice a day, and for sometime shirted once every day."

"Dale was punished for stealing, and smelled so offensively, though the greatest attention was paid to dressing and washing his back, as well as to changing his linen; and so great effect did it produce on his health, that he fell into a fever, and narrowly escaped with life. He was removed to a ward by himself, the smell being extremely offensive to the other patients. From the putrid smell of his sores, it was no easy task to dress him; and such was the precarious state of his health, that I durst trust it to no one but myself."—*Hamilton*, vol. ii., 60.]

In cases where great ulceration and sloughing occurs, the cicatrix is long, and, in some cases, permanently so sensible and tender, as not to permit a man to wear his cross-belts, or at any rate to carry his knapsack. I have seen a soldier permanently disabled for duty by this means, and rendered unfit for the service. It is alleged, by persons who have witnessed much flogging, that the back becomes callous by frequent corporal punishment, a circumstance which is probably occasioned by the repeated effusion of lymph.

"By frequently punishing offenders," says Dr. Williamson, "the parts become insensible to that laceration which tears up the skin. When that barbarous consequence is arrived at, its infliction becomes a matter of indifference to the unfortunate negro; and new sources of *torture* must be found out by which the commission of crime may be checked. It can scarcely be necessary to add, that such a condition of torpor in the parts to which punishment has been applied, can never be justified on any pretext; and I blush to reflect that white men should be the directors of such disgraceful deeds."—*Observations relative to the West India Islands, by J. Williamson*, M.D., 1817.

Dr. Williamson had peculiar opportunities of acquiring information on this subject, he having resided in a medical capacity during fourteen years upon different plantations in Jamaica.

"Although that few or none die, which," says Dr. Hamilton, "I believe to be the fact, immediately from punishments moderately inflicted, I know, from experience in the Service, that constitutions have been considerably impaired by them. We sometimes find the body melt away into a spectre

of skin and bone, from the large suppurations that have followed; nor were they ever afterwards, as long as I knew them, able to bear the same hardships as before; and they must from thence also be more incident, not only to contagious diseases, if they be in the way of them, but to other complaints to which fatigue or hardships of duty may expose them."—*Hamilton*, vol. ii., 56.

Dr. Kirckhoff makes a similar observation in regard to the use of the *cane* in the army of the King of the Netherlands:—

"The punishment of the cane," says the Doctor, "is injurious to the health, for it may occasion spitting of blood and inflammatory affections of the chest, followed by consumption and death. I have seen men expire immediately after the punishment, and even during the infliction."

Serjeant Armstrong, who was flogged to death by the orders of Governor Wall, passed blood constantly after his punishment, both by urine and stool; and the Surgeon stated also, that he had an asthma from the extraordinary absorption of the blood.

Sir Henry Hardinge bears strong testimony in regard to the injurious effects of the Portuguese mode of punishing military delinquents.

"Punishment," says Sir Henry, "was inflicted by a Corporal seizing the culprit, and striking him with the flat of the sword upon the back. It was necessary to be done with the utmost caution, for it affected the chest so severely, that sometimes consumption and lingering complaints were the consequence. It bruised the body, and frequently led to spitting of blood, and very serious complaints."—*Evidence on Military Punishments, Questions* 5657 and 5658.

Sir Henry commanded five Portuguese battalions in the Pyrenees, by which means his attention was peculiarly directed towards the hurtful consequences of this mode of punishment.

"The proper end of human punishment," says Paley, "is not the satisfaction of justice, but the prevention of crimes. By the satisfaction of justice, I mean the retribution of so much pain for so much guilt."

The chief design of punishment being therefore to prevent the commission of crimes, not to avenge wrongs, if this can be obtained, the end of the law is accomplished. And may not that be as effectually done by moderate as by excessive severity? To reform delinquents, and to deter others from committing crimes, being the true object of the military law, it is presumed the punishment of offenders should be such as to give temporary pain and anxiety, but which should carry no lasting infamy with it, other than the reflection of having been punished,—a punishment, in fine, which repentance might obliterate. The ignominy which is connected with corporal punishment, but especially the brand of infamy which results from an ulcerated back, is an indelible and fearful consequence of flogging.

Great melioration of the penal laws and usages of the Army has taken place since 1812; and I take leave to observe, that the general state and conduct of the troops has proved the safety and the policy of the alteration. I sincerely hope that "the improvement will be extended, and that the Army will not long be subjected to a degrading and barbarous torture, from which less moral men and much worse soldiers are exempted in every service in Europe."

Previously to concluding this part of my subject, I may express my

cordial concurrence with the sentiments which Dr. Hamilton published fifty years ago, in his chapter on military punishments. "*I wish*," said he, "*after all, the military laws knew no such thing as flogging, and that in place thereof some other mode of punishment could be devised less ignominious. On this head, however, I dare say nothing, it is out of my line of life, though I wish it with all my soul abolished as an inhuman thing, more suiting the nature of savages than civilized and polished nations.*" Indeed, I feel confident, that in a very short time flogging will be very little resorted to in the Army, that it will in fact fall into disuse, and that people will lift up their hands and wonder, as we do now in regard to some of the former barbarous punishments, that it has been tolerated and practised so long.

Were it demonstrated that flogging is sufficient to deter soldiers from the commission of certain crimes, and that other means of preventing crime after an adequate trial are insufficient, then perhaps flogging should be inflicted in a limited degree; but if it does not effect the above object, then it ought to be completely abolished, the only legitimate ends of punishment being to prevent the delinquent from repeating the crime, and to deter others from emulating it.

The usual defence of the punishment of flogging by military officers, rests wholly on the assumption that corporal puuishment has the effect of preventing crime and sustaining discipline, and that it is superior to every other remedial means for that end. Degrading punishments very rarely produce contrition and reformation.

"There is not an instance in a thousand," says Dr. Jackson, "where severe punishment has made a soldier what he ought to be; there are thousands where it has rendered those who were forgetful and careless, rather than vicious, insensible to honour and abandoned to crime."

The reformation of a delinquent should be the motive, the object, and measure of all penal inflictions of a secondary character. Let reformation be recognised as a primary object in all punishments, and we shall have good security for the adoption of humane and judicious measures. Should the allegation of the Reverend Robert Hall, in regard to the trade of war be well founded, and, perhaps, it is much too true, great care should be taken to promote good conduct, and to repress vice in the Army. "*War*," says he, "*reverses with respect to its objects all the rules of morality. It is nothing less than a temporary repeal of all the principles of virtue. It is a system out of which almost all the virtues are excluded, and in which nearly all the vices are incorporated.*" A State which contracts for the minds and bodies of men for an unlimited period, and which leads them into the temptations incident to a military life, becomes in a great measure responsible for their temporal and eternal welfare. Having surrendered their independence for life, and sworn unconditional obedience to their superiors, soldiers have a strong claim to become the adopted children of their country, and to be treated accordingly. The State has no doubt a right to command, but it has also important duties to perform; duties which comprehend the means of promoting the efficiency, the welfare, and the happiness of the Army.

AN INCIDENT OF CIVIL WARFARE.

PRIOR to the peace of Fontainbleau, in 1762, it is known that Mr. Pitt and his successors directed all the energies of our country to the extirpation of the French from America, and to depriving that nation of her colonies in every part of the world. General Wolfe's glorious conquest of Quebec, greatly contributed to our success. Our military force in North America was necessarily very large, and it of course comprised many of our regiments of Guards. It happened that the first regiment of Foot Guards was for some time stationed at Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, then a most important province in turning the scale of victory in our favour. In that regiment there was a young gentleman, of very superior appearance, a Lieutenant Powell, of the highest and richest of the families in Glamorganshire, in South Wales. This young officer became violently attached to a Miss Middleton, the sole heiress of a very large property, and the female representative of, without exception, the most aristocratic family in what we should now call "The United States," or, "The Union." Miss Middleton was beautiful and highly accomplished, and in those days accomplishments were very little sought after or attended to in our colonies, by either males or females, whatever might be the affluence of their families. A marriage ensued between the young lovers, and a son was born, and christened Middleton Powell.

The peace being concluded, the first regiment of Foot Guards was ordered home, and though excessively attached to his young wife, the Lieutenant was such a military enthusiast, that he resisted all her entreaties to sell out and leave the Army, and he returned with his regiment to England. The boy was left to the care of his mother till the age of eight, when the father, reflecting on the extremely unintellectual culture, with the gross habits and language prevalent throughout all our slave colonies, resolved to bring his son to England for education. He repaired to Charleston, to soothe the mother's affliction at separating from her only son and child. The lady, though intensely affectionate, saw the necessity of the measure; and concealing the throbbings of an aching heart, took leave of her son.

The boy was brought to England, was put to Eton, studied successfully for honours at Oxford, was entered at Lincoln's Inn, and called to the bar. He had no intention or inclination to practice the legal profession; but his wish was to qualify himself for the senate and for public business.

Having arrived at the age of twenty-one, and completed every study, he took his passage for America, in order to embrace his mother. On the eve of embarking, he received a letter from Charleston, announcing the death of his parent, and conveying an intimation that, with respect to property, his presence on his estates would be advisable.

He left England, after most affectionately taking leave of his beloved father. Arriving in the American capital, he resolved on his plan and habits of life. He had a house spacious and elegant, and as elegantly furnished. His establishment was good; but though his aristocracy of birth, and his great wealth, were passports to society, and even to public

distinctions, he did not "take with" his countrymen. His habits were too refined: he was devoted to literature, to science, and the fine arts, and of these, in days of yore, American society had no appreciation. He divided his time into four portions,—one to his studies, one to improving the condition of the immense number of negroes on his property, a third was given up to field sports and athletic exercises, both of which he was passionately fond of, and the remaining division of time was sacrificed to society, which at that distant period was very coarse, and altogether unintellectual. He at length got cut by all society, and on two grounds. The capital was full of fanatics, and he had never been seen to enter a church or chapel; and what was by far worse, he had declared, both in private society and at a public meeting, that the negroes ought to be emancipated, and that until they were emancipated, they ought to be treated more humanely, and that the education of their children should be provided for. This neglect of religion, and humanity for the slaves, exiled him from society. Besides this, it was alleged against him that his own slaves were placed far above what ought to be their condition, and that "they were treated more like Christians than negroes."

At this critical period of our hero's life, those disputes arose which soon led to the revolutionary war, that terminated in establishing the American Republic. Party spirit ran extremely high; all society—private and public society—was envenomed, and discussions were rancorous and personally abusive. Duels were incessant, and generally very serious or fatal.

Middleton Powell received a gross insult in a coffee-room,—a room in which a duel had been fought across a table, and in which Lieut.-General de L——, in the British service, lost his life. Middleton Powell was averse to duelling; but he was warned if in such desperate times he put up with one insult, that insults would be heaped upon him incessantly. The caution had no effect, but one consideration determined his conduct. The gentleman who had insulted him, was the challenger: he was President of "The Duellist Society." In this truly infamous society, of which many still alive have a recollection, each member took his rank and seat at table, according to the number of persons he had killed. The President was of course the man that had shot the greatest number; and the Vice-President, he who had killed the next greatest number. After this the members took their seat near the President, in proportion to their duelling successes. Middleton Powell resolved to go to the ground. He shot his antagonist through the heart, whilst his adversary's ball grazed his head, and tore the top of his hat*.

The rancour of party spirit became more vehement. Middleton Powell was entreated to join the military enlistment; his courage was now eminent; his large wealth, the name of his family, his reputation for talents and conduct, would have made him a host in the republican ranks, and he had on more than one public occasion declared himself strongly in favour of a separation of the colonies from England, and had denounced the conduct of the English Government as most unjus-

* The Vice-President of this society was killed by an English Lieutenant of the Navy, named Price; and the whole society was dissolved amidst general execration.

tifiable; still he kept aloof. He retired into private obscurity, and when entreated by a friend to take an active and vigorous part in the impending civil war, he replied with great feeling, "Good heavens!—how can I take part in such an unnatural war? My father is now Colonel of the first regiment of Foot Guards. The regiment is just arrived; under him it is the most active and efficient regiment in the English Army. From conscience I could not comply with my father's wish to enter the English service, and were I to enter the American army, the chances are infinite, that our regiments would come into collision; and what would be his horror if I were slain—and what would be mine if my father were killed or wounded by the fire or charge directed even by myself? The very contemplation is distracting."

But in such time neutrals are not allowed to exist. The Council took coercive measures to force enlistment, and Middleton Powell thought it better to be a voluntary than a forced recruit; he enlisted as a common soldier, and a picked regiment was soon formed out of the body into which he had entered. General Washington became the Colonel. Several very severe conflicts ensued, and the General promoted Middleton Powell to the rank of Captain, on account of his extraordinary valour, adding—

"You shall have the next Majority and the next Colonelcy I can give you."

"General Washington," was the reply, "I will accept no higher rank than my Captaincy. My success to-day has been against the English Guards, commanded by my own father. As a Captain, I am a passive engine, an instrument of duty; but in a higher rank I shall have to direct the musketry or the charges that may take my father's life."

"The distinction is not very satisfactory," coldly replied General Washington.

"It is true," was the rejoinder, "but it is the only distinction which the unhappy case admits of."

Warmly and vigorously proceeded the campaign, when one day General Washington's principal Aide-de-camp summoned the Captain to the General's presence. Arrived at the head-quarters of this great man, he was surprised to find him in a very poor room, and without a single military attendant, or even domestic servant. The scene and dialogue were short but impressive.

"Capt. Middleton Powell," said the hero, "you are evidently surprised at my meeting you, and alone, in this very humble room. These are not my quarters, but I have reasons for concealment and secresy, sir. There are spies—yes, sir, numerous spies in the American army, and the English army is not without such traitors and miscreants. I have just received the most important intelligence. Do you know the mountains?"

"Every foot of them, as correctly as I know my own fields and forests. They were my most favourite sporting grounds, and I have shot many a bear, wolf, eagle, and vulture in those mountains."

"Do the passes admit of a military defence?"

"There are three contiguous passes that may defy an army. Give me but twenty good soldiers for each, and I will set at defiance all the forces that could be brought against me."

"Well, know, sir, that I had formed in the extreme back countries, and amidst the densest forests, a very large magazine. It was in a country never visited by traveller or settler; some spy has not only informed the enemy of the locality of this magazine, but has actually given intelligence that very large stores are now on their way from the magazine to the army, and under not a strong escort. This convoy consists of ammunition, and of all winter clothing of the troops, and were it intercepted, our whole force would be obliged to surrender at discretion. The enemy's plan is to let the celebrated cavalry officer, Colonel Tarleton—"

"General Washington, it is impossible. Not even a mule could be got through one of those passes."

"No, sir, but Colonel Tarleton is to make the most rapid movement he can to the north, through the plains, whilst an infantry force is to pass by the shorter cut through the mountains; the two bodies are to form a junction, and make a simultaneous attack on the convoy, and after the capture of it, the infantry are to proceed and destroy the magazine itself. My anxiety is about the corps of infantry. The existence of the army and of our sacred cause depends on frustrating its movement, and this being done, I can easily foil Colonel Tarleton's cavalry. Capt. Middleton Powell, pick a hundred of the best soldiers and petty officers, and proceed to take possession of the passes as rapidly as possible. Do not let a word transpire as to the object of your march, for all depends on your success, and success depends on secresy. I will give you Capt. Lawrence as your second in command; he is brave, a good soldier, and to be depended upon. Take provisions for five days, for you must defend the post for that period."

"General, excepting bread or biscuits, there is no occasion to take provisions, for in that part of the mountain two sportsmen, the one with a double-barrelled rifle, and the other with a fowling-piece, will kill more in one day, than twenty men could consume in a month. The mountains are full of beautiful streams, and the mosses of them make an admirable vegetable."

The hero of our narrative took his leave, and in less than an hour a corps of a hundred of the finest troops were on a cheerful march they knew not where or on what object.

Captain Middleton Powell was melancholy and perfectly silent all the way. He was pale, and under the strongest depression of spirits, whilst the red round face of his ever-merry friend beamed with cheerfulness, and he was more than ordinarily voluble.

"My friend Middleton," he said, "you evidently don't like the expedition you are on: I am fond of all activity, enterprise, and adventures. The greater the dangers, and the more the difficulties, the better suited to my fancy is a military expedition. You are a brave fellow, or I should think you had been frightened by a vision, and was full of the Scotch second sight, or what the English call a presentiment of death. Cheer up, if it is only to inspire the men."

"Lawrence, my friend, I know not whether my most beloved father is dead or living. Yesterday I was chiefly instrumental in defeating his regiment; and, if personally he is unhurt, his high military pride must be sadly mortified."

"You have an absolute monomania on this subject."

"That war is most unnatural that sets father and son together at murderous strife."

"Ha, ha, ha!" ejaculated the merry companion, "all civil wars are the same; there are hundreds of fathers and sons in the two armies under similar circumstances to yours. My father put his six sons into different foreign services. One is now in the French service, a Colonel; another is a Colonel in the Austrian service; another has a company in a Prussian regiment, and a fourth is a Major in the Russian Artillery. My youngest brother has just entered the Swedish service, and I am now fighting against my country. It is impossible that a campaign can pass without these brothers encountering each other in battle, —and what then? If you kill your brother you don't kill him as your brother, nor even as a man, you kill him merely as a soldier, doing his duty."

"Lawrence, your reasoning does not satisfy me. I never had a brother, and I trust your doctrines do not extend to father and son,—Heaven forbid."

A few miles were marched in silence. The object of the expedition now became apparent to Capt. Lawrence. The passes were unoccupied by the English, and Capt. Powell most gladly took possession of them. He stationed his men and sentries, and all had to bivouac in a very cold night.

Before daybreak Capt. Powell arose, and proceeded to the outer points of his position. Unluckily he went beyond the sentries. He carried with him, as he always did, his double-barrelled rifle. At dawn he perceived the plain beneath covered with English infantry. The men had bivouacked, and were preparing for a march, evidently to take possession of the passes, and to move through them to their ulterior objects of attacking the magazine and convoy. Whilst making his observations, and estimating their numbers, he was suddenly startled by the rustling of some shrubbery close to him. He thought it a bear or wolf, animals that he had so often shot in the same place, and, retreating a pace, he cocked his rifle. It was a very different object; for he saw the plumes of an English officer over the bushes, and he who wore them was rapidly advancing. Capt. Powell could not perceive whether the officer was leading any men; but it turned out to be otherwise, and that the advance was a solitary stroll, made under the impression that these passes were unoccupied.

"Stand back, Sir," cried Capt. Powell, "or I must fire," and saying which he brought his rifle to his shoulder.

The English officer had no idea of standing back, and drawing his sword, he advanced with greatly-increased rapidity.

"If you advance another yard," cried Middleton, "you are—shot—a dead man."

Without uttering a single word this undaunted resolute officer continued his advance, until he contrived, by stooping and otherwise, to get through a gap in the line of wild rough bushes. It was one of those gaps so frequently made by the wolves and bears. Scarcely had he emerged, and advanced into the road, than Captain Powell fired, and the officer fell on his back and expired in a minute, after a few strong convulsions of his countenance. He had been shot through the heart.

"Well, he was a brave soldier," observed the Captain, "and deserved a better fate."

He advanced towards the body, and, standing over it, his rifle dropped from his grasp; his face was full of horror, which was succeeded by the expression of the wildest despair. In a tone of raving madness he exclaimed, "Oh, God! oh, God! I have killed my father!" and he fell on the body, apparently as lifeless as the corpse he was embracing. He awoke to the most piteous weeping, and kept patting and kissing the face, as if his intellects were unsettled. He was what in conversation is called "thoroughly unmanned."

The sound of fire-arms brought Capt. Lawrence and a few Serjeants to the spot. The Captain perceived nothing but a dead enemy, with his friend and superior officer weeping like a child over the body.

"For heaven's sake, Middleton Powell, rise," said Capt. Lawrence. "This scene is even ridiculous amongst the troops. What have you done? Killed a man. Is it not your profession to kill men? Don't we take our honours and our pay for doing so? What are you, I, and all of us, here for, but to kill our enemies? and I hope to kill a great many of them. Come, come, rise, and don't be even so ridiculous."

"Captain," said a sentry, who at a distance had witnessed the whole scene, "the English officer he has killed is his own father."

This changed the whole case, and Capt. Lawrence directed two Serjeants to remove their officer from the body of the deceased, but with as little force and as much respect as possible. This was done without difficulty, for his physical powers were gone.

"I cannot trust him to himself," said Capt. Lawrence to his brother officers. "He is evidently not in possession of his intellect. He is fatuous, idiotic, I fear."

He gave directions to place the unhappy man in a small cavity in one of the rocks, that went by the name of the Hermit's Cell. The next order was to take his side-arms from him, and to put two discreet sentinels at the mouth of it, to prevent his escape. These sentinels, however, neglected their duty; for the unhappy man contrived to elude them, and in a strong paroxysm of his affliction he repaired to the dead body, and once more threw himself upon it, and, impressing a kiss on the cheek, he drew a pistol from his bosom, and shot himself through the heart.

The passes were deemed unassailable, and were not attacked. A truce between the two forces was agreed upon, and at the burial military honours were paid to the funeral by both the English and American officers and troops.

A very humble grave contained the bodies of the father and son.

WHAT ALTERED THE INTENTION OF EUPHRATES?

BY T. M. RUSSELL, OF THE KURDISTAN EXPEDITION.

THE uncertain subjection, and unsure obedience of the Kurds, whether nomadic or stationary, have ever been subjects of observation and marvel to travellers in the East. So numerous, so warlike, and so comparatively united are the people, that there cannot exist a doubt but that in many districts in Asia Minor, they might with much ease throw off the easy yoke to which they are nominally subjected by the Osmanli power. Though they have sometimes done this, they have never made any attempt at establishing a political government of their own, not altogether owing perhaps to their ignorance of organization and method of warfare, but rather to a received rule of action among them never to attack towns, or possess themselves of fenced places. Even in the districts south and east of Erzeroum, where they are essentially paramount, they content themselves with enforcing quarters, rations, and fodder, during the winter season, at the hands of the dwellers in villages and towns, leaving the owner altogether his own master during the summer months. But within Euphrates, or to speak more definitely, throughout the peninsula, such supremacy is not affected, and the Kurd contents himself with robbing wherever and whomsoever he can, and withholding every sort of tribute or tax until compelled by the appearance of an armed force, with whom, as I have observed, it is no part of their system to contend in the field. The restitutions of horses, oxen, sheep, &c., on these occasions, serve to display, in very unmistakable character, their rapacity, industry, and total want of any feeling approaching to shame, which latter is the more to be marvelled at, as the Kurd, unlike his fellow thief the Arab, professes to consider the appropriating another's goods against his will, as a reprehensible, and not a meritorious act.

The woods, mountains, morasses, and pasture-land, generally throughout the country, have been from time to time possessed by the Kurds, and by them appropriated to their peculiar purposes, expelling the former possessor, whether aboriginal Armenian, or like-usurping Turk, rather by a system of incessant annoyance and larcenical spoliations than open warfare, and in a country so abounding in table-land, fir-clad acclivities, and undrained meads, such constitutes a large moiety of the superficial content. It has also happened, that in the abandonment of whole districts to these nomades by their former inhabitants, entire towns, together with the surrounding country, have, almost against the Kurds' wishes, fallen into their occupation. The peculiar position of one of these, the classical association connected with it, and the difficulties attending its being visited, will form the subject of this paper.

The ancient kingdom of Commagena is perhaps more indebted for its celebrity, as far as poetic associations go, to the tragedy of Racine, and its being the birth-place of Lucian, than to any actual historical events of interest with which it has been connected. It lay out of the path of the invader marching westward, and did not in itself present

sufficient invitation for very frequent invasion for its mere conquest or occupancy. Its western boundary it would be hard to determine at any time: its southern varied according to the power or will of the Syrian power that was: the eastern was the river Euphrates, which divided its romantic and picturesque valleys and crags from the monotonous level of Mesopotamia; while the northern, with which I have to do at present, was the dark-wooded steps of Taurus, at this part nearly impervious. In this direction consequently, a sort of *cul de sac* presented itself, the river and the mountains inclosing a triangular valley of no very considerable dimensions, but from its peculiar position, no doubt at all times an object of as much importance in regard to its political, as to its physical geography. Here, no doubt, was the last halt before the discomfited betook them finally to the mountains. Here was the gathering-place of the mountaineers, or the refugees of Taurus, previously to their entering or re-entering upon Commagena, and thence on Syria. A point of territory so adapted, demanded a suitable artificial defence, and consequently at Gergen Kaleh-si, the Juliopolis of former times, one of the clefts is severed by art from its fellow gigantic but fantastically-shaped limestone masses, and castellated with great regard to strength. The cliff, of which the fortified rock constitutes the extreme end next the river, is curiously shaped, like to a wave of stupendous size, about to discharge itself on the valley beneath, and is visible for very many miles in the westerly direction.

But the identifying, and fixing astronomically this interesting and hitherto questionable site, were not the only objects that took the expedition a circuit of some 260 miles, through a positively dangerous, not to say a hostile country. We had as usual to reconcile some of the dogmas of the early geographers with the explorations of modern discoverers, or as very frequently occurred, as in the case of the sources of the Pyramus, of which I had the pleasure of treating in this Magazine, a short time since, disprove them altogether. In the present instance, had we been knocked on the head by the disaffected mountaineers, our best thanks would have been due to an ancient gentleman of the very euphonious name of Pomponius Mela, partially corroborated, and wholly mystified as his assertion had been by one Pliny, sufficiently so as to induce the industrious D'Anville to sever the knot he could not unloose by first removing a chain of mountains, the Amanus, above one hundred miles, and then rechristening them by the name of Taurus; but to a gentleman who managed to distend the width of the peninsula a whole degree of latitude, this was not a very extraordinary exertion of ingenuity.

The expression of Pomponius Mela on which we were to experimentalize, was this, and he is speaking of the river Euphrates: "It is now about to come (empty itself) into these our seas (the Mediterranean,) *only* that Taurus stands in the way*." And this appearing a very feasible objection, the makers of maps, I had nearly called them geographers, give to the Euphrates an abrupt left-face at the point indicated—namely, Samosata, the capital of Commagena. So much for the COURSE of the river, which at the period that that true precursor of all that tends to science and civilization, the British flag, waved in

* "Ni obstet Taurus, in nostra maria venturus."

peace at Bir, was, by Col. Chesney's officers, very satisfactorily adjusted; the point of recession from the westward being identified with the bend at Rum Kalah, some forty-five miles from Samosata. But the OBSTACLE that caused this sudden bend was not so easily identified. Pliny had assured the map-makers that Taurus commenced at a place called Elegia, one hundred miles north of the bend in question, and, therefore, must, by virtue of an incontestible *alibi*, be declared innocent of obstructing the purposed emergence of Euphrates at the gulf of Issus. D'Anville, as I have said, at once entered a *noli prosequi* as regards Taurus, but willing to afford Pomponius as much corroboration as lay in his power, would needs obligingly drag the Amanus nearly an equal distance from an opposite quarter, to take the duty and blame of turning Euphrates upon himself. But my friend Mr. Ainsworth, while he will not allow of the mountain Amanus* being moved, on any pretext whatsoever, more effectually serves the credit of Pomponius, and reconciles him to Pliny by referring the bend of Euphrates as caused by Taurus from Samosata northward to the remarkable turn eastward at Melitene, so fixing the first offence upon the first accused, and leaving the onus of the second offence to the rocky formation of upper Syria. Unable to trace the downward course of the great river from Elegia, or Melitene†, through, or rather around, the foot of Eastern Taurus, we had nothing for it but to attain the point of its exit, Juliopolis, and there ascertain the existence of certain rapids or falls which were wanting to complete the identity questioned; and finally commence from that point a downward survey that was at its termination at Bir to bring our labours into connection with those of the Euphrates Expedition.

It took the expedition ten days to describe the northern foot of this part of Taurus, penetrate the range, and in like manner skirt the southern acclivities; at the end of which time, namely, June 8th, 1839, we found ourselves within one day's march of the rock fortress of Gergen, but among a people so openly disaffected, that the very Kowas, sent for our guidance and protection by the Governor of Adiyamán, drew bridle, and refused us the light of his very dark countenance any longer in those perilous confines. "Two other Kowasses," he asserted, "were here awaiting an opportunity of return, and it was his intention to make a third." He had previously made many attempts to lure us from what he deemed our doom, so we bade him *orraloo*, or "good journey," and commenced setting up our tent in an open space near the fountain. The Kurd Boyah Beg declared he had no control over his nominal subjects, and the barefaced robberies they perpetrated and attempted certainly tended to prove his assertion, among which the most impudent was the old gentleman's openly demanding one of the chronometers. "You English and Russians," said he,—a strange association that frequently obtains in the interior—"once held this country, and you look to hold it again. Do you think that while we can prevent you from

* "Amanus has no existence west of Gaur Tagh."—Roy. Geog. Jour.

† Not from the impassability of the mountain, for a tract is said still to exist, but from the positive refusal of the Turks to venture among the Kurds. The Baron Mulbach contrived to pass through on a raft, but we had not heard of it at the time. He moreover was in the service of the Porte, and in personal communication with Hafiz Pacha.

writing all about us (he meant making charts), we are to be passed without backsheish?" The extortion peremptorily rejected, he had nothing for it but to threaten the withdrawal of his patronage, and we should then have to find our way without guide, or guard. We accepted the alternative, and accordingly at early dawn, having had to rescue by force a few trifling articles the Moolah had purloined, we, with our single Sourigee, and Macedonian servant, who was but a lad, shook the dust off our feet against Tokáriz, and made in a north-easterly direction. But this is a land where everything at that time, and no doubt it is the same now, must be done with the strong hand. The Boyah had refused us a mounted guide under about 8*l.* sterling, and a foot one at any price; but he told us that if we felt justified, which means strong enough, we might compel any one we pleased to act in that capacity. We cared not to essay the power we had while in the village of his unpropitiated worship, but from the next we came to, which had no great man to apply to, we failed not to avail ourselves of his suggestion, and pressed a native for the nonce, but soon finding that, though we could compel his service, we could not his candour, and that he was positively misleading us, he was peremptorily cashiered on the mountain side, with the usual compliment to his mother, and some heavy blows on his head and shoulders.

The appearance of five well-armed horsemen conducting three well-loaded mules, in a country where nothing but the actual presence of six troops of dragoons a few months previously had been able to exact a nominal subjection, and within three miles of Khacter, a stronghold the Osmanli had failed to reduce, caused naturally a very considerable sensation among the chivalry of these thieving hordes, and more than one well-mounted spearman neared us in ireful reconnoitre; but our marching without guide or Kowass full upon Gergen, known next to Khacter to be the head-quarters of the disaffected, puzzled them much, and probably induced them to believe that we were on good terms with the insurgents, and for my own part I can easily believe that the presence of a few armed Turks is more likely to give a far greater moral offence to such a people than is likely to be made up for by any physical defence they would afford were a collision to take place.

Before ascending the stony height that commanded and led down immediately upon Gergen, we halted at the village of Oldish, inhabited partly by Kurds, partly by Armenians, some of whom went armed, and to see Christians with offensive weapons is not an unusual sight; still their port and demeanour were very different from those of the Kurds, who in these parts are perhaps, in regard to dress and warlike bearing, to be seen to the greater advantage than anywhere else; not a man is ever found without his long-barrelled gun, handsomely if not richly inlaid, the use of which he is so well known to be perfect in, that he is never allowed to carry it into the towns of Bir, Adiyaman, Besni, or Malatya, nor, indeed, through any district in proper subjection. The dress is becoming and suitable; made, with the exception of loose shirt sleeves, to set everywhere nearly close to the person, the breast gathered into numerous receptacles for the cartridge. The turban is white, small, and close-fitting. In height, the Kurd generally approaches the gigantic, though seldom very robust, with, as far as my own observation went, a countenance indicating ferocity and cunning rather

than courage; indeed, I have had more than one opportunity of witnessing the test, and forming very unfavourable opinions in relation to this quality.

The Armenians could hardly believe that we were Christian Franks, coming voluntarily among their rocks in search of objects of philosophical interest, and archæological remains; with respect to the former, they could give us little information, for they seldom travelled, from fear of their compatriots the Kurds, who, as I have observed, confine themselves almost entirely to highway practice, and seldom break through and steal. But in regard to antiquities, they appeared, owing to the tradition of their priests, to be better informed, and boldly announced themselves the aborigines of the country, and expressed a hope that the day was not far off when they should no longer be held an inferior people. They seemed to have nothing else to complain of.

The object, next to a broken menareh of a ruined Jami, that most bespoke our attention on descending the steep road-way, was an ancient and not unpicturesque fountain, at which was gathered, in considerable numbers, the fair of Juliopolis, apart from whom, upon a green sward, sat the deputy-governor of the place, surrounded by his Kurd friends,—subjects we soon found he had none; and, indeed, it was on account of their avowed disinclination to, and impatience of any sort of government, that he found himself *locum tenens*, his superior having betaken himself to head-quarters with an account of his grievances.

While Rassam rode up to the admiring circle we pushed through the town, and took up, as usual, a position on a spot that admitted of a proper *cordon de surveillance* being maintained. The deputy commenced the dialogue, the usual salutations being exchanged.

"Who follows?" meaning, I believe, what force.

"No one."

"Head of my father! what come ye here for?"

"To visit you—wherefore I come to put ourselves under your care—where shall we pitch the tent?"

The Governor started to his feet, and the Kurds exchanged looks that were easily interpreted. But that best of all diplomatists for such purposes, Rassam, continued in the same strain, suiting the language and idiom to his hearers. "We have a firman from Stamboul," their faces lowered, "but we never shew it to the Kurds, why should we?" their countenances brightened; "we go to them as friends, not as masters, and we always *leave* them as friends."

The word I here express in italics was suitably accented, and had its effect. "Do you think," he continued with admirable tact, "we could not have come when the army was here if we wanted protection?"

"Let the tent be put up where it is," sighed the deputy; "ten men would not be able to guard you half an hour from this place."

We lost no time in effecting our encampment; meanwhile, the deputy held a consultation, which was of a stormy character and protracted until a late hour. The purport, there can be no doubt, was as to what sort of claim we had upon their protection, and forbearance; and inversely, what sort of claim they had upon our effects. Fortunately, there were no less than three distinct tribes represented by the aggregate population of the place, and though they are not easily induced to take arms against each other, it is equally as unusual to see them agree

to a division of spoil, still less for one tribe to abstain for the benefit of another; owing to which feeling of policy, at the break up of the *sederunt*, our friends the Murderli, the Julerli, and the Durgunli, sent, respectively, a guard to watch over our tent, which was the more satisfactory, as immediately across the valley the mountaineers professed no sort of obedience to any other law than their own lawless desires. Meanwhile our Sourigee, as soon as darkness veiled his movements, retraced his way through the pass and made off for Adiyaman with his jaded horses.

Early the next morning we were visited by the Armenian priest and some of his congregation; they put us in possession of the above facts, and strongly urged our removing to an enclosed yard that encircled their neat place of worship; but as this would be incompatible with our professed reliance upon the Kurds' sense of hospitality, Mr. A. declined it, at the same time telling them we deemed ourselves more likely to protect them than to need their protection, and such, indeed, eventually proved to be the fact.

The disappearance of the sourigee and his cattle threw us upon our own resources for the means of extrication from our present position. At first, it was supposed possible, that a raft might be constructed, and Mr. Rassam descended into the lovely valley of Diriskó, in order to make proper inquiries. Left without an interpreter our difficulties commenced in good earnest, and our friend the Armenian churchman the unfortunate first cause. That venerable gentleman, attended by two or three fine young fellows well armed, but as it subsequently appeared, not much disposed to use their weapons, was seated in the interior of the tent, Mr. A., seated at the post of honour at his notes, doing bashi, or head-man, with very suitable gravity and indifference, when suddenly enters a clumsily-built fellow of large dimensions, but no promise of activity about him, and taking up his form, as the bares call it, opposite the Armenian, and on A.'s right hand, commenced some gibberish in the interrogatory key.

"What on earth is this uncouth animal asking for, Ainsworth?" said I, who was shamming sentry at the door of the tent after the manner of the Rifles.

"Hang me if I either know or care," returned he, continuing his avocation; "but I rather think he is asking the priest if we have let him into the secret as to where the gold is hidden, and he seems much displeased at the Armenian's answer."

Scarcely were the words uttered ere the brown fist of the Kurd was closely entwined in the silvery beard of the Christian, and it required a pretty sharp remonstrance from the butt-end of that veritable *ultima ratio* which I had in my hand, to effect a release and surrender.

"Here," said my friend starting suddenly to his feet, "let's have that ruffian out."

In a few minutes, each taking an arm of the astonished insulter, who was still seated on the ground, we carried him to the exterior of the tent, in like manner as I have seen children carry one another in a game called flower-pots.

No sooner did he find himself reseated in a manner so unexpected than, swallowing his surprise and indignation for the present, as well as he might, he threw a handful of dust upon *his own* turban, cast a look

of comic moodiness at the tent, and made off for Gergen with great haste, on his arrival at which place, some sixty yards distant, I observed him enter the low-roofed dwelling near the Jami; I consequently returned to the interior, to report to my commanding officer, that he and I had laid violent hands on the Moolah himself! I might have spared myself the trouble, for the abrupt and agitated departure of the Armenians, at nearly the same instant, had apprized him already of the Thomas à Becket sort of deed we had committed.

The poor Macedonian lad soon after came breathless to the tent to assure us that great danger was to be apprehended, and request that he might be put in fighting order. This was not very easily effected, for Rassam had broken the only spare piece we had, so we had nothing for it but to fill his breast and girdle with pistols after the manner of the East, and his warlike mind with promises of being allowed to join the *melée* when it once began, but at the same time strictly enjoining him not to act offensively without orders. I resumed my sentinel duties and A. his papers as if nothing had occured, though we both knew well that an interruption was at hand.

It had been arranged that whatever occurred, the field of operations should be this time in the open air, for the very sight of our effects we knew would prove incentive, and therefore I placed myself full in the entrance; well assured I should have the rest of our force to my support when required, and, as advised by my friend, who had seen much more of this sort of thing than I had, assumed an air of indifference, such as may at the moment I am writing be traced upon the features of Her Majesty's private of the Foot Guards who may be protecting the Cadiz bomb in St. James's Park. I cannot say, however, I felt quite as much at my ease.

In about ten minutes the expelled and outraged Moolah made his appearance once again, but followed closely by two huge mountaineers in full array. They talked loudly, and laughed, with the appearance of persons about to do something of very great importance, but which would require but little exertion of their resources. The Moolah made at once for the entrance, but when received by a cool shake of the head, without any other movement or intimation, he turned suddenly upon his gigantic *tail*, and very probably proposed setting aside the veto I had given in a summary manner. They handled their muskets. I gave the signal, Ainsworth joined me, and there we stood, two to two, —for we did not care to call up our pistol-brigade, and the Moolah, save an outrageously assassin-looking knife, was unarmed,—regarding one another with the curious expression of men very desirous of ascertaining one another's intentions. Much blustering now commenced on their parts, and more than once were their pieces brought to the make-ready, but ours coming ever to the same position at the same instant, and from their shortness having their nozzles brought much nearer to their persons than theirs to ours, they as often recovered them.

The grand complaint, of course, was the indignity the clergy had been submitted to in the person of the vagabond priest, which we, as well as we could by signs, attributed to his pulling the other clerical's beard. Kneeling upon the ground, the Mahommedan next pulled up handsful of grass by the roots, from which we concluded he was making promise of clearing the Armenian's face in like manner in due

time,—to which we did not feel ourselves called upon to offer any objection.

Unable to intimidate us into affording them access to the interior, and not resolved just then to have recourse to the *vi*, they, after some fifteen minutes, fell back a short distance, and we, accordingly, in the military phrase, *refused our* right wing, by Mr. A. quietly resuming his seat, and telling me, confidentially, they might go to Kurdistan, or some confines or other, whither the Expedition had not yet penetrated.

Ball practice is a very pretty amusement, even if one is merely a spectator, and not the *artiste* himself; but when by any circumstance a person becomes associated with the subject practiced upon, or the end aimed at, I cannot but confess that all sympathy with the play or players is at once dissipated. At a less distance than thirty yards the Moolah and his friends hastily threw together some of the debris of the huge limestone mass that towered above our heads, and resting their long barrels thereon, they commenced as leisurely as may be imagined, blazing away, not at me, exactly, nor the tent, but at stones, sticks, and other objects, at a most unpleasant propinquity. Their object I was soon assured, both by Ainsworth from the interior and from my own observation, was merely to make display of their own abilities and try our nerves; but it assuredly was a test I could well have been spared. The Moolah himself, taking one of the guns, commenced firing, and after satisfying himself of the correctness of his aim, he yelled the words "*Sabatan, sabatan*," (to-morrow, to-morrow,) with unmistakeable emphasis. After some time I espied Rassam in the distance, returning from his fruitless expedition in search of a raft, and never, I expect, was *a relief* more heartily welcomed.

After a short conference with us our friend joined the irate Kurds, who had been joined by many more, eager to see them put their threats in execution of exterminating the Giaours. He, with as much indifference as if nothing had occurred, proposed their accompanying him to the town, when he would tell them something. They consented, but with the petulancy of ignorance actually had again recourse to their fire-arms to maintain the right of precedence during that short procession! Rassam got over the difficulty very adroitly by seizing the fellow's elbow, and hurrying him off with the word "*barrabas*," (together,) And so they went to the deputy's, by means of whose mediation,—he had been handsomely propitiated already,—a sort of reconciliation was effected, and, what was of greater importance, an agreement made with mule-owners for transport of our effects down Euphrates, as far as the Ser Askar's head-quarters at Bir. The Moolah, however, would not come into the treaty, but most furiously, and probably with sincerity, promised to intercept our march were the whole Douanli to be with us. As our new allies would be obliged to leave their arms behind them, this appeared a very probable conjuncture: but to have purchased his forbearance would have been to have put ourselves under contribution to every long rifle in the country,—so his threats, and those of his lengthy friends were received with contempt, and retorted with defiance.

This affair over, and the mid-day observations taken, which of course was considered part of the gold-finding process, we ventured to visit the very remarkable castle, which is approached by a wooden bridge, forty feet in length, over an artificial chasm of great depth. In the

interior we found many inscriptions, and two fantastically-shaped pieces of ordnance (about 9-pounders). These we set down as *souvenirs* of that inhuman wretch, Timour, who thought proper to cross Euphrates in this place, though, as I have said before, quite out of the road from any place, anywhere. But one of the principal uses to which we had destined the lofty parapets of Juliopolis was a round of bearings, a series of solar observations, and such information as we could pick up relative to rapids, eddies, and whirlpools, all tending to the one great fact in physical geography,—the sudden turning aside of the intent of the great river.

And here we stood upon a point indicating the south-eastern extremity of Taurus, and beneath us rolled the incessant stream of Euphrates, just recovered from his *first* repulse at Elegia, and describing a semicircle around that range's base, making for the *second* attempt at Rum Kalah.

The rapids, whose existence were alone wanted to complete the case, and effect the perfect reconciliation between the ancients, and also between their assertions and the actual conformation of the earth's surface, we heard much of, and a very gentle one was perceptible from the castle's height, but it was not until we had crossed the river, swimming our horses and mules, and made two days' journey along the Mesopotamian bank, that the larger rapids were perceived and properly fixed in hydrography.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DISPATCHES AND GENERAL ORDERS OF FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

CHARGES OF CAVALRY AND OF INFANTRY.

CHARGES of Cavalry and of Infantry, though the most effective operations of active warfare, yet occur so rarely unaccompanied by circumstances which prevent the forming an accurate judgment on their effects, that but few are thoroughly acquainted with them, even of those who have had experience in frequent personal conflict with an enemy.

The theories of professional education, however excellent, can convey but an imperfect notion of the qualities, respectively, peculiar to cavalry and infantry, or of the precautions that must be observed in the active employment of them.

It is the object of this Memorandum to bring together such passages in the Dispatches and General Orders of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, as bear upon this question, giving instances of the proper or ill-timed employment of these arms, and pointing out the success or disaster that have resulted, with the immediate causes of those consequences, in the language of the great author himself.

THE CHARGES OF CAVALRY.

Camp on the Malpoorba, July 31, 1800; *to the Adjutant-General.*

I ARRIVED here with the cavalry at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and found the camp standing, and that we had surprised the enemy. I immediately attacked his camp with the cavalry only. Lieut.-Colonel Torin attacked their left with the 1st and 4th regts., and Colonel Stevenson

and Colonel Pater their front and right with the 25th Dragoons and 2nd regt. of Cavalry. The camp was strong, with its rear to the Malpoorba, covered by the fort of Manowly on the other side of it, and a deep nullah along its front and flank. The 2nd regt. of Cavalry, under these circumstances, was the only corps which got into it, but every person there was either killed or driven into the river.....Upon the whole, the disposition of the attack of this camp was most ably made by Colonel Stevenson, and well executed by Colonel Pater and Lieutenant-Colonel Torin, and the troops under their orders, who conducted themselves much to my satisfaction.

General Order, July 31, 1800.

The attack upon the enemy's camp yesterday is a subject which reflects great credit upon Colonel Stevenson, who made the disposition of the cavalry; and Colonel Pater and Lieut.-Colonel Torin, and the officers and troops under their command, who executed it. Neither the strength of the enemy's position, his numbers, nor the great stake for which he had to contend, could induce him to stand against the rapid and regular attacks which were made upon him; and from the success upon this occasion the most important consequences are to be expected.

Camp at Yepulpurry, Sept. 10, 1800; *to the Adjutant-General.*

He had only a large body of cavalry, apparently 5000, which I immediately attacked with the 19th and 25th Dragoons, and 1st and 2nd regts. of Cavalry. The enemy was strongly posted, with his rear and left flank covered by the village and rock of Conahgull, and stood for some time with apparent firmness; but such was the rapidity and determination of the charge made by those four regiments, which I was obliged to form in one line, in order at all to equalise in length that of the enemy, that the whole gave way, and were pursued by my cavalry for many miles. Many, among others Dhoondiah, were killed, and the whole body dispersed, and were scattered in small parties over the face of the country.

General Order, September 10, 1800.

In the course of the present campaign, Colonel Wellesley has had frequent occasions to return his thanks to the troops under his command, and to report their conduct in the field to the Commander-in-Chief; but on no occasion have his thanks been better deserved, nor has the conduct of the troops been more meritorious, than on this day in the attack and defeat of the enemy's army by the 19th and 25th Dragoons, and the 1st and 2nd regts. of Cavalry. The effect of their exertions has fully proved what determined valour and discipline can do against a superiority of numbers. Colonel Wellesley now requests that Colonel Pater, the officers commanding the above regiments, Major Paterson, &c., &c.

General Order, February 4, 1803.

Major-General Wellesley is well satisfied with the attention which the commanding and other officers belonging to the corps in camp have paid to the exercises of the troops in line. He particularly requests their recollection of the different objects to which he has had occasion to draw their attention in the course of the exercise, as the invariable principles upon which all great bodies of troops must act together, and those which will elucidate the system of discipline for individual corps, ordered by the Commander-in-Chief.

The operations of great bodies of troops may be complicated. They may be formed of two or more lines, composed of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, according to their numbers and the nature of the country which may be the scene of their operations. But whatever may be the nature of these operations, the mode in which each individual corps is to act will be the same as that which has been practised for the last fortnight by the troops in *line.*

Major-General Wellesley also flatters himself that the objects proposed by each manœuvre laid down in the book of regulations, or those to be practised by individual corps, are more clear than they were when the exercise commenced.

Poonah, April 21, 1803; *to the Governor-General.*

I arrived here yesterday morning, with the cavalry of my division..... I marched, on the 19th at night, above forty miles, to this place, making the total distance, which the cavalry have marched since the 19th in the morning, about sixty miles! Amrut Rao heard of our march yesterday morning, and went off with some precipitation, leaving the town in safety. It is generally believed that he intended to burn it, and that it was saved only by our arrival. The infantry will come here to-morrow.

Poonah. General Order, May 23, 1803.

Major-General Wellesley requests the commanding officers of the regiments of cavalry to peruse the following memorandums, and to communicate them to their Adjutants, and other officers, as they may think proper:

1. When corps of cavalry act together, one corps is generally appointed the leading corps, and all are to conform to the movements of that corps, unless otherwise ordered. The leading corps may be altered, and all corps are to attend and follow the movements of that newly-ordered as the leading corps. The rule applies equally, whether they are in line, or otherwise formed; but it is not intended that when a line is to be formed from column, or to change its front, all corps are to perform that operation in the same mode: each is to perform it in that mode in which it can be done with the greatest celerity, combined with the greatest accuracy.

2. When a number of regiments are in column, either with the right or left in front, the formation into line may be either to the front or rear of the column, to its proper or reverse flank, or oblique to the line of march.

3. If the column is one with the right in front, and its formation is to be made to the front, each corps disengages from the general column as soon as the nature of the ground will admit, and goes to the left of the leading corps. The same mode is practised if the line is to be formed oblique to the line of march. In both these cases, the Adjutants of different regiments move out quickly, as soon as they learn that the line is to be formed, and mark the ground on which the left of the corps is to stand: *vice versa*, if the column be one with the left in front.

4. If the formation from a column with the right in front is to be made to the rear, all the corps in rear of that in which the line is to be formed, are to lead out from the general column to their right; all the corps in front of that in which the line is to be formed are to lead out from the general column to their left. The Adjutants of the corps in the rear are to take up the ground on which their left is to stand. Those of corps in front are to take up the ground on which their right is to stand: *vice versa*, if the column is with the left in front.

5. If the line is to be formed from an open column, with the right in front, to the reverse flank, the corps follow their leaders, each wheeling up successively as it reaches its ground, and the Adjutants are to mark the ground on which their left is to stand: *vice versa*, if the column is with the left in front.

6. When a column is marching upon an alignement, an object is generally given in front, on which the column is to march; the Adjutants of the corps are to assist in keeping the column in its true direction, by placing themselves in the line, and waiting there, each, till the corps to which he belongs shall have passed him. The officers leading divisions in an open column, marching on an alignement on which the line is to be formed, are to go close to the horse's head of the Adjutant who is marking the ground: A regiment is *not to* deviate partially from the alignement.

marked by its Adjutant, because the rear division of that in front of it may have done so.

7. When the line is to change its front, and a new formation is to be made, all corps are to break towards that on which the new formation is to be made. If the corps is on the right, all the corps on the left break into an open column, with the right in front, and the Adjutants are to mark the ground on which the left is to stand in the new line. If the corps is on the left, all the corps on the right are to break into a column, with the left in front, and the Adjutant is to mark the ground on which the right is to stand.

8. The general rule is, that the corps, whether in forming line from column, or in changing front from line, are to enter upon the new line at the point marked for them by their Adjutants, which is always where their rear will stand; but as that is the mode of forming which takes most time, the practice is for each corps to enter the new line, either where its head is to stand, or in a central spot. The commanding officer must, in that case, take care to send forward a person to mark a true point in the line at which he will enter, and to bring up the head of his regiment square to the proposed formation.

Assye. September 24, 1803; *to the Governor-General.*

The enemy's cavalry also made an attempt to charge the 74th regt. at the moment when they were most exposed to this fire, but they were cut up by the British cavalry, which moved on at that movement. At length, the enemy's line gave way in all directions, and the British cavalry cut in among their broken infantry, &c. Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell, with the British cavalry, charged one large body of infantry which had retired, and was formed again, in which operation he was killed.

General Order, September 24, 1803.

Major-General Wellesley has also every reason to applaud the conduct of the cavalry, particularly that of the 19th Dragoons, and to express the deep regret he feels at the loss of Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell, who led them.

September 24, 1803; *to Lieut.-General Stuart.*

Their cavalry did us but little mischief. A body made an attempt to charge the 74th, and were cut up by the 19th Dragoons.

Memorandum on the battle of Assye.

11. However, by one of those unlucky accidents, which frequently happen, the officer commanding the piquets, which were upon the right, led immediately up to the village of Assye. The 74th regt., which was on the right of the second line, and was ordered to support the piquets, followed them. There was a large break in our line between these corps and those on their left. They were exposed to a most terrible cannonade from Assye, and were charged by the cavalry belonging to the Campoos; consequently, in the piquets and the 74th regt., we sustained the greatest part of our oss, &c.

12. Another bad consequence, resulting from this mistake, was the necessity of introducing the cavalry into the action at too early a period. I had ordered it to watch the motions of the enemy's cavalry, hanging upon our right; and luckily it charged in time to save the remains of the 74th and the piquets. It was thus brought into the cannonade; horses and men were lost; it charged among broken infantry, and separated. The unity of the body was lost, and it was no longer possible to use it, as I had intended, when I placed it in the third line, to pursue and cut up the defeated and broken enemy, and thus make the victory still more complete than it was.

Near Aurungabad, October 10, 1803; *to the Governor-General.*

I have the honour to inclose the copy of a letter which I have received

from Capt. O'Donnell, of the 1st regt. of Cavalry, in which he gives a detailed account of an affair of no very great importance, but in which he and the detachment of troops under his command, appear to have conducted themselves in an exemplary manner. I likewise inclose the copy of an order which I have issued to the troops under my command upon this occasion.

General Order, October 10, 1803.

Here the attack was renewed upon his party with additional violence, and Capt. O'Donnell finding that his post was a bad one, and at all events too large for his party, barricaded and otherwise strengthened such parts of it as he was of opinion he could defend. He there remained with his small party, without throwing away his ammunition, excepting when he could do it with effect in judicious sallies, in three of which he killed a number of the enemy far exceeding that of his party, which remained in security till it was relieved from Ahmednuggur, at the distance of about forty miles.

Major-General Wellesley returns his thanks to Capt. O'Donnell and Lieut. Bryant, of the 1st regt. of Cavalry, and to Lieut. Morgan and the company of the first battalion 12th regt. under his command, for their conduct on this occasion. He has been particular in detailing the circumstances of this affair in General Orders, in order that all officers may know the advantages which, with a small party of men, they may take, even of the most ruinous village, to protect themselves and the parties of troops under their command.

To the division of the army under his command it was scarcely necessary for Major-General Wellesley to point out that a small body of infantry that keeps its order, and reserves its fire, has but little to fear from cavalry. But in case any officer in charge of a party should be obliged from circumstances to take post, he may see in the example set by Capt. O'Dounell the advantages he can take of the numerous fortified villages in this country, the credit he can gain, and the service he can render, by thus defending himself.

Major-General Wellesley will not fail to report to the Commander-in-Chief his sense of the conduct of Capt. O'Donnell and of the party under his command.

Cheessekair, November 1, 1803; *to Lieut.-Colonel Munro.*

Desperate as the action (Assye) was, our loss would not have exceeded one-half of its present amount if it had not been for a mistake in the officer who led the piquets, which were on the right of the first line. When the enemy changed their position, they threw their left to Assye, in which village they had some infantry, and it was surrounded by cannon. As soon as I saw that, I directed the officer commanding the piquets to keep out of shot from that village; instead of that, he led directly upon it. The 74th, which were on the right of the first line, followed the piquets; and the great loss we sustained was in these two bodies.

Another evil which resulted from this mistake, was the necessity of introducing the cavalry into the cannonade and the action long before it was time, by which that corps lost many men, and its unity and efficiency, that I intended to bring forward in a close pursuit at the heel of the day. But it was necessary to bring forward the cavalry, to save the remains of the 74th and the piquets, which would otherwise have been destroyed. Another evil resulting from it was, that we had then no reserve left, and a parcel of stragglers cut up our wounded, and straggling infantry, who had pretended to be dead, turned their guns upon our backs.

After all, notwithstanding this attack upon Assye, no impression was made upon the corps collected there, till I made a movement upon it with some troops taken from our left, after the enemy's right had been defeated; and it would have been as well to have left it alone entirely till that move-

ment was made. However, I do not wish to cast any reflection upon the officer who led the piquets. I lament the consequences of his mistake, but I must acknowledge that it was not possible for a man to lead a body into a hotter fire than he did the piquets on that day against Assye.

After the action there was no pursuit, because our cavalry was not then in a state to pursue. It was near dark when the action was over, and we passed the night on the field of battle.

General Order, November 2, 1803.

Major-General Wellesley requests Capt. Baynes to accept his thanks for the able disposition which he made of the troops under his command to defend the convoy of which he had charge, when it was attacked by vastly superior numbers of the enemy on the 31st October; and that Capt. Baynes will communicate to the officers and troops under his command Major-General Wellesley's thanks for their steadiness upon that occasion.

This is another instance of what infantry, who preserve their order and reserve their fire, can do against numerous bodies of cavalry; and Major-General Wellesley will not fail to report to the Commander-in-Chief and to Government his sense of the conduct of Capt. Baynes, and of the officers and troops under his command in this action.

Cheessekair, November 2, 1803; *to the Governor-General.*

I have the honour to inclose copies of the reports of this action, which I have received from Capt. Baynes; upon which I have to observe that it affords another instance of what can be done by disciplined infantry, determined to do their duty, against very superior numbers of cavalry.

Waroor, January 16, 1804; *to Major Kirkpatrick.*

The formation and discipline of a body of cavalry are very difficult and tedious, and require great experience and patience in the persons who attempt it. After all, it is doubtful whether they will succeed, and whether the body of cavalry thus formed will be worth the expense of maintaining it; for at the same time that nothing can be more useful in the day of battle than a body of disciplined cavalry, nothing can be more expensive, and nothing more useless, than a body of regular cavalry, half and insufficiently disciplined.

Munkasier, February 5, 1804; *to the Governor-General.*

The advance of the British cavalry when formed, was in the best order and very rapid, notwithstanding the fatigue to which both men and horses had been exposed for the last twenty-four hours.

Parterly, November 30, 1804; *to the Governor-General.*

Some little time elapsed before the lines could be formed, owing to a part of the infantry of my division, which led the column, having got into some confusion. When formed, the whole advanced in the greatest order. The 74th and 78th regts. were attacked by a large body (supposed to be Persians), and all these were destroyed. Scindiah's cavalry charged the first battalion 6th regt., which was on the left of our line, and were repulsed; and their whole line retired in disorder before our troops, leaving in our hands 38 pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition. The British cavalry then pursued for several miles.....For the reasons stated in the commencement of this letter, the action did not commence till late in the day; and unfortunately sufficient daylight did not remain to do all that I could have wished; but the cavalry continued their pursuit by moonlight, and all the troops were under arms until a late hour in the night.

Akote, December 2, 1803; *to Major Shawe.*

If we had had daylight an hour more, not a man would have escaped. We should have had that time if my Native Infantry had not been panic-struck and got into confusion when the cannonade commenced. What do

you think of nearly three entire battalions, who behaved so admirably at Assye, being broken and running off when the cannonade commenced at Argaum, which was not to be compared to that at Assye? Luckily I happened to be at no great distance from them, and I was able to rally them and re-establish the battle. If I had not been there, I am convinced we should have lost the day. But as it was, so much time elapsed before I could form them again, that we had not daylight enough for everything that we should certainly have performed. The troops were under arms, and I was on horseback, from six in the morning until twelve at night.

Camp, February 18, 1804; *to Major Malcolm.*

Excepting Wallace, who is with the camp to the northward, there is nobody that I can trust with the command of the cavalry.

Fort William, September 9, 1804; *to Lieut.-General Stuart.*

From the accounts which have been received, I judge that Holkar attacked Colonel Monson with his infantry and his powerful artillery on the 24th, and if this should be the case, and that the Colonel has effected his retreat in safety, in front of his cavalry, it is an event very honourable to the troops, although, possibly, it may be disastrous in its consequences in other respects. The succession of reverses in this contest with Holkar, although, in reality, none of them are of any consequence, and although it is probable that they may be all attributed to the mistakes of the persons charged with the conduct of the service, may have very unpleasant effects upon our general political situation.

Fort William, September 12, 1804; *to Lieut.-Colonel Wallace.*

You will have heard reports of poor Monson's reverses, but as I am on the spot you will be glad to hear the truth from me; and as they give some important military lessons to us all, I do not regard the trouble of writing them to you..... Monson was attacked by the whole of Holkar's cavalry in three separate bodies, who, however, could make no impression upon him, and they were beat off.....In the first place, it appears, that Colonel Monson's corps was never so strong as to be able to engage Holkar's army, if that chief should collect it; at least the Colonel was of that opinion.

We have some important lessons from this campaign. 1st; We should never employ a corps on a service for which it is not fully equal. 2nd, &c. &c.; In respect to the operations of a corps in the situation of Monson's, they must be decided and quick; and in all retreats, it must be recollected, that they are safe and easy, in proportion to the number of attacks made by the retreating corps. But attention to the foregoing observations will, I hope, prevent a British corps from retreating.

Fort William, September 14, 1804; *to Colonel Murray.*

.....Experience has shewn us, that the Mahratta cavalry are not very formidable when opposed to our infantry. That of Holkar, in particular, made no impression upon Monson's detachment in its long retreat. All the impression was produced by the infantry and cannon, the weather, and want of provisions. The infantry is the strength of Holkar's, as it is of every other army.

.....March to attack his infantry; if you beat that, the cavalry will not hold together.

Holkar may, however, possibly keep his infantry out of your way, surround you with his cavalry, and entirely cut off your communication. You have then only to beat up his cavalry camps as frequently as you may hear of their situation. Do not allow the enemy to lie near you with impunity, and you will soon clear the communication.....If you should hear of the infantry camp, move upon it with celerity and attack it. In this consideration of the subject, I have supposed that you will have no

cavalry. If you should have any, you will, of course, use it in attacks upon the enemy as often as may be practicable, and if you should support those attacks by your infantry and your cannon, you may be certain that they will be successful.....Make your regular marches at the regular hours; beat up the cavalry corps as frequently as you can; if the infantry, or any part of them, should approach you, attack them with vigour.

Seringapatam, December 11, 1804; *to Colonel Moneypenny.*

The horse are the best of their description that I have seen; but, like other cavalry, they must not be exposed to the fire of any description of infantry posted.

The following are also extracts from the Dispatches, and from the General Orders of the Duke of Wellington, to serve to elucidate the proper use and relative merits of cavalry, as exemplified in His Grace's campaigns in the Peninsula, France, and the Low Countries, having been there opposed to French troops from 1808 till 1815.

Villa Verde, August 17, 1808; *to Viscount Castlereagh.*

But he succeeded in effecting his retreat in good order, owing, principally, to my want of cavalry (Roliça.)

Vimeiro, August 21, 1808; *to Sir H. Burrard.*

He was pursued by a detachment of the 20th Light Dragoons; but the enemy's cavalry were so much superior in numbers that this detachment has suffered much, and Lieut.-Colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed.

Vimeiro, August 22, 1808; *to the Duke of York.*

During the night of the 20th and 21st, my patroles gave me intelligence of the movements by the enemy; but as we were so very inferior in cavalry, my patroles could not go to any distance, and of course their reports were very vague, and not founded on very certain grounds.

Oporto, May 12, 1809; *to Viscount Castlereagh.*

On the 11th May,.....and Brig.-General the Hon. C. Stewart led two squadrons of the 16th and 20th Dragoons, under the command of Major Blake, in pursuit of the enemy, and destroyed many and took several prisoners.

On the 12th.....Brig.-General the Hon. C. Stewart then directed a charge by a squadron of the 14th Light Dragoons, under the command of Major Hervey, who made a successful attack on the enemy's rear-guard.

Talavera, July 29, 1809; *to Viscount Castlereagh.*

These columns were immediately charged by the 1st Hussars, K.G.L., and 23rd Light Dragoons under Brig.-General Anson, directed by Lieut.-General Payne, and supported by Brig.-General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry; and although the 23rd Dragoons suffered considerable loss, the charges had the effect of preventing the execution of that part of the enemy's plan.

Memorandum of Colonel the Hon. Fred. Ponsonby in 1821.

Question to the Duke of Wellington. Was there any misunderstanding of the order for the charge of Brig.-General Anson's brigade of cavalry at the battle of Talavera?

Answer of the Duke of Wellington in writing.

If I recollect rightly, there was a small house in the valley, which the French occupied as a flank when they were charged. I don't know why it was supposed there was any mistake. A few hundred cavalry charged a division of infantry formed in squares of battalions. They did not succeed in breaking these squares or columns, nor could they have succeeded *probably*, if they had been as many thousands as they were hundreds.

They did succeed, however, in deterring the French from making their attack upon the key of our position. "But they sustained great loss." To be sure they did:—and for what purpose were they there, if not to sustain loss, if such loss was necessary?

Alverca, July 13, 1810; *to Lord Liverpool.*

.....The small body of the enemy's infantry, employed on the patrole with the cavalry, appear to have conducted themselves in the most gallant manner.

Alverca, July 14, 1810; *to Sir S. Cotton.*

The cause of the failure to take the infantry, as well as the cavalry is, as General Craufurd states it to be, (see General Craufurd's report,) that a body of our own cavalry, which, I conclude, were Grüben's Hussars, were seen coming out of Barquilla, and was taken by mistake for the enemy. The 16th had nothing to do with this mistake; nor probably is any one to blame for it. The French infantry appear to have behaved remarkably well, and probably were so posted that no efforts of cavalry could have forced them.

Killed—2 officers, 7 rank and file, 15 horses.
Wounded—2 Serjeants, 20 rank and file, 16 horses.
Missing—1 rank and file, 1 horse.

Alverca, July 23, 1810; *to Brig.-General R. Craufurd.*

In respect to the business itself, it appeared to me, from the first, that it would and must have succeeded, notwithstanding the gallantry and steadiness of the French infantry, if various accidents had not prevented the execution of the plan as first formed; and I have stated this, as my opinion, in the report which I have made upon the business. Your own report points out clearly the variations from the original plan, and the different accidents which occurred in the execution; among which certainly must be classed, the charge of the first squadron of the 16th to the left of the hussars, and the delay after the first charge by Talbot, owing to the first and second squadrons of the 16th having gone off after the cavalry. But even then the infantry would not have got away, if the squadrons coming out of Barquilla had not been taken for the enemy.

I can only say, that I have never seen an attack by our troops, in which similar, if not greater, accidents have not occurred, and in which orders have not been given, for which no authority had proceeded from the Commander, and in which there were not corresponding accidents and failures. This is to be attributed to the inexperience of our officers; and, I must add, to some good qualities in them, as well as in the troops. All this would not signify much, if our Staff and other Officers would mind their business instead of writing news and keeping coffee-houses.....In respect to the 16th Light Dragoons, they appear, in this affair, to have conducted themselves with the spirit and alacrity of soldiers. They failed in the intelligence, and coolness, and order, which can be acquired only by experience. But it would be too hard to impute to them alone the failure of complete success, which may be traced likewise to other accidental circumstances, and it would be equally cruel to allow the reputation of this regiment to be whispered away by ignorance, idleness, and slander. You and I agree entirely upon the whole matter; and I have gone into this detail just to explain to you what has passed here, and upon what principle I have acted.

Le Marechal Prince d'Essling à Son Altesse le Prince, Major-Général, au bivouac sans Ciudad Rodrigo, le 12 *Juillet,* 1810; *communicated to Colonel Gurwood by General Pelet, first Aide-de-camp to Marechal Massena, Prince d'Essling.*

La belle conduite de la 3me compagnée de grenadiers du 22me de

ligne contre un parti Anglais ne peut être passée sous silence. Cette compagnée envoyée le 11, au matin, à Villar de Puerco pour soutenir une reconnoissance de dragons, avait à peine depasser le village qu'un parti de cavalerie Anglaise de plus de 400 chevaux est sorti du bois à gauche de la route et a chargé la compagnie de grenadiers. Le capitaine de cette compagnie forma aussitôt un quarré par demi sections, il attendit, de pied ferme, l'ennemi; un feu de file bien nourri, fait à 30 pas a arrêté la cavalerie enemie qui sabrait déjà dans les rangs, et dont les coups n'ont porté que sur les fusils et les bayonnetes. Une 2me charge a été reçue de la même manière, 12 bayonnetes attestent qu'elles ont été enforcées dans le portrail des chevaux. L'ennemi allait tenter une 3me charge, mais il se ravisa, et recapitulant les pertes qu'il venait de faire il prit le parti de se retirer. Les deux premierès charges ont laissé autour de notre quarré 24 cavalieres morts, parmi lesquels le chef de la troupe et 20 chevaux. Nous n'avons en de notre côté ni blessés ni tues. La presence d'esprit et la fermeté du Cap. Gouache et le courage du Sergent Patois ont servi d'exemple aux braves grenadiers de la 3rd compagnée du 22me de ligne.

Cet exemple merite nos encouragemens et une recompense. Je prie Votre Altesse de proposer le premier pour le grade de chef de bataillon, qui a été demandé plusieurs fois pour lui, et pour le deuxième la decoration de Legionnaire.

Escalhos de Cima, August 22, 1810; *Brig.-General Fane to Lieut.-General Hill.*

I have the honour to report to you, that the troop of the 13th Light Dragoons, and one of the 4th Portuguese Dragoons, forming the squadron under Capt. White, of the 13th, at Ladoeiro, this morning fell in with a patrole of the enemy's dragoons consisting of 1 Captain, 2 Subs., and about 60 men. Capt. White fortunately succeeded in coming up with them, when he immediately charged and overturned them, and the result has been the capture of 2 Lieutenants, 3 Serjeants, 6 Corporals, 1 Trumpeter, 50 privates, and about 50 horses, &c.

September 20, 1810; *to Lord Liverpool.*

On the 14th, the Spanish cavalry was engaged with that of the enemy near Fuente de Cantos, the Portuguese brigade under Brigadier-General Madden being at La Calzadilla. After the engagement had lasted a considerable portion of the day, the Spanish cavalry gave way in some confusion; and Brigadier-General Madden having moved forward, fell upon the enemy in a most decided and effectual manner, overthrew and pursued them to their cannon, and took some prisoners, and saved the Spaniards. The Marques de la Romana, from whom I have received the account, mentions in high terms the conduct of Brigadier-General Madden, and of the Portuguese troops under his command, which he says has excited the admiration of the whole Army.....I must take this opportunity of mentioning to your Lordship the obligations I am under to the British cavalry, commanded by Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton. Since the end of July, they have alone done the duty of the outposts, and the enemy has never been out of sight of some of them; and on every occasion their superiority has been so great, that the enemy does not use his cavalry excepting when supported and protected by his infantry.

Miguel, October 6, 1810; *Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, Bart., to Viscount Wellington.*

The enemy attacked my piquets on the Pombal and Soure roads at 6 A.M. yesterday, and obliged them to retire upon the former road. I went forward with the supporting squadron (16th Light Dragoons) to reconnaitre the enemy, when, perceiving that he was in force (7 regiments of cavalry,

6 guns, and a division of infantry), and that his cavalry (2 regiments) were advancing rapidly, I sent for two more squadrons of the 16th and one of the 1st Hussars, determining to seize the first favourable opportunity of checking him before his infantry could come up. This was done in the most gallant manner by the piquets of the Royals, 14th and 16th Dragoons (amounting together to about 60 men), and a squadron of the 16th. This attack, by which the enemy had a good many killed and wounded, had the effect of checking him till supported by 6 pieces of artillery and the rest of his cavalry. The squadrons above-mentioned then retired in the best order, charging the head of the enemy's column with great success eight times during the retreat to the Mendinello, about two miles. After passing the river I was well supported by Captain Bull with two guns. The enemy then allowed me to withdraw the troops, and I retired gradually through Leiria to the position to which (according to the instructions received through the Quartermaster General) I had sent the body of the cavalry in the morning.

I cannot speak too highly in praise of the gallant and steady conduct of officers and men upon this occasion; and, I am happy to say, that though frequently exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery our loss was trifling. On the part of the enemy the number killed and wounded was considerable. Few prisoners were brought away (though many were made in the different attacks,) owing to our being on the retreat before a very superior and increasing force; consequently not being able to bring off such as we wounded or dismounted.

I think it my duty to recommend to your Lordship's notice Lieut.-Colonel Elley, A.A.G., whose exertions contributed much to the good order and regularity preserved by the troops upon retiring; and I beg leave to mention, that I received great assistance from Capt. the Marquis of Tweeddale, and the rest of my staff.

P.S.—I send to head-quarters 3 officers and 20 dragoons and horses prisoners.

Carregado, October 9, 1810; *Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, Bart., to Viscount Wellington.*

The enemy's cavalry advanced this morning to Quinta da Torre, where I kept him in check till he was supported by three battalions of infantry and artillery, when I fell back with the three regiments of cavalry upon the plain, on the flanks of which the enemy sent small parties of cavalry with infantry, but did not follow with the body of his cavalry.

In the evening I sent the regiments on towards this place according to instructions, and remained myself with detachments of the hussars and 16th Light Dragoons to observe the motions of the enemy. The enemy's infantry remained in the wood near Quinta da Torre, the body of his cavalry filed off in the direction of Abrigada. A piquet, supported by a strong squadron, was left by the enemy in front of the wood. I sent Capt. Cocks, 16th Dragoons, with a few dragoons of that regiment and some hussars, to attack the piquet, and supported him with the rest of Capt. Aly's squadron of hussars. These officers charged the enemy with great spirit and success, and without any material loss. The whole of the enemy's squadron and piquet would have been taken had they not been supported by infantry. One officer, 19 men, and 16 horses were taken, and the enemy had the greater part of his squadron and piquet killed or wounded. I had ordered a squadron of the Royal Dragoons to be in readiness to support, should there be occasion; but, by some mistake, this squadron (when the 16th and hussars were retiring with their prisoners) advanced towards and received the fire of the enemy's infantry, by which they lost two men and four horses killed, and had a few wounded.

Quinta da Torre, October 9, 1810; *Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, Bart., to Viscount Wellington.*

I have the honour to report to your Lordship the good conduct of Capt. Murray, 16th Light Dragoons, who with part of his squadron had been left yesterday on piquet near Rio Maior, after I retired to Alcoentre. The enemy's cavalry advancing rapidly drove Capt. Murray through the town of Alcoentre, when I ordered that officer to attack the three squadrons which the enemy had pushed into it. This Capt. Murray, with part of his squadron only, executed with great spirit, killing and wounding a great many of the enemy, and bringing off about twenty men and horses. Most of the enemy's wounded and several who were made prisoners escaped by getting into the houses. I am happy to add, that we did not lose a man or horse, except one taken by the enemy in consequence of his saddle turning.

Cartaxo, February 23, 1811; *to Lord Liverpool.*

I am concerned to add to this melancholy history, that the Portuguese brigade of cavalry did not behave much better the other troops. Brigadier-General Madden did every thing in his power to induce them to charge, but in vain.....This circumstance shows the effect of surprise and of general panic upon troops, as this brigade have, upon former occasions, behaved remarkably well.

Cartaxo, February 23, 1811; *to Hon. H. Wellesley.*

I now inclose my dispatch to the Secretary of State, of this day, giving an account of the defeat of the Spaniards at Badajoz; and I inclose, for your private inspection, copies from two letters from Madden, who, you will observe, is not better pleased with the Portuguese cavalry than he is with the Spanish troops. Few troops will bear a surprise and a general panic; and at all events, young cavalry are much more easily affected by these circumstances; and the effect upon them is much more extensive and more sensibly felt by the whole army than similar circumstances operating upon infantry in the same state of discipline. Their horses afford them means of flight; and when once cavalry lose their order, it is impossible to restore it. For this reason I am always inclined to keep the cavalry out of action as long as possible.

Arganil, March 20, 1811; *to Marshal Sir W. C. Beresford.*

The character of Soult's operations, I think, is to detach a good deal. I recommend to you to keep your troops very much "en masse." I have always considered the cavalry to be the most delicate arm we possess. We have few officers who have practical knowledge of the mode of using it, or who have ever seen more than two regiments together; and all our troops, cavalry as well as infantry, are a little inclined to get out of order in battle. To these circumstances, add that the defeat of, or any great loss sustained by our cavalry in these open grounds, would be a misfortune amounting almost to a defeat of the whole; and you will see the necessity of keeping the cavalry, as much as possible, "en masse" and in reserve, to be thrown in at the moment when an opportunity may offer of striking a decisive blow.

(*Lieut.-General Graham.*) *Barrosa, March* 6, 1811.

I understood, from General Whittingham, that with three squadrons of cavalry, he kept in check a corps of infantry and cavalry that attempted to turn the Barrosa by the sea. One squadron of the 2nd Hussars, K.G.L., under Capt. Busche, and directed by Lieut.-Colonel F. Ponsonby, (both had been attached to the Spanish cavalry,) joined in time to make a brilliant and most successful charge against a squadron of French dragoons, which were entirely routed.

Marmoleiro, April 2, 1811; *to Lord Liverpool.*

Campo Maior. This success would have been more complete, and would

have been attended by less loss, if the ardour of the 13th Light Dragoons and 7th Portuguese regt. of cavalry, in pursuit of the enemy, could have been kept within reasonable bounds. Some of the men missing of both those regiments were made prisoners on the bridge of Badajoz.

Villar Formoso, May 8, 1811; *to Lord Liverpool.* (*Fuentes de Oñoro.*)

(The battalions of the light division crossed the plain from Espeja to the position of Fuentes de Oñoro, in columns at quarter distance. The French cavalry, of which 900 of the Garde Imperiale, not daring to attack them.)

Quinta de S. Joño, June 27, 1811; *to Lord Liverpool.*

The loss of the piquet of the 11th Dragoons, and that sustained by the piquet of the 2nd Hussars, K.G.L., are disagreeable circumstances; but they tend to show the difference between old and new troops. The old regiments of cavalry throughout all their services, have not lost so many men as the 2nd Hussars, and the 11th and 13th Dragoons; the former in a few days, and the latter in a few months. However, we must make the new as good as the old. Our cavalry are just now in very good condition.

[To be concluded next month; after which the Charges of Infantry.]

MEMOIRS OF GENERAL AND FLAG-OFFICERS RECENTLY DECEASED.

Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.

(Concluded from No. 186, page 129.)

Not long after the interview narrated in our last, the Governor made a second visit to his captive, the object of which was to assure himself directly of his presence, as he had not allowed himself to be seen by the Orderly Officer. He found Napoleon lying on a couch in his dressing-gown, and apparently in ill-health. Expressing his regret at the apparent indisposition, Sir Hudson offered the services of Mr. Baxter, his own medical attendant, and the chief medical officer on the island, which was met with Napoleon with a "Je ne veux pas de medecins!" In the conversation which followed, the furniture sent out by the British Government, was mentioned by Sir Hudson, with a request that instructions might be given for its disposition, but these observations met only with such replies, as "Quon m'envoye un cercueil, deux balles dans la tête, voila ce qu'il me faut." On terminating the interview, Sir Hudson renewed his offer of Mr. Baxter's services, but met with the same reply as before.

Shortly after this interview a declaration was submitted to the followers of Napoleon, purporting their decision to abide by the restrictions imposed upon him, the alternative of which was their being dismissed from the island. This was sent up in a form consonant with the instructions of the English Government, but was returned in one widely different, purporting their intention to submit to the restrictions imposed on the "Emperor Napoleon, however unjust and vexatious they might be." Although the footing on which Napoleon was to be treated had been prescribed by the English Government, from the very time of his approaching the British shores in the Bellerophon, and had been constantly acted upon since, Sir Hudson accepted the declaration in the form sent back.

The first cause, or rather occasion of open hostilities, was one which Sir Hudson made with a view to promote some "rapprochement." The Countess of Loudon, wife of the Governor-General of India, Earl Moira, had arrived on the island, and Sir Hudson despatched an invitation, through Count Bertrand, to Napoleon, to meet her at Plantation House. If the tact of the invitation may be questioned, its intention can scarcely be. Further, when it met with no answer from Napoleon, Sir Hudson does not appear to give

up the wish to be courteous. On seeing one of Napoleon's suite, shortly after, he asked the reason of the invitation not being accepted, and was answered, that the circumstance arose from Plantation House being without the Emperor's limits, and from the determination not to extend his exercise where the presence of the Orderly Officer was necessary. "I regret," said Sir Hudson, "that I had not earlier known that this was General Bonaparte's objection, as I would have offered to accompany the General myself, or to send any officer of my staff, or if a Staff appointment were an objection, to allow an officer of General Bonaparte's own selection to accompany him, and allow me to say, that there are officers on the island, by whom the Prince Regent of England would not think it a dishonour to be attended." This was certainly language calculated to mitigate harsh necessities.

"To get rid," however, observes Sir Hudson Lowe, in a note on an extract from Mr. O'Meara's letter to Mr. Finlaison, of 22nd October, 1815 "of the presence of a British officer was the first, the never-ceasing aim of Bonaparte and all his French followers. It was, in fact, the only restriction that really weighed upon them. Hence the art with which it was sought to be evaded. A circuit of twelve miles was at first obtained, within which were the troops, and several inhabitants, houses, &c. Hence sprang all the difficulties afterwards. The slightest attempts at modification produced a storm. The very *attempt*, though afterwards given up, has entailed a never-ending attack, a never-ending obloquy. This it is, which forms the groundwork of all Mr. O'Meara's declamation, for Bonaparte, suffering himself to be accompanied by an officer, could go where he pleased, speak to whom he pleased, do what he pleased. Where was the hardship of his being attended by any of the senior officers of the island, or being attended by a junior one as a matter of form, and only as a check on any improper communications? This kind of check was that, however, which still more affected him in the parts he destined for his followers, than as it regarded himself. How can it be said he was confined, prevented from taking exercise, and from speaking to any person, when he could go where he pleased, speak to whom pleased, if attended by a British officer?"

Though Sir Hudson's intentions must have been apparent to Napoleon, if the expressions cited above were repeated, which may be doubtful, yet on the next interview, on which he was loaded with abuse by Napoleon, this invitation formed one of the pretexts—"C'etait une insulte de m'inviter à diner, et de m'appeler le General Bonaparte. Je ne suis pas le General Bonaparte—je suis l'Empereur Napoleon. Est ce que vous etes venu ici pour etre mon boureau, mon geolier?" Whilst speaking in this manner, his right arm moved backwards and forwards, his person stood fixed, his eyes and countenance exhibiting everything that could be supposed in a person who meant to intimidate and to irritate*.

"At a later period of the interview," says Sir Hudson, "working himself up apparently to say something which he thought would appal me with extraordinary surprise or dread, he said, 'Voulez vous, Monsieur, que je vous dis la verité,—oui, Monsieur, voulez vous que je vous dis la verité? je crois que *vous* avez *les ordres* de *me tuer*, oui, de *me tuer*—oui, Monsieur, que vouz les ordres de faire *tout*, *tout*.' He then looked at me as if expecting a reply. My answer was, 'Vous avez observé, Monsieur, dans la dernière entrevue que j'ai eu avec vous, que vous avez mal calculé l'esprit du peuple Anglais; vous calculez aussi mal à present l'esprit d'un militaire Anglais.'"

During this interview, Napoleon had remarked to Sir Hudson, "Non, Monsieur, je ne permettrai jamais qu'on entre dans l'enterieur de mon appartement, qu'on penetre dans ma chambre-à-coucher, comme vous avez donné l'ordre." The remark surprised Sir Hudson, as he had not given any

* Memoranda of conversation with General Bonaparte on May 17th, 1816, transmitted to Lord Bathurst, with a letter, May 20th.

such orders, and he attributed it to misconceptions arising from the employment of an intermediary. And it is here important to remark that it seems to have been the universal impression of those able to form an opinion on the subject, that, from the commencement of Napoleon's captivity, the intervention of those about him was extremely productive of misapprehension and embarrassment. On this subject Capt. Maitland, Mr. O'Meara (in his letters to Mr. Finlaison), and the officers of Sir Hudson's Staff, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, and Sir Hudson Lowe, were all of precisely the same opinion. It may be as well to make a few extracts from the letters of the Surgeon in illustration of this point.

"He has also discovered that the Admiral's conduct has been most shamefully misrepresented and blackened to him. The people he is surrounded by at present give me some idea of what the Court of St. Cloud must have been during his omnipotent sway. Everything even here is disguised and mutilated in the representation to him, particularly by Montholon. Monsieur Bertrand, however, is an exception to this, and is in my opinion really an honest and good man*."

"They are sufficiently malignant to impute all these things (various defects in the quality of provisions) to the Governor, instead of setting them down as being owing to the neglect or carelessness of some of Balcombe's† people. Every little circumstance is carried directly to Bonaparte, with every aggravation that malignity and falsehood can suggest to evil-disposed and cankered minds."

The letters of Mr. O'Meara display the bitterest dislike of Count Montholon, and much ill-will to other members of Napoleon's suite, with an obvious desire to make them obnoxious to the authorities; but in what he writes to Mr. Finlaison, there was not the motive for that exaggeration which may undoubtedly be suspected in those to the officers of Sir Hudson's Staff, from which we give two more extracts.

"I explained to Montholon ('che so non fosse poltrone e bugiardo rarebbe bravissimo uomo, ma levategli solamente queste' piccole difetti e perfetto galantuomo') ('who if he were not a poltroon and a liar, would be an excellent man, but only take away these two little defects, and he is a perfect gentleman'), that you were combining heaven and earth to lodge him and his amiable consort in state, &c.‡"

"Great dissentions and civil commotions between De las Cases and Gourgaud, (the latter backed by Montholon,) about the rooms; both applied to Bonaparte in urgent terms to get them, but Nap. very wisely settled it like Pope Leo, by taking them himself. Montholon cannot conceal his joy at the failure of De las Cases, and for the present is triumphant:—'Ma il Gesuito sempre travaglia, travaglia parla poco e mal,' &c. (we give the English of the Italian conclusion) but the Jesuit is always working, working, he speaks little and ill, but at the end will win his way like a mouse in cheese§." Such were the opinions expressed by Mr. O'Meara at the time, respecting some of the principal persons of Napoleon's suite; and while it is obvious how much they betray of personal malignity, it at least cannot but be interesting to show what the most bitter enemy subsequently of Sir Hudson Lowe, thought at the time respecting the difficulties which resulted to his, and also to his predecessor's interview with Napoleon, from the constitution of the Longwood court. The first extract from the letter to Mr. Finlaison, would appear especially important, and from collateral testimony to furnish a generally just statement of the position of affairs.

In June, arrived the new Admiral, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, in the Newcastle frigate, bringing with him the Commissioners of the three Allied

* To Mr. Finlaison, March 16, 1816, before Sir Hudson's arrival.

† The Purveyor of Longwood. To Sir T. Reade, 10th July, 1816. This has been already cited in the Quarterly Review.

‡ To Major Gorrequer, 21st June, 1816.

§ To Sir T. Reade, 24th July, 1816.

Powers,—Austria, France, and Russia, viz., the Baron Sturmer, the Marquis de Montchenu, and Count Balmain. Earl Bathurst had viewed the appointment of these Commissioners with displeasure in the first instance, and had recommended Sir Hudson Lowe to avoid taking them out with him to St. Helena; he now sent a private letter, in which surmising that the Commissioners "would have too little to do where they are going, not to be tempted to do a little mischief," he recommended him to encourage them "to amuse themselves by going to the Cape by way of change, and to engage to furnish them and their Courts with a regular account of the state of your prisoner*."

Thus, these Commissioners, naturally objects of distrust to Sir Hudson, were also so pointed out to him by his Government, and in fact the very anomalous nature of their position, in which, while ostensibly charged with surveillance, they were really more the objects of it, proved the source of much controversy and embarrassment. It is remarkable, however, that both Baron Sturmer and Count Balmain, though constantly involved in disputes with Sir Hudson, remained on terms of personal friendship, both on and after leaving the island. With the Marquis de Montchenu disputes were somewhat less frequent; and in his case there appears to have been little interruption of good understanding. By the same occasion he received instructions to do all in his power to reduce the number of Bonaparte's adherents, by encouraging any disposition they might indicate to leave St. Helena, and try all means to cut down the expenses of the Longwood establishment to 8000*l.* a year, holding out the option to Bonaparte to defray any surplus expenditure out of the large funds which he was known to possess in Europe.

Sir Hudson now solicited a new interview to introduce the Admiral, and was received with the utmost politeness, Napoleon making the most obliging inquiries with respect to himself and Lady Lowe. This struck Sir Pulteney so much, that he observed to Sir Hudson, that he had never seen a man "come round to another so much," as Napoleon had done to him, during their interview.

The Commissioners' first object was of course to obtain an interview with Napoleon. Sir Hudson was determined that this should be through his presentation of them in their official capacity. In this capacity, however, Bonaparte would not receive them; and the result was, that during their whole stay on the island, these Commissioners charged to look to the safety of the prisoner of St. Helena, were never once admitted to see him.

The course pointed out to Sir Hudson was not of a character to promise the resumption or continuance of a good understanding. The arrival of the Commissioners proved the signal of many communications from Longwood. Madame Bertrand wrote to Marquis de Montchenu, (as Mr. O'Meara stated, by Napoleon's desire,) to inquire after her mother's health, and this letter, not being sent through the Governor, was intercepted and detained. The attendants of the Commissioners also gave him uneasiness. "The utmost I can do at present," he says in a letter to Earl Bathurst, speaking of some French servants brought by Baron Sturmer, "is to keep them and General Bonaparte's attendants as far asunder as possible, and every measure is taking by me to this effect."

In considering matters of this kind it is requisite to bear in mind the tenor of Sir Hudson's instructions, from which we subjoin an extract. "You will observe that the desire of His Majesty's Government is to allow every indulgence to General Bonaparte which may be compatible with the entire security of his person. That he should not by any means escape, or hold communication with any person whatever, excepting through your agency, must be your unremitting care; and those points being made sure, every resource and amusement which may serve to reconcile Bonaparte to

* Letter from Earl Bathurst, dated Downing-street, received 17th June, 1816; *another dated* 15th April, 1816, received by the same occasion.

his confinement may be permitted."—Dated Downing-street, 12th September, 1815.

It is also requisite to recollect that no letters to or from the Longwood establishment were allowed to pass to Europe without being read by the Governor, and that the same rule was enforced with regard to their letters on the island. Some deviations from this rule had been permitted in Sir George Cockburn's time; but Sir Hudson deeming them at variance with the tenor and spirit of the instructions, enforced it rigidly.

Sir Hudson beceme involved in angry correspondence and conferences with Count Bertrand, and, on seeking to obtain redress from Napoleon, met, on a fifth interview, at which Sir Pulteney Malcolm was present, with a greater storm of abuse than had been levelled at him on the former occasion. Speaking almost always of him in the third person, and addressing himself to the Admiral, Napoleon loaded him with harsh accusations and vituperative epithets. The Admiral did not accept the character indicated for him, as he repeatedly interrupted Napoleon, with justifications and explanations of Sir Hudson's conduct, on points on which it was impeached. On the termination of the interview he expressed to Sir Hudson his sense of the self-command and forbearance he had displayed on the occasion. On the other hand, Napoleon confessed to Las Cases his regret at the intemperance of language into which he had been betrayed. This interview was the last which took place between the Governor and his captive*.

In mentioning the intemperance of Napoleon's language and temper it is not our wish to bring forward these as justifying any censure upon him. Some of the remarks made on this subject seem unjust in the extreme. How irrational to expect the mildness of a Melanchthon in a great sovereign and warrior fallen from such height of power into captivity and misfortune! It seems rather wonderful how he should have exhibited so much as he did of mildness and equanimity. But this, at least, is proved by Napoleon's irritability: that the Governor's command of his own temper, which naturally was violent and hasty enough, in his interviews with him, is deserving of commendation, and also that in the language Napoleon appears to have been in the habit of using concerning Sir Hudson Lowe, more is to be ascribed to himself and to his situation, in accounting for its vituperative character, than to any other cause.

In October events of some importance occurred, the declaration originally signed in April being sent back by Lord Bathurst, with strict injunctions that it should be signed in the form originally prescribed by Government, and that those who would not do so were to be immediately shipped off for the Cape. The object of this measure was probably to deprive Bonaparte of some of the leading persons of his suite. However, though it caused great embarrassment and irritation, it was signed by all the persons at Longwood. Four, however, of the servants of the Longwood household were, about this time, pursuant to strict instructions from home, compelled to withdraw from the island.

It is not our intention to pursue any further the narrative of events at St. Helena; and in carrying it so far, though very imperfectly, the object has been to show the nature of the duties on the island, and the hundred difficulties attending them. We prefer continuing by an extract from a printed but unpublished memorial of Sir Hudson Lowe, composed in 1823-4.

"The result of all the opinions given to Sir H. Lowe was little less than that the repose of the world depended on the faithful execution of the trust reposed in him—'There is only one thing now to look after, that rests with you.' Sir H. Lowe needed no argument to convince him of the importance of his charge; he had himself been a near spectator, and, in some degree, an actor amongst the great events that had been passing, but he still did not dissemble to himself, that if peace and

* It occurred August, 1816.

harmony were to be looked forward to in Europe, war, in its most concentrated form, would be ever active, or its flames only smothered, wherever the individual might proceed, who was to be under his care, and that the duty of watching over the fire must always prove a most anxious one for him.

"On Sir H. Lowe's arrival in England, he was formally assured, 'Lord Liverpool had said that if he went to St. Helena, "*it should not stop there.*"' Sir H. Lowe was advised by a friend of some experience, to stipulate for a pension before he went out, but he resisted the suggestion. He felt too confident of the principles upon which he should discharge the duty intrusted to him, not to be assured that recompense must follow. The employment was accepted unconditionally, and without seeking to establish any condition about it. '*That Bonaparte was not to escape, and that he was to hold no communication with any person whatsoever, unless through his agency, were to be the objects of his unremitting care.*' Such were his principal instructions.

"Sir H. Lowe was desired to offer any suggestions respecting the bills to be prepared for Parliament.

"To guard against the effects of *clandestine* and *unauthorized* communication, was the great object which naturally drew his attention. The then Solicitor-General observed to Sir H. Lowe, that communication might be provided against by means of *sentries!* This word marks sufficiently the degree of restraint to which it was *then* supposed Bonaparte would be rendered subject.

"On Sir H. Lowe's arrival at St. Helena, he found that Bonaparte, with his train of followers and attendants, about *thirty* in number, were left, twelve hours of the day, and *three hours of dark, without any sentries at all*, near them, and that an almost indiscriminate intercourse, if not formally admitted, was, at all events, daily taking place between them and all kind of persons whom they might casually see or meet. A sealed correspondence, it has been said and sworn to, by Mr. O'Meara, was also admitted.

"The mischiefs resulting from casual meetings it might be possible to guard against, or, at all events, to diminish the risk of; but that of a private uninterrupted intercourse with individuals attached to Bonaparte's person, and living in the same house with him, such as his surgeon and the orderly officer, or the purveyor, who had also constant access to the house; where their principles were any way doubtful, it was not so easy to combat.

"The only effectual remedy was that which had been sought for in Sir H. Lowe's suggestions to the Solicitor-General, but these had not been acted upon. Even the provisions of the Act of Parliament, where, if taken in a general sense, they might have been rendered available, were afterwards rendered almost nugatory by causes which will be hereafter spoken of.

"The first individual who saw the advantage of his position, and was resolved to avail himself of it, was Bonaparte's English surgeon.

"A circumstance was discovered at home. It was communicated to Sir H. Lowe, with a direction that unless satisfactory explanations were presented, the individual was to be removed. He denied the fact altogether, and imputed it to another; proofs, however, it is believed, existed in England; they can now, at all events, be obtained, but they were not communicated at the time or afterwards to Sir H. Lowe, and it was impossible for him therefore to act upon them. Alarmed, however, at the fear of being removed from his situation, the Surgeon confessed attempts had been made to make him the bearer of clandestine communications, and he delivered up to Sir H. Lowe a letter, in the hand-writing of Count Montholon, which had been left in his room for the purpose of being sent home to be published in the Morning Chronicle, and of which he said he intended to make no other use than to take extracts from it for a friend in the Admiralty. He exhibited, on this occasion, unasked for, a letter, marked secret and confidential, encouraging, it is true, his correspondence, but not communications of such nature.

"Sir H. Lowe at once saw the whole mischief of this course, pointed out to the individual the danger of it to himself, in charging himself with such a communication as that he had shown to him, and cautioned him in general upon the subject of his correspondence with any individual upon matters of so delicate nature. If there were any communications to make to His Majesty's Ministers, the Governor was the channel for them. The merit would not be less his, as any information he might have to give would be conveyed in his own name. Such suggestions Sir H. Lowe *thought* due to the authority under which he himself was acting.

"The Surgeon appeared grateful for the forbearance shewn towards him—opposed no argument whatever to the suggestions presented to him—appeared even disposed to act upon them, and, so far as regards the latter point, did for some time act upon them; but not proof against the wiles of those to whom he stood at the time, and without Sir H. Lowe's knowledge, secretly pledged, or following rather the bent of his own natural cunning and duplicity, he resolved on a continuance of his correspondence and communications, and, in order to obtain a guarantee for them at once, boldly made known the injunctions that had been given by Sir H. Lowe, and his arguments for disobeying them, and actually transmitted, at the same time, a copy of the very letter he delivered up to Sir H. Lowe, under the express understanding that he was interdicted from charging himself with any communication of such nature.

"Two months afterwards he transmitted a still fuller communication, repeated at the same time the injunctions Sir H. Lowe had given him, and thus resolved to leave nothing equivocal, as to the approbation or otherwise, that might be bestowed upon the continuance of his opposition in so important a point to the officer under whose authority he was placed.

"The replies to these letters were decisive as to the nature of Sir H. Lowe's future relations, not only with the individual himself, but with Bonaparte, who had the wires thus placed in his own hands, his followers, the foreign Commissioners, to whom the purport must have been secretly communicated, and to all descriptions of persons to whom it was the object to make any secret communication on the subject.

"Copies of these remarkable letters have been given. Words cannot convey, in more precise terms, the approbation bestowed on the conduct of the person written to, and the writer himself has not been disavowed in the directions given him, or in the phrases employed by him.

"It is unnecessary at present to make any further comment upon this unfortunate proceeding, than to say, that it rendered tenfold more difficult the execution of Sir H. Lowe's duties at St. Helena, caused it to be almost impossible for him to come to any right understanding with the persons under his charge; secretly stripped him of one of the chief attributes of his authority, leaving him still the responsible person for the mischief which might spring from such interference with it; loosened every tie of proper respect towards him from those who were secretly acquainted with, and paved the way (based upon a false assumption of intended injury towards the individual) for a persecution of the most audacious and atrocious calumnies, that were, perhaps, ever invented to ruin the reputation of any individual in public life.

"The immediate effects within the island, Sir H. Lowe was not slow in perceiving.

"Bonaparte might avail himself of his situation to offer insults to Sir H. Lowe, but the latter was resolved not to become his dupe.

"Sir H. Lowe at once declared the Surgeon not to have his authority for any communication with Bonaparte, except on subjects of his profession, that he fell under the law and the proclamations in this respect like any other individual. It is needless to pursue this topic any further, than merely to say, that Sir H. Lowe found it necessary afterwards to represent Mr. O'Meara's conduct—that it became a matter of downright necessity he should be removed—that he was removed,—that still, however, full of confidence in the secret influence he had established, it was so contrived that a successor was gained to act in the same course as himself*—that that successor became committed, and was also soon removed;—that bribery was attempted with another, which, through the honour of the individual†, and the known uncompromising disposition of Sir H. Lowe himself, also failed of its effect, and that, finally, Bonaparte seeing the folly and imprudence of his own line of proceeding, began to approach towards Sir H. Lowe, partook in some degree of the relaxation offered to him, acknowledged the attentions shewn, and would undoubtedly, had he lived even a few months longer, been upon those terms with the officer under whose custody he was placed, which it was the

* Mr. Stokoe, surgeon to the Northumberland, who was tried and dismissed the Service by a naval Court-Martial.

† Dr. Verling, to whom a most open and gross proposition of bribery was made by Count de Montholon.

object of that officer's instructions he should be, and which he would have been most probably three years preceding, had it not been for the causes above-mentioned —causes which perhaps operated fully as much to the discomfort of Bonaparte, whilst living, as of Sir H. Lowe, and the unmerited consequences of which, to the latter, have never ceased to flow."

That many misapprehensions originally existing were removed at a later period will be obvious from many facts. Thus, in a conversation on the 16th October, 1818, we find Count Montholon observing to Sir Hudson Lowe, "I feel a pleasure also in rendering you justice on another subject, (the first was the rapidity with which the construction of the new house for Napoleon had been carried on,) that is, the provisioning of the house, to which you have paid all sort of attention, and which has arrived at a degree of regularity never before known. * * * All our wants are amply supplied, and, since your arrival, we were only some time, in consequence of the retrenchment which you were obliged to make in consequence of the orders of your Government, in want of anything*." Many difficulties arose on various other topics subsequently to this period, but after the failure of the attempt on Dr. Verling, and the arrival of Dr. Antommarchi, all appears to have gone on with almost perfect smoothness. Early in 1820 a very considerable extension of the boundaries was made, of which the inmates of Longwood availed themselves frequently, and Napoleon occasionally, while he was in the habit of constantly taking exercise in his garden. But the sedentary habits which, in neglect of the most urgent remonstrances of his medical attendants, and of the medical service on the island acquainted with his symptoms, he had long persevered in, his abuse of the warm bath, dislike to ventilation, and the improper mercurial treatment to which he had been subjected by Messrs. O'Meara and Stokoe†, had combined with mental depression to develope *the germ of a disease*, (which had shown itself so long previous as during the Russian campaign,) and to make these healthier and more invigorating habits, ineffectual for the preservation of his existence.

"The death of Bonaparte occurring," says Sir H. Lowe, in the Memorial previously cited, "the whole importance of Sir H. Lowe's employment immediately vanished. The unpopularity of having been charged with that employment seems alone to have awaited him." To this he had to oppose the approbation of the Government which had employed him, and to the calumnious attacks of Mr. O'Meara the affidavits of a number of Officers of both Services, proving many of his charges to be exaggerated misrepresentations, and conveying high approbation of his character and conduct. Among the Officers who came forward in his behalf, on the prosecution of Mr. O'Meara by a criminal information, were Major-General Sir George Bingham; Colonels Sir Thomas Reade, E. Wynyard, D. Dodgin, Lascelles; Majors Nicholl, Mansel, Gorrequer, Baird; Surgeons Burton, Henry, J. Verling, M.D., Capt. Stanfell, R.N., and others. On the other hand, it is fair to add that Mr. O'Meara was not without his supporting affidavits, some of the discrepancies arising on points intelligible enough with respect to the veracity of both parties. Thus, it is satisfactorily proved by the affidavits on Sir Hudson's side, that all the superior, and many of the inferior Officers of the troops on the island, had never sustained any let or hindrance in

* Major Gorrequer's affidavit.

† The following are extracts of notes from Dr. Robert Gooch, one of the most eminent English physicians of this country:—

"DEAR SIR HUDSON,—I have nearly read Antommarchi's book, which affords fine picking for a reviewer. It is quite clear that Bonaparte's case was completely mistaken,—that mercury had far more to do with his death than St. Helena, and O'Meara and Stokoe than the English Government." No date.——From another. "I have extracted from the Memorial a part of Count Montholon's letter to the Countess, in which he says that Bonaparte died of the ulcer in his stomach,—that it covered seven-eighths of the stomach,—that it had probably begun four or five years *before*, and, consequently, could not have been occasioned by his captivity."

having the freest intercourse with the French at Longwood; whereas the affidavits on Mr. O'Meara's side went to prove that some inferior officers, communicating with the French under suspicious circumstances, had been required to communicate the subject of their intercourse. The impression which Mr. O'Meara wished to produce, that the Governor was in the habit of requiring officers communicating with Longwood to report their conversations, proved to be utterly without basis, and in direct contradiction to known truths. It is to be remarked that Sir Hudson Lowe did not request Mr. O'Meara to communicate his conversations with Napoleon, until he knew him to be in the habit of committing them regularly to paper, for the information of the Admiralty.

Among the affidavits which Mr. O'Meara obtained were those of Counts de las Cases and Montholon. It is remarkable, that both these gentlemen only testified their belief of that part of his book which related to Sir Hudson Lowe, and to which they distinctly limited their assent. Now this comprised many conversations at Plantation House, of which they necessarily knew nothing, while, of what they were likely to have known much better, events and conversations at Longwood, they said nothing in support. Count Bertrand, to whose character as an honest man Mr. O'Meara had, as we have seen, given his testimony, far from supporting the credit of his book, published in the Constitutionnel a letter, in which he stated it as "due to the memory of Napoleon, to France and to Europe, to declare himself an utter stranger to the conversations reported in the Voice from St. Helena."

One important event in Sir Hudson's administration at St. Helena, which has been altogether passed over, is his measure for the suppression of slavery on that island, by declaring, "all children of slaves to be born free," a measure, avoiding the mischief of sudden emanicipation to that inferior race, unattended with expense, effected with the unanimous consent of the island proprietors, and doing homage to a great principle, though one requiring limitation by *other principles equally important* and dangerous to disregard.

The remainder of Sir Hudson's life does not offer much of public interest and importance in itself, though it was passed by no means in inaction. He received in 1824, an appointment to the government of Antigua, but family motives prevented his going out to that colony. He was appointed, subsequently, to the command of the forces on the island of Ceylon, and in 1825, set out for his destination, passing, not very prudently, through France, where, with his wife and family, he landed on the 2nd October, 1825. He remained a short time in Paris, where a rumour was set on foot against him by the malignity of his enemies of having tried to *assassinate* M. Emml. de las Cases, in revenge of an insult which that young person had offered to him in London in 1823, and which, from the nature of the circumstances, could only be as deserving of contempt as the monstrous plot we have mentioned, which, however, its concoctors did not of course venture to bring before a court of justice. Leaving his wife and family in Paris, where they remained the greater part of a three years' residence in France, Sir Hudson set out for Ceylon, by the way of Frankfort, Vienna, and Constantinople. At Vienna he saw Prince Metternich, who communicated to him a conversation with Count Bertrand, in which the Count, although of all the persons at Longwood, the one with whom he had been most brought into collision, acknowledged that, against him personally there was no matter of complaint. At Alexandria he had a conference with Mehemet Ali, who seems to have made on him a most favourable impression*. He remained at Ceylon till 1828, when having perused the ninth volume of Sir Walter Scott's book, and conceiving that it was calculated to inflict serious

* His journey through the East produced much political speculation on those countries, and he has left many printed copies of various letters addressed to I Bathurst, &c., on questions relating to them.

injury on his reputation, and that its tampering was far more mischievous than the calumny of his enemies, especially since the documents of Government had been placed at its author's disposal, he returned to England, with leave, from his local superior, for the purpose of writing a reply to it. His return, however, met with the decided disapprobation of the Military Authorities, and Ministers considered the motive as quite insufficient. Earl Bathurst who, with others of his friends and well-wishers, had with perfect judgment, urged him to publish, on his return from St. Helena, and placed all official documents at his full disposal, counselled him against taking this opportunity, and he returned to Ceylon, looking forward confidently to succeed to the government of the island. It is believed, however, that his return to England had produced serious displeasure in the Home Authorities, and it may be admitted that, considering he had been already animadverted upon for delay in originally proceeding to the seat of his government, the step was imprudent. On Sir Hudson Lowe's receiving the rank of Lieut.-General, in 1830, his command in Ceylon became vacant, and on the accession of the Grey Ministry, in the same year, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton was appointed Governor, and thus the anticipations he had formed were entirely disappointed. He returned to England in 1831, and from this period till his death, he was unremittingly, and, in the opinion of this writer, unfortunately engaged in memorializing Government on the subject of his services and claims. Statements and letters were continually preparing for presentation to the head of the Cabinet or the Colonial Office for the time being, in the composition of which he was endlessly fastidious, and which succeeded each other in a continual series. The first of these are very ably written, but as age advanced, his style became more and more diffuse and involved, though this seems to have arisen in part from the subject and from the method of dictation, his private letters being clear, direct, and not wanting in concision.

Though his circumstances gave him anxiety, and the calumnies to which he was exposed caused him much irritation, yet he was never *depressed*. This frame of mind appeared to be one of which he was always incapable. Up to his final seizure with paralysis, he had always abundant animal spirits. To say that he retained his activity of mind and body and his industry to the last, would be inappropriate, as they may be rather considered as having been too great for his strength. Sir Hudson Lowe was at the time of his leaving St. Helena what may be termed a rich man, having 20,000*l.* in the funds, besides a great quantity of valuable property, among which was a very fine and extensive library. Of this property, much had been in his possession before his departure, for the enormously high price both of necessaries and luxuries on that island making his salary of 12,000*l.* yearly not more than equal to 4000*l.* in England, and his unbounded hospitality, did not admit of such accumulation as might be expected. Long before his death, however, his library had been almost entirely disposed of, and beyond his military pay and allowances, he possessed but one very moderate source of income.

Sir Hudson left, by his wife, who died in 1832, in his house at Hereford-street, two sons and a daughter, all of whom were born at St. Helena, and consequently some time arrived at years of maturity; another daughter had died in early childhood. By a connection formed while in the Mediterranean, he left two natural children, a son and a daughter—born before his marriage—and both married several years previous to his death.

It is often usual to sum up with a character of the deceased, but circumstances make this a matter of delicacy in this instance, the writer possessing the power of giving a more finished portrait than he feels it expedient to produce. But in what Major Jackson has said* of Sir Hudson Lowe, the writer considers that he has done Sir Hudson no more than justice, unless

* United Service Magazine, No. 184, March, 1844.

perhaps on one point, viz., thinking him "a placable enemy." This may be doubted,—but that he was a man of warm and kindly affections, *cannot* be, by those possessing any intimate acquaintance with him, although his "first accost" was rarely attractive.

In person, Sir Hudson Lowe was rather below than above the middle size, not stoutly but actively made. His forehead was wide, and somewhat high, the back of his head large, his eyes deep set, and *depressed* at the *external* angle, his eyebrows very long and projecting, his nose somewhat aquiline, his upper lip long, his chin pointed. His colour was high, and his hair appears to have been originally of a light colour. He carried his head erect, and never evinced any tendency to stooping, although his life was prolonged to his seventy-fifth year. His walk and his gestures generally were rapid, and somewhat "saccadés." In speaking, he was frequently embarrassed for words; and in society alternated very much between extreme taciturnity and vehement animation of discourse. Even the greatest excitement, however, scarcely made his diction fluent. These reminiscences, however, refer exclusively to the twelve latter years of his life*.

But one likeness was ever taken of Sir Hudson, viz., by Mr. Wyvill, in pencil, about 1832, to the best of this writer's recollection. It is a correct, without being precisely a striking likeness. Circumstances have hitherto retarded its publication, though a proof lithograph exists. This is mentioned specially with reference to the wood-cuts inserted in various newspapers here and in France, which are wholly without authenticity.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

FRANCE.

The number of labourers employed in the several dockyards on the west coast of France at present is 10,170, of whom 3465 at Brest, 1102 at Rochefort, 1312 at L'Orient, and 1127 at Cherbourg; besides 1000 artificers, &c., of the artillery, and 2053 other labourers on the marine works connected with the last-mentioned of these ports. The cost of the *matériel* of the French navy is estimated at about twelve millions sterling, or 298,463,000 francs, and out of this sum the ships themselves, without any of their equipments, are estimated to have occasioned an outlay of nearly 2,500,000*l.* From the year 1826 to 1830, inclusive, the yearly consumption of hemp for cordage amounted to 2450 tons: it does not exceed at this time 1470. A ship of the line, with her entire equipments, is estimated to cost the state a sum of 116,000*l.*: for instance, the Hercules, which conveyed the Prince de Joinville to the Brazils, did not put to sea for less than 117,580*l.*, in which sum, however, some extraordinary disbursements are included.

DIVING-BELL.

On the 21st of April, a chemist of Paris descended to the bottom of the Seine in a diving-bell, which weighed nearly a thousand pounds (*plusieurs centimes de kilogrammes*), and remained nearly half an hour under the water. The bell contained a chemical apparatus, by means of which he absorbed the carbonic acid gas, and secured a supply of oxygen and hydrogen, so as to maintain the atmosphere within the bell in a fit state for supporting animal life. The experiment succeeded perfectly, and there is every reason to believe that a person may descend with the apparatus in such a bell to a depth of one hundred and fifty feet below the surface of the sea, and remain there for an indefinite time. The invention promises to be of much advantage in the pearl and coral fisheries.

BELGIUM.

The proposition made by the Government for the future establishment

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* In 1842, Sir Hudson received two honours, both of which gave him very sensible gratification: one, the First Class of the Red Eagle of Prussia; and the other, promotion from the Colonelcy of the 56th to that of his old regiment, the 50th.

of Officers, in time of peace, assigns for the "General Staff," 9 Lieutenant-Generals, 18 Major-Generals, 3 Colonels, 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 5 Majors, and 36 Subalterns; for the "Provincial and Garrison Staff," 9 Commandants of fortresses of the first class, 15 of the second, and 6 of the third, and 34 Majors, besides 9 provincial commands-in-chief; for the "Sanitary Service," 1 Inspector-General, 4 Superior Surgeons, 7 Garrison, and 115 Regimental and Assistant-Surgeons, together with 1 Apothecary-in-chief, 3 Assistants, and 27 Veterinary Surgeons; for the "Infantry," 16 Colonels, 16 Lieutenant-Colonels, 66 Majors, and 1,095 Subalterns; for the "Cavalry," 7 Colonels, 7 Lieutenant-Colonels, 19 Majors, and 256 Subalterns; the "Staff of the Artillery" to consist of 4 Colonels, 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 5 Majors, 14 Subalterns, and 12 Garrison Officers; and the "Field Artillery," of 4 Colonels, 4 Lieutenant-Colonels, 12 Majors, and 209 Subalterns; the "Engineer Staff," of 3 Colonels, 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 5 Majors, and 47 Subalterns; and the "Engineers in General," of 1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 3 Majors, and 43 Subalterns; and the "Gendarmerie," of 1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 3 Majors, and 39 Subalterns; the "Reserve," to be composed of 2 Lieutenant-Generals, 4 Major-Generals, and 64 Subalterns, receiving two-thirds of the pay enjoyed by officers on entire duty.

GERMANY.

The Table of Population, on which the appropriation of the duties received on account of the German Customs-Union is founded, affords us the following data respecting the number of inhabitants in each State of the Union in the year 1843; viz., Prussia, 14,934,340; Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, 175,223; Bavaria, 4,370,977; Kingdom of Saxony, 1,706,267; Würtemberg, 1,646,871; the two Principalities of Hohenzollern, 59,387; Baden, 1,290,146; Electoral Hesse (or Hesse Cassel), 692,835; Grand Duchy of Hesse, 811,503; Landgraviate of Hesse, 18,444; Brunswick, 265,835; Nassau, 398,095; and Frankfort on the Main, 66,338. The total population of the States forming the Union, inclusive of certain isolated districts in Thuringia, &c., amounted last year to 27,623,815.

Rastatt, in the Grand Duchy of Baden.

The fortifications, by means of which the German Diet is engaged in constituting this town into one of the strong places of the Confederation, are upon a new system; namely, three complete works, each independent of its neighbour, but the whole admitting of joint co-operation through the link of a rampart and ditch. It is conceived, that this system will much enhance the capabilities of the fortress in a defensive point of view, and prove far superior in this respect to any yet adopted. One of these forts will encompass the southern side of the town, another the north-western, and a third, the north-eastern. Fort Leopold, on the southern bank of the Murg, is the only fortification with which any beginning has yet been made; the ground-works are considerably advanced, but little of the masonry has been executed. It is intended that the ground-works of the other two forts shall be prosecuted with vigour during the present year.

Berlin.

It is generally believed, that uniforms, caps, and feathers, are about to be extirpated, and a frock-coat and helmet to take their places The frock, however, on dress occasions, is to be set off with rich embroidery; and even the common frock used by the line is to have a stiff embroidered collar. The meditated change meets with general approbation; for there is scarcely an officer who does not rejoice in the prospect of parting with his uniform for good and all.

RUSSIA.

The severe losses experienced during the campaign of last year in the Caucasus, have rendered it necessary to move up the first corps of the army from its head-quarters at Odessa, and replace it by the fourth from

Himmel, in the governmental-province of Mohileff. This measure is, however, very far short of what the emergency requires; for it will not supply the ranks with what they sorely need; namely, a competency of officers to fill up the vacant posts. So deficient has the army of the Caucasus long been in this respect, owing to the assiduous skill which the foe applies in ridding himself of them, that it has been necessary, for some years past, to detach one officer from every regiment in the Service on this duty. More than the number required have in general volunteered for it; and for a while, recourse was had to drawing lots, and thus determining which of them should proceed to the Caucasus. This was done under the disadvantage of not knowing beforehand to what quarter the officer volunteering would be sent, or to what division or regiment he would be attached. Of late, however, there has been little eagerness to volunteer; for such as have been fortunate enough to return home, have complained bitterly that the double pay allowed them is, in consequence of the dearness of every necessary, much less, in comparison, than the single pay they received when in home quarters; they also represent the service as being beset with privations and hardships scarcely endurable, at the same time that good conduct under them has not been followed either by promotion or recompense. The coarse, loose habits too, which are necessarily induced by any length of service in the uncivilized districts of the south of Russia, have tended to increase the bad odour in which the war of the Caucasus is held. Indeed, the repugnance to volunteer has of late manifested itself in a way not to be mistaken, among the better class of officers, particularly the Imperial Guards, who are wedded to the comfort and luxury of service in the metropolis; and this feeling has been aggravated by the degradation consequent upon their being called upon, when appointed to commissions in the army of the Caucasus, to associate with officers, who have been sentenced to serve in it on account of military or other misdemeanours, and to command troops, many of whom have been *exported* to the Caucasus because unworthy to do duty at home.

GREECE.

"In my wanderings through Messenia, I fell in with a party of 'Irregulars,' under the command of Colonel Hudshi Christos. They were composed of runaway rebels, robbers who had escaped pursuit, idle fellows, and other riff-raff of the same kidney, chiefly Roumeliots, whom the love of spoil had prompted to enter the King's service, under the mask of pure patriotism: and hence they derive their designation of 'Patriots! Their equipment consisted of the long Pallikar musket, a sabre, and pistols; their dress was anything but 'uniform,' some wearing pantaloons, others loose trowsers, as their means or liking dictated; each differed from his comrade in some point or other; yet all were alike—for all were in tatters. Their baggage extended to a bundle, carried indiscriminately under the arm or across the back, its size appearing to determine the mode of bearing it. Besides this, some bore domestic rattletraps about them, evidently the gleanings of some bygone foray. On the whole, the party resembled a vagrant gipsy horde far more than a military detachment. Discipline and cleanliness were matters either above or below their ken; in fact, the private seemed to be his commander's fond, familiar crony, and never hesitated, if the fit seized him, either to decline obeying an order, or shove it off altogether by some friendly remonstrance or other. The Colonel is a trusty soldier, in the prime of forty, a fine muscular figure; but his wild, red eye and Turkish costume gave him a somewhat savage appearance; he cared little how his men kept body and soul together, so long as he was not disturbed in his indomitable propensity to keep a lighted pipe in his mouth; yet no man knows better than Colonel Christos how to enforce obedience to his command, or make short work with a refractory follower."—*Note by a Bavarian Officer.*

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR OF THE UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE.

The Waterloo Campaign.

MR. EDITOR,—As some remarks at the commencement of my imperfect paper on the Waterloo Campaign, are calculated to offend certain writers, for whom I entertain the highest respect, I hasten to express my regret, that owing to alterations of the original MSS., the sense of portions of the introductory observations was, through an oversight, very much changed; whereby a sweeping animadversion upon *all* British writers save those who have treated of the campaign *incidentally*, appears, instead of my real purpose, which was only to remark on the evil effect of erroneous statements put forth in the catch-penny productions, which were so extensively got up as booksellers' speculations.

The attentive reader will not fail to see the effect of the adverb *incidentally*, —in the first paragraph,—upon all that follows. Its insertion was an after correction, made without noticing its influence, and ought to have been expunged.

There exist several English versions of the Waterloo campaign, by writers of acknowledged ability, which are only imperfect in consequence of the tardiness with which truth respecting many of its occurrences has crept forth; and I beg to assure them that while eulogizing Capt. Siborne's history, it was far from being my intention to draw invidious comparisons.

In justice to myself, let me add that no hint whatever of umbrage having been taken at any of my remarks has reached me, and therefore, whatever indulgence is due to a man who frankly and spontaneously seeks to repair his errors, I am entitled to claim.

I remain, Sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

Fairfield House, Croydon, May 20th, 1844. BASIL JACKSON.

The Old Peninsulars.

MR. EDITOR,—The death-blow to the hopes of the Peninsular officers having been now struck by the failure of the motion of Sir A. Leith Hay, in the House of Commons, I beg to submit to you a plan which, if taken up with spirit by a few individuals, would shortly spread,—every man who had served his country in the glorious war of the Peninsula would be known; and, I doubt not, this mark would be more honoured by his countrymen than the badges worn, by the authority of our gracious Sovereign, for deeds performed against half-civilised and undisciplined nations.

My plan is a very simple one. The colours I fix upon, are black and red, being those of the united British and Spanish cockade worn by the British troops on the breaking out of the war in Spain.

Let some manufacturer be instructed to make, and spread into circulation throughout the country, a black and red silk guard-chain, which might be used either for watch or eye-glass, and call it the Peninsula chain. I apprehend that, the designation and object being known, no person would make himself the Daw bedecked with the Peacock's plumes; but the old Peninsulars, by the mark, would recognise one another, and be recognised as those who had brought their country out victorious through a hard-fought struggle with a gallant foe, and hold up their heads, even though surrounded by Decorés, who had vanquished such contemptible enemies as the Chinese and half-savage Affghans.

The chain I propose to be worn, might be made by the hands of some fair friend or relative, and thus acquire an additional charm. I solicit the powerful aid of my fair countrywomen to forward my scheme.

In submitting, Mr. Editor, my plan for your consideration and support, I believe it to be the only means now left us to pursue.

There are societies throughout the country of various denominations, and wearing various badges,—why should not we take our station, put on the mark, and become the band of Peninsular Veterans?

AN OLD PENINSULAR.

Jersey, April 26, 1844.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE PRINCIPAL PORTS AND STATIONS.

Portsmouth, May 24, 1844.

MR. EDITOR,—Thames, convict-ship, has embarked her prisoners and supernumeraries, and gone to Bermuda.

Her Majesty's birth-day was celebrated on the 25th ult., in the usual manner. The ships fired at 12 o'clock, according to the new instructions; formerly at this port they fired at 1 o'clock. Acting Mate Mr. Smith, of the Pantaloon, was tried by court-martial on the 25th, on charges preferred by Lieut. Lapidge. The court was of opinion that the charges were not proved, except that he had been guilty of having improperly made use of the name of his Commander, Lieut. Lapidge, and admonished him, G. M. Smith, "to avoid in future the line of conduct so calculated to subvert the discipline of Her Majesty's Naval Service." Lieut. Lapidge was afterwards tried, on charges preferred by Capt. Foote, of the Madagascar, the senior officer on the Coast of Africa. Lieut. Lapidge's Advocate made an able defence, and principally from that, and the length of service of the officer, the court merely sentenced him to be severely reprimanded. A third court-martial was held on Mr. John Rance, the Gunner of Pantaloon, for going out of the vessel without leave, and staying away some days; for leaving his duty at the Gun Wharf, and for many instances of drunkenness, during a period of three years. The prisoner was sentenced to be dismissed the Service. Pantaloon was paid off on 3rd inst.

Victoria and Albert yacht was moved out of dock into the basin, to have her boilers removed, and to take on board new tubular boilers; she will be two months in getting ready for sea, and, after all, it is more than probable that the Black Eagle will be the Royal yacht this year.

The Success and the lighters, intended to remove the guns and wreck of the Edgar at Spithead, have been moored, and Lieut. Barlow, R.E., has entered a number of men to work the capstans.

Collingwood has been commissioned for the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir George Seymour, G.C.H.; Commander Broadhead hoisted the pendant on the 8th. Collingwood is to have a crew of 750 men, being a second class second rate. The three brigs, Daring, Flying-fish, and Osprey, are rigged, and ready for officers and men; when Mutine and Espiegle are in as forward a condition, the whole will be commissioned.

Rattlesnake arrived on the 12th from China, with Naval and Artillery invalids from Hong-Kong; she embarked about 200, but had the misfortune to lose 63 of them by death, in the passage to England; Capt. Geary, R.A., was one of the officers who died; the survivors have been moved into the flag-ship and hospital, to wait their recovery. Cornwall transport is shortly expected from the same quarter with Military invalids; she was to leave India on 2nd February.

Fearless has been sent to Weymouth, to survey and report on the practicability of forming a breakwater in Portland Roads.

Blazer and Dee arrived on the 18th. Blazer had some men for Collingwood, and was to have returned to Sheerness; but in consequence of sudden orders arriving at midnight, for troops to be sent to Guernsey, the Blazer was despatched on the next morning to Cowes, embarked 300 of the Pro-

visional Battalion from Parkhurst Barracks, and put to sea with them on Sunday afternoon. Dee had taken in three gunners, and other supernumeraries, for the ships fitting to the eastward; but the Queen's messenger, who brought the order, having others for the Governor of Guernsey, he was sent on board her, and she proceeded thither before Blazer. Nautilus, brig, had arrived from Brighton, to replenish, and she was also put in requisition, and embarked 100 men on Monday, and sailed for Guernsey; after landing them, she is to cruise in the chops of the Channel, to relieve any homeward-bound vessels, that may require provisions and water. The number of troops ordered to be sent to Guernsey, were 450; the portion which Blazer and Nautilus did not take, have been sent over in a hired vessel.

Prometheus is fitting alongside the Dockyard jetty; she is fully manned, but will not be out of the hands of the Dockyard artificers until next month.

Workmen are on the Pantaloon, preparing her for recommission. Raven cutter has arrived from Sheerness with supernumeraries. Malabar arrived on the 23rd from Cork, and is ordered to be paid off.

Ships in Port—St. Vincent at Spithead. Victory, Excellent, Victoria and Albert yacht, Collingwood, Prometheus, Rattlesnake, Raven, Malabar, in Harbour.

Plymouth, May 23, 1844.

Mr. Editor,—April 19. A survey was held this day on board the America, 50, Capt. Hon. John Gordon, to report on Capt. Couch's patent channels. The following officers were selected for the purpose, viz., Capt. Burgoyne, San Josef; Capt. Milne, Caledonia; Mr. Edye, Master-Shipwright; Mr. Lumsdale, Master-Attendant of the dockyard; and Mr. Mills, Master of the San Josef. After a long investigation, a report was forwarded to the Lords of the Admiralty, with their opinions; and yesterday an order was received from their Lordships to remove the fore and main channels, and replace them with the channels used heretofore,—the patent channels being found not to have spread enough for the rigging, besides causing it to chafe.

25th. Her Majesty's birth-day was kept was kept with the usual honours; at 12 o'clock the ships in commission fired a royal salute, as did the guns in the Citadel at Plymouth, and the saluting battery at Mount Wise, Devonport; and the troops in garrison were drawn up before Government House, and fired a *feu-de-joie*. The ships were dressed in colours, and the standard displayed at the different Government establishments.

April 27th. Sailed, Hamoaze and Camel tenders, for Pembroke, with Mr. Henderson, Second Master-Attendant of the dockyard, with a party of seamen from the San Josef, and riggers from the dockyard, to fit and navigate the Centurion, 80; also sailed for Pembroke the Tortoise tender, with stores for Pembroke.—28th. Arrived, Snipe cutter, 2, Lieut.-Commander Raymond, and came into harbour the 30th, to have her defects made good. —29th. Sailed, City of Limerick steamer, for Portsmouth, with a part of the 76th Regt.—30th. Arrived, Duke of Cornwall steamer, with a part of the 44th Regt., from Portsmouth.

May 1st. Sailed, Linnet packet, 6, for Falmouth, from whence she will proceed with the mail to Rio Janeiro. Stag, 44, is ordered to be fitted for a divisional ship in the ordinary, instead of the Armada, 72, to be fitted for a powder magazine.—3rd. Arrived, Royal Adelaide, hired steamer, from Ireland, embarked the remainder of the 76th Regt., and sailed for Portsmouth; also arrived the Duke of Cambridge, hired steamer, from Portsmouth, with the second division of the 44th Regt., who were disembarked, and marched into Devonport barracks. Sailed, the Diligence, N.T., and Duck tender, with stores for Deptford and Woolwich.—4th. Arrived, Falmouth tender, with stores, from Woolwich. Sailed, Netley tender, for Portsmouth, with the baggage belonging to the 76th Regt.—5th. Arrived, the Lee steamer,

with the last division of the 44th Regt., who were disembarked, and marched into Devonport barracks.—6th. Arrived, Dee steamer and Comet steamer, from Cork. Stag, 44, was hauled into dock, to have her copper cleaned and repaired, and hauled out again the 8th; she is fitting for a divisional ship. —7th. Arrived, Penguin packet, 6, from Falmouth.

The remains of the late Rear-Admiral W. Furlong Wise, C.B., were removed from his house at Plymouth this day to the family vault at Lodiswell. Although it was considered that it would be strictly private, the late gallant officer was held in such high estimation, that the minute-bells were constantly kept tolling, and upwards of one hundred officers of the Navy and gentlemen accompanied the funeral procession out of the town. The deceased is not only a public loss, but a great private one.

8th. The Confiance, steam-tug, was hauled into dock to have her copper cleaned.—9th. Sailed Comet, st., Lieut.-Com. James B. Emery, for Woolwich; arrived Goodwill, tender, with stores, from Portsmouth.—11th. Sailed Dee, st., with stores for Haulbowline Island, Cork; after discharging her cargo, she is to proceed to Chatham. Arrived Netley, tender, from Portsmouth, and Rochester, tender, from Holyhead, with stores. Sailed Devon, tender, with stores for Pembroke Dockyard.—14th. Sailed Snipe, cutter, 2, for Cork. The Confiance, st, was hauled out of dock, having had her defects made good. The foundation stone of the sea-wall in this dockyard was laid this day, by Capt. Burgman, R.E., at a depth of forty feet below low-water mark.—15th. Sailed the Penguin packet, 6, Lieut.-Com. Walter Leslie, for Falmouth, and waits to take the next mail to Rio Janeiro.—16th. The crew of the Caledonia, 120, Capt. C. Milne, were paid wages this day. Sailed Goodwill, tender, with stores for Chatham and Sheerness Dockyards.—19th. Arrived Emerald, tender, from Portsmouth, with invalids, and a party of Marines belonging to this division, paid off from the Rattlesnake. The Emerald sailed on her return to Portsmouth, the 21st, with supernumeraries for the Collingwood.—21st. Arrived Dee, st.-v., from Portsmouth, and sailed again 23rd, for Cork.—22nd. Arrived Lucifer, st.-v., from the eastward, and waits for orders. The America, 50, is expected to move into the Sound in a day or two. The new lighthouse on the west end of the Breakwater will be lit on 1st June; the light will appear at an elevation of 63 feet above the level of high-water mark (spring tides), and will exhibit red in all directions seaward, and white within the line of the Breakwater. A bell is attached to the lighthouse, which will be rung occasionally in foggy weather.—23rd. Arrived Nautilus, 10, from Portsmouth.

In the Sound—Caledonia, Nautilus.

In Harbour—San Josef, America; Confiance and Lucifer steamers.

Milford Haven, May 17, 1844.

Mr. Editor,—On 20th ult. Adventure transport, Mr. Roskilly, Master, sailed for Deptford with timber and other stores. She was towed down the harbour, and clear of the land, by one of Her Majesty's mail steam-packets belonging to the station.—23rd. Adder mail steam-packet, Mr. Hammond, Acting Master, left for Holyhead, where she will be repaired, and have new boilers supplied. What a pity those things cannot be accomplished at Pembroke Yard. Her services will now be lost to the station for at least four or five months; all which time both officers and men continue on pay.—29th. The Camel, Hamoaze, and Tortoise dockyard lighters, arrived from Plymouth, with men and stores for the Centurion, in charge of Mr. Henderson, Assistant Master Attendant.—May 1st. The Saturn, 74, one of the Lazarettos at this port, was towed up to the dockyard by the Pigmy mail-steamer, as a temporary hulk for the accommodation of the seamen and riggers lent from Plymouth.—2nd. The Centurion, 80 guns, was launched at Pembroke this afternoon about 5 o'clock. The concourse of spectators

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Burthen in tons nearly 2600.

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The Castlemartin Yeomanry, under command of Major Geo. Bowling, will assemble at Pembroke, for the usual eight days' training, early in the month of August.

REVIEWS AND CRITICAL NOTICES.

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By the aid of these notices, which form connecting links, His Grace is thus made to be his own historian.

The present edition is prefixed by a well-engraved portrait of the Duke from the Arbuthnot picture by Lawrence, and is dedicated, by permission, to the Queen.

MURRAY'S COLONIAL AND HOME LIBRARY.
DRINKWATER'S HISTORY OF THE SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.

Among the multifarious works that issue from the press, there is but a comparatively small portion devoted to standard professional subjects; most of those which happen to be so devoted, are rather addressed to the exigence of the hour, than to extensive general views. Now and then, however, out of the "Gurgite vasto," issues a work worthy of becoming a *Classic*, as it were, in its respective department. Under this impression, we cannot but remind our readers that Mr. Murray has just republished that valuable and delightful work, Drinkwater's Siege of Gibraltar, a book so replete with interest and information as to be truly a legend of the United Services of its day. The cheap price and commodious form in which it now appears puts it within the reach and stowage of every officer.

LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND, &c. BY AGNES STRICKLAND.

The excellent and truly valuable work of Miss Strickland is now so fully established in public estimation, and so justly and generally appreciated by all classes and degrees of readers, that in recognising the issue of the seventh volume, we need only state that its contents complete the important and *unique* life of the great Elizabeth, and furnish a most interesting and satisfactory one of her successor, Anne of Denmark; and that the volume is, in all respects, equal to the most attractive of its predecessors. The conclusion of the Life of Elizabeth occupies about half the volume—which is a most full and pregnant one—containing nearly five hundred closely printed pages.

NOUVEAU MÉLANGE, NARRATIF, DESCRIPTIF, HISTORIQUE, ET LITTÉRAIRE, &c. BY MONSIEUR MARIN DE LA VOYE, MEMB. DE L'INST. HIST. ET LIT.

This is a useful little volume, containing "Elegant Extracts" from the most approved French writers, with a short biographical notice at the close of each, followed by judicious questions on the narratives, &c. Every page is surrounded by aphorisms, as in Maunder's "Treasury of Knowledge," and some valuable rules for beginners in the French language—especially relating to the verbs—on a new and simple plan, precede the more entertaining parts of the book.

A recent unhappy occurrence induces us to direct the reader's attention to an extract, at page 46 of "Morceaux Choisis," from the writings of Rousseau on the subject of duelling, whose eloquent condemnation of the senseless and unchristian practice, pronounced more than sixty years ago, is now so generally assented to throughout this country.

CONINGSBY; OR, THE NEW GENERATION. By B. D'ISRAELI, M.P. 3 vols.

Though our limits forbid us to do much more than barely to recognise the publication of this remarkable work, we must not on that account wholly pass it by, as we willingly do the throng of its ephemeral companions and competitors in the race of literary fiction. Not, indeed, that "Coningsby" is likely to have a competitor, unless it proceed from that same category,—of "Young England,"—of which the writer of the present

was large, though not of the upper ranks. Mr. Abethel, the Acting Master Shipwright, was presented with the usual donation (50*l.*) by the Admiralty for performing the ceremony. The following are her principal dimensions:

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Light draught of water abaft	10	9

Burthen in tons nearly 2600.

She was taken into dock the following day to be coppered.—3rd. Sailed the Tortoise lighter.—4th. Sailed the Hamoaze and Camel. Sailed the Quail tender for Cork.—15th. Arrived the Devon lighter from Plymouth. The marine detachments in the county have been stationary since my last. It is expected that the men and officers at Pembroke will relieve Captain Daws and party at Cardigan. Commander Higgs, whose period of service in the Royal Sovereign yacht, for duty as Superintendent of Packets, expired on the 3rd inst., still retains the situation. There are numerous applications to the Admiralty for the vacancy.

The Castlemartin Yeomanry, under command of Major Geo. Bowling, will assemble at Pembroke, for the usual eight days' training, early in the month of August.

REVIEWS AND CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Dispatches of the Duke of Wellington. Second Edition. Volume One.

It is difficult to say anything new on a work which has at once united and exhausted criticism, winning golden opinions from all shades of press and party. Who does not regard The Dispatches as a grand monument of mind, inscribed with lessons of wisdom and records of historic truth? They are sagacious commentaries upon history, as well as history itself.

The vast circulation of the first edition of The Dispatches, notwithstanding their cost, which was unavoidably considerable, and the extreme popularity of the publication, together with the discovery of many additional and important documents, have induced the indefatigable Editor, Colonel Gurwood, to prepare a new edition in eight instead of twelve volumes, in order to bring the work more within the reach of the public, in a revised form, at a diminished price, by more than one-third, but with augmented stores of original information, especially with regard to the Indian portion of the compilation. By singular good fortune the perseverance of the gallant compiler has been rewarded by the discovery of official records relating to the Peninsular War, as well as to the Duke's services in the East, from which extracts have been made to enrich the present edition, which is published both in volumes and parts.

The first volume, now before us, is a splendid specimen of the forthcoming family, the mass of valuable matter within being encased in a rich and portly exterior. Some 800 pages of letter-press, devoted to India, with a few letters written in Holland, are preceded by a short preface to this edition by the compiler, with the explanatory summaries of service, explanations of terms, &c., which appeared in the former edition, and a portion of a succinct Memoir of the services of His Grace, keeping pace with the events, which are brought down in this volume to the Marhatta War, in *1803*.

By the aid of these notices, which form connecting links, His Grace is thus made to be his own historian.

The present edition is prefixed by a well-engraved portrait of the Duke from the Arbuthnot picture by Lawrence, and is dedicated, by permission, to the Queen.

Murray's Colonial and Home Library.
Drinkwater's History of the Siege of Gibraltar.

Among the multifarious works that issue from the press, there is but a comparatively small portion devoted to standard professional subjects; most of those which happen to be so devoted, are rather addressed to the exigence of the hour, than to extensive general views. Now and then, however, out of the "Gurgite vasto," issues a work worthy of becoming a *Classic*, as it were, in its respective department. Under this impression, we cannot but remind our readers that Mr. Murray has just republished that valuable and delightful work, Drinkwater's Siege of Gibraltar, a book so replete with interest and information as to be truly a legend of the United Services of its day. The cheap price and commodious form in which it now appears puts it within the reach and stowage of every officer.

Lives of the Queens of England, &c. By Agnes Strickland.

The excellent and truly valuable work of Miss Strickland is now so fully established in public estimation, and so justly and generally appreciated by all classes and degrees of readers, that in recognising the issue of the seventh volume, we need only state that its contents complete the important and *unique* life of the great Elizabeth, and furnish a most interesting and satisfactory one of her successor, Anne of Denmark; and that the volume is, in all respects, equal to the most attractive of its predecessors. The conclusion of the Life of Elizabeth occupies about half the volume—which is a most full and pregnant one—containing nearly five hundred closely printed pages.

Nouveau Mélange, Narratif, Descriptif, Historique, et Littéraire, &c. By Monsieur Marin de la Voye, Memb. de l'Inst. Hist. et Lit.

This is a useful little volume, containing "Elegant Extracts" from the most approved French writers, with a short biographical notice at the close of each, followed by judicious questions on the narratives, &c. Every page is surrounded by aphorisms, as in Maunder's "Treasury of Knowledge," and some valuable rules for beginners in the French language—especially relating to the verbs—on a new and simple plan, precede the more entertaining parts of the book.

A recent unhappy occurrence induces us to direct the reader's attention to an extract, at page 46 of "Morceaux Choisis," from the writings of Rousseau on the subject of duelling, whose eloquent condemnation of the senseless and unchristian practice, pronounced more than sixty years ago, is now so generally assented to throughout this country.

Coningsby; or, The New Generation. By B. D'Israeli, M.P. 3 vols.

Though our limits forbid us to do much more than barely to recognise the publication of this remarkable work, we must not on that account wholly pass it by, as we willingly do the throng of its ephemeral companions and competitors in the race of literary fiction. Not, indeed, that "Coningsby" is likely to have a competitor, unless it proceed from that same category,—of "Young England,"—of which the writer of the present

work is the gifted leader, and of which this novel may be said to be at once the exponent and the manifesto. This simple explanation, by-the-bye, may preclude any further detail, as to the nature and object of "Coningsby:" and, as to the book itself, it will so certainly be read by everybody who reads at all, that extracts and description were superfluous. But "Coningsby" is as much a novel of manners and of social life as it is of politics and of philosophical morals. It is, in fact, a work that comprises the reflections and observations of a life,—a busy, a stirring, and a very remarkable one; and as such it will exercise an influence which has not before attended any of the previous productions of its gifted and accomplished writer.

A TOUR IN IRELAND. By JAMES JOHNSON, M.D. 1 vol.

In perusing this pleasant, useful, and original volume the reader will be reminded, by contrast, of Pope's exquisitely complimentary diamond-pointed epigram,—

> "Accept a miracle instead of wit,—
> See two dull lines by Stanhope's pencil writ."

He will "accept a miracle" in the shape of a book written by an eminent Physician, that is *not* at once eminently dull and eminently useless,—a book by a Doctor which is, without an atom of ordinary "doctor's stuff" in its whole composition. On the contrary,—it is full to overflowing of that true medicine for "a mind diseased," good humour, good sense, and good feeling, blended together in about equal proportions, and forming a union that we strongly recommend to be "taken occasionally" by all our readers, gentle and simple, whenever they find a fit of the sullens or the sours coming upon them. The volume is by far the best that we have had on Ireland for many years, and, relating as it does to the actual state of that country at the present moment, it is of more value than any other circumstances could have made it.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received a letter from "An Old Stager, R.N.," in which he finds fault with Lieut.-Colonel Wilkie, for having much underrated the naval force at Corunna, and concludes with a list of ships-of-war, that were either assembled at Vigo or belonged to the command. These amount in number to seventeen, including three three-deckers. We have referred this letter to Lieut.-Colonel W., who in reply says, that "he made himself acquainted with the names of the line-of-battle ships lying in Orsan Bay at the time, and that he is quite certain there was only one three-decker, the Ville de Paris, among them; he afterwards compared his account with that of an intelligent officer, who was in the fleet in a line-of-battle ship, and the accounts corresponded. He thinks the 'Old Stager' may have fallen into error by taking it for granted that all the ships, or the greatest part of them, that were in Vigo, accompanied the transports to Corunna. This would have been most useless, to bring so many ships-of-war into an open roadstead for no immediate necessity. The probability is, that most of the ships that were not required to convoy the transports were sent direct to England after quitting Vigo Harbour; and their separation might not have been noticed by the writer, who, as he says himself, was at that time a very *young* stager. There was not a ship of war of any description at Corunna before the body of the fleet made its appearance."

In conveying this reply we have to remark that in all the other points connected with the hurry and confusion of the embarkation, the Old Stager fully corroborates Lieut.-Colonel W.'s account; and goes still further, by expressing his surprise that Admiral De Courcy escaped a court-martial.

EDITOR'S PORTFOLIO;

OR,

NAVAL AND MILITARY REGISTER.

THE speculations in which we had indulged in our last and preceding Numbers, as to the probable course that would be pursued by the Government in India, have met with an unexpected check, in the recall of Lord Ellenborough by the Court of Directors, without cause assigned. As far as relates to the public, the astonishment created by such an unlooked-for event, as the Home Government and that of India being at issue, had scarcely time to expand into wonder, when a fresh subject of surprise was created by learning that the apparent breach, in place of widening, had suddenly closed, and affairs had resumed their usual tranquil course. The reprobation of this act in the first instance by the Duke of Wellington as an indiscretion, without being able to say afterwards why it was indiscreet, naturally excited public curiosity to a very high degree, and it must have been satisfied had this variance between the governing powers continued. We are pretty confident we could give as good a guess as our neighbours at the *original* cause; but we forbear to do so, not only because the matter has been amicably arranged, but also that in bringing it forward at present, it might injure, in a certain degree, an individual of high reputation, for whom we entertain the greatest respect.

One of the causes, however, that led to this step, is so easily divined, and is so self-evident, that there need be no mystery in discussing it. It has been long notorious, that ever since the opening of the trade to India, the power and authority of the Company have been gradually on the decline, or rather have found their way into another channel. The diminution of power to man or woman accustomed to it, is always painful, and we presume no less so to incorporate companies; the society in Leadenhall-street acting under this feeling, and having for ground-work one or two of those causes that are now to be buried in oblivion, resolved to show that they still possess authority, and taking advantage of a clause in their charter, boldly recalled the Governor-General without the concurrence of Her Majesty's Ministers. Scarcely was this act of feverish energy accomplished, than it was followed by corresponding debility; no sooner had the Duke spoken out, and probably a private remonstrance from the Premier, than the Directors were ready to cry out *peccavimus*, and amend the errors of their ways. The Home Government then, not wishing to put them to the blush by making them cancel their order of recall, allowed it to stand good; but when they pointed out the most proper person as a successor, the Directors not only approved the nomination, but hailed it with acclamation; although perfectly well aware that the proposed new Governor-

General would follow exactly the same line of politics as his predecessor.

We feel every degree of regret that this unmerited rebuke has fallen on Lord Ellenborough; we have throughout supported his policy, as tending to the honour of the country and the safety and prosperity of India itself. We trust that he has too much both of fortitude and good sense to feel hurt at the circumstances attending his return to England, where his talents and abilities are well appreciated. It may be a further source of consolation, that if the power had been left to him to name his successor, Sir Henry Hardinge would in all probability have been the man of his choice. Soldiers, or those imbued with a military spirit, have always been the best rulers of India, and we have little doubt that the newly-appointed Governor-General will emulate the fame of the best of his predecessors. In that point of view we hope Sir Henry Hardinge will press on the Court of Directors the inadequacy of the number of European officers actually doing duty with the native regiments; this very great evil, which might some day compromise the safety of India itself, has been strongly pointed out by Sir Charles Napier, but as yet without any favourable result; on the contrary, by the late intelligence from India, we hear that the recent occupation of Scinde requiring an augmentation of force, the armies of Bengal and Bombay have been increased by 12,000 men, without the addition of a single officer! And this has been effected in what we consider the shabbiest way possible, by adding ten men to each company; thus increasing the responsibility and trouble of the already overworked regimental officers. Such cases, we are sure, the new Governor-General will look at with a soldier's eye, and we leave them to his consideration.

In taking leave for the present of Sir Henry Hardinge we are sure we only express the sentiments of all the Army, that were it not that he is going to enter on a field better suited to his ability and talents, they would most deeply regret his loss as Secretary-at-War,—in which office, while he has always shown himself an honourable and conscientious servant of the public, he has been no less a zealous friend and supporter of his own profession and its claims.

We have the greatest pleasure in acknowledging the error we committed in our last, in drawing a conclusion that there would be no promotion for the affairs near Gwalior; but the delay that had taken place naturally led to the inference, and we have reason to think that the gallant fellows who fought in those two actions are something indebted to the skirmish with Leadenhall-street, which, if it did not originate, has most certainly accelerated their promotion. We may add that the results of those actions have had the most beneficial results on the neighbouring states; the troubles and insurrectionary spirit that so long agitated the district of Bundelkund have entirely ceased.

In the Punjaub fresh elements of discord and revolution are in motion. In our last we gave some account of the Prime Minister, Sheera Singh, who was busily removing the jewels and treasure from Lahore to Jumnoo, to be out of our reach; he has now found a rival in Cashmeera Singh, who has lately come forward to assert his claims. He is a natural son of Runjeet Singh, and his name would seem to indicate from whence his mother came. In the midst of this *embroglio*

comes the intelligence that our old acquaintance, Akbar Khan, is about to attack Peshawar, an event which, if true, must speedily call for the intervention of British troops, and open a glorious career to the new Governor-General.

The usual half-yearly public examination of the Officers and Gentlemen Cadets studying at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, took place on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the 16th, 17th, and 18th May, on which occasion the institution was honoured with the presence of the Duke of Cambridge. At the close of the examinations, the following officers were presented with the usual certificates of qualification:—Capt. E. W. C. Wright, 91st Regt.; Lieut. R. G. Wale, 33rd Regt. In consequence of the proficiency of Capt. Wright in the higher branches of mathematical science, a special honorary addition was made to his certificate, and the high qualifications in military surveying of both Capt. Wright and Lieut. Wale were also particularly noticed; and the following Gentlemen Cadets, who had completed their qualifications for commissions, were recommended to His Grace the Commander-in-Chief, for appointments to Ensigncies in the Line without purchase:—1. Bryan Thornhill; 2. Charles D. R. Colthurst; 3. John H. King; 4. George P. E. Morrison; 5. Charles E. Preston; 6. John F. Cust; 7. Michael M'Creagh; 8. George A. Robinson; 9. William Meynell; 10. Benjamin Rising; 11. Arthur E. Johnson; 12. Stewart A. Kershaw; 13. Francis Dawson; 14. Francis Kennedy; 15. Edward S. Powys. By the result of the examinations, about sixty other young gentlemen were declared to have made various steps towards qualifying themselves for commissions, in those branches of the mathematics which are applicable to military purposes, in permanent and field fortification, and the attack and defence of fortresses, in Latin and general history, and in the modern languages; and eleven had also during the half year completed the course of professional education in military surveying; and twenty-five in the actual construction of intrenchments and saps in the field, pontooning, &c.

A Publication is announced which must gratify the Naval Service, viz., a complete collection of the Letters of Lord Nelson, on the plan of the Wellington Dispatches. We are really surprised that a work of this interesting and valuable character has been so long delayed, for assuredly it must be considered by every Briton as a national undertaking, and a memorial due to our immortal naval hero. Sir Harris Nicolas is the Editor, and we appeal to those who have documents in their possession relating to Nelson, to afford him every assistance in their power.

The period of our publishing drawing so near has not left us time or space sufficient to notice at length, as we should have wished, the pamphlet just issued by the Prince de Joinville. Its appearance, at the present moment, seems attended with a certain degree of mystery and cunning, which are not apparent at a superficial glance. The design in the first instance, would seem to be to conciliate the war party in France, by shewing them the advantages their country may possess in future wars by increasing and rendering formidable the steam-vessels of the State; this he endeavours to do by pointing out, that the numerical superiority in seamen, will be now no longer of such paramount value;

the greatest portion of what was formerly performed by manual labour, being now effected by machinery; that for the fighting portion of the ship's company, soldiers will do as well as sailors, and in such a country as France, that force will never be wanting, nor money for the construction of vessels.

Having so far catered to the national vanity of the war party, the Prince ventures on the bold experiment of wounding their susceptibility, pointing out the actual weakness of France, by saying, that of the forty-three steamers provided by the vote of the Deputies, not above six of them are fit to compete with the English vessels of the same description. This admission at once leads us to the suspicion, that the *brochure* is neither in its origin nor execution the idea of the Prince himself, but springs from higher authority.

The Chamber of Deputies act frequently from the impulse of the moment, rather than by the rules of reason, as may be seen by a part of their proceedings last session; when, excited by a momentary enthusiasm, they voted a considerable sum for the service of the navy, which the Minister did not require or ask for, and which he probably would not have got, had he made an application, supported by the most powerful reasons. Knowing the existence of this temper, or rather temperament, Louis Philippe could not trust any of his Ministers to declare to the Chambers, that the supplies they had voted were insufficient; still less, that after flattering themselves they had got a fine steam navy, to be told, that out of forty-three of these vessels there were not more than six that could cope with English steamers. Such a confession from the mouth of a Minister would have caused an explosion in the Chamber that might have carried off the roof. The safest way to let out the unpleasant truth was in the shape of a pamphlet, which would have the authority of a naval officer, combined with that of a Prince; and who should appear to have written of his own accord and without consulting any one.

In speaking prospectively the Prince falls rather into contradiction with himself; he first says, "In the Mediterranean we should rule as masters, we should secure our conquest of Algiers—that vast field open to our trade and our civilization; and then the Mediterranean is too far from England—it is not the arsenals of Malta and Gibraltar that will be able to maintain a steam fleet, so difficult and expensive to provide, and always in dread of being reduced to inaction for want of fuel. France is, therefore, at liberty to act victoriously on that theatre."

A few paragraphs after the above consolatary assurance we find the following passage:—

"Thus, by means of a steam navy, England is enabled to threaten all our coast on the ocean, and even to rule over the Mediterranean by cutting off all our communications with Algiers."

In telling his countrymen some unpleasant truths, the Prince has thrown out hints that we ought to study on our own account. Since the introduction of steam the "Wooden Walls" have lost much of their value, inasmuch as it would be perfectly impossible for them to guard all our extended line of coast; it behoves us, therefore, to be stirring, and look out in time. The maxim "that the best way to avoid war is to be prepared for it," has always been strangely neglected in England, not-

withstanding all the remonstrances that have been made. The English people have been now shewn by a French Prince, that their island is no longer inaccessible, and that they ought to look to their defences at home, which may be suddenly and disagreeably called into action when they least expect it.

NEW CLAUSES IN THE MUTINY ACT AND ARTICLES OF WAR.

WAR-OFFICE, APRIL 18, 1844.

SIR,—In transmitting to you the Mutiny Act and Articles of War for the year commencing 25th April, 1844, I have, in order to obviate any misapprehension as to the construction to be put upon the new Clauses, to request your attention to the following points:—

The 27th clause has been enacted "for the purpose of giving to the superior Officer in command, whose duty it may be to confirm the sentence of a court-martial, the power, which he did not previously possess, of selecting the place, whether a civil gaol or a military prison, in which the offender is to be confined, and from which he may at any time remove the prisoner, in order that the prisoner may undergo the remainder, or any part of his sentence, in some other public prison, or place of confinement, and henceforward courts-martial will not, in their sentence, notice the place of confinement." The Officer confirming the sentence is to be guided in the selection of the prison by such instructions as he may, from time to time, receive from superior authority. By the 28th clause it is enacted, "That forts, barracks, or other buildings, may be set apart by the Secretary-at-War as places where the sentences of courts-martial may be carried into execution; and as soon as such buildings shall have been prepared for the reception of military offenders, the practice of confining soldiers in public gaols will be resorted to as seldom as possible." By the 29th clause, it is enacted, "That the term of imprisonment under any sentence of a court-martial, shall be reckoned from the day on which the original sentence and proceedings of the court-martial shall have been signed by the President; and the Officer commanding the regiment or corps to which the offender belongs, shall specify, in the written order to the Gaoler or Provost-Martial receiving the offender into custody, the period of imprisonment which the prisoner is to undergo: the days both of the signing of the sentence and the release of the prisoner must be included," as for instance,—"if a soldier is sentenced on the first day of the month to fourteen days' imprisonment, the sentence will terminate at twelve o'clock at night on the thirteenth." We find that with respect to the alterations in the Articles of War, "that the 85th Article prescribes, that whenever it may be impracticable to carry into execution sentences of solitary confinement, the officer convening the Court-Martial will give an instruction to such Court that should the prisoner be found guilty, and imprisonment form a part of his sentence, it will not be expedient to direct that any portion of it should be solitary, and the Court will govern itself accordingly."

I have to draw your attention to the amended Articles relating to Duelling in the Army. These alterations have been inserted by Her Majesty's Authority, for the purpose of more effectually discouraging and prohibiting a practice which is a violation of Her Majesty's orders, and a flagrant breach of the law of the land.

"These Articles declare that it is suitable to the character of honourable men to apologize and offer redress for wrong or insult committed, and equally so for the party aggrieved to accept, frankly and cordially, explanations and apologies for the same. If such redress be refused to be given, or to be accepted, and the friends of the parties have failed to reconcile the differences, a reference should, in conformity with the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure in the 106th Article, be made to the Commanding Officer on the spot, who will use his best advice and influence to reconcile the parties; and the differences having been honourably settled by the good offices and responsibility of the Commanding Officer, ought never to be revived by either party, or by any other Officer, or body of Officers; if, however, the Commanding Officer fail to reconcile the parties, it will become his duty to take such measures as he may deem necessary in order to prevent a duel, or to maintain good order in Her Majesty's Service, and the person refusing to be reconciled will be

liable to be brought to a Court-Martial, and, if convicted, cashiered, or suffer such other punishment as the Court may award. All parties implicated in duelling are liable, on conviction before a General Court-Martial, to be cashiered. Her Majesty's pleasure is expressed in the 107th Article, that Officers, being the friends or seconds of the parties, shall exert their influence to adjust a difference on terms consistent with the honour of each of the parties. The failure in settling a difference being generally attributable to excessive demands for reparation, made by one of the parties, the conduct of the seconds, by the 107th Article, is made liable to be investigated as well as that of the principals, in all cases in which a dispute shall be referred for the consideration of a General Court-Martial. Personal differences between gentlemen living together as brother Officers can seldom fail to be honourably and promptly adjusted, in the first instance, by explanation between their mutual friends; the propriety of an early explanation and acknowledgment of error was so forcibly pointed out by Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, in confirming the sentence of a General Court-Martial in 1810, that Sir Henry Hardinge inserts the following extract of his Grace's sentiments on this point:—"The Officers of the Army should recollect that it is not only no degradation, but that it is meritorious in him who is in the wrong to acknowledge and atone for his error, and that the momentary humiliation which every man may feel upon making such an acknowledgment, is more than atoned for by the subsequent satisfaction which it affords him, and by avoiding a trial and conviction of conduct unbecoming an Officer."

In reference to the 31st Article of War, and to the framing of charges in certain cases arising out of differences, or out of reproachful speeches and gesture, I have to direct your attention to a letter which the Judge-Advocate-General of Her Majesty's Forces has addressed to me.

Judge-Advocate-General's Office, 30th March, 1844.

Sir,—The recent discussions on Duelling in the Army, and the alterations in the Articles of War, have directed my attention to the language of charges, under which officers, alleged to have submitted to indignity and insult, or to the imputation of dishonorable or unworthy conduct, have been, in repeated instances, brought to trial. An erroneous notion has, to a limited extent, obtained, that an officer can be brought to trial and punished for not challenging another, or for refusing to accept a challenge, or to fight a duel, and in charges upon which officers have been cashiered, or otherwise punished, expressions may possibly be found, which, if detached from the context, and considered without reference to the undoubted law of England, and to the clear and unambiguous language of the Articles of War, might afford some colour to this error. But it must be remembered, that by the common law of England, duelling, unattended by any injury to either party, is an aggravated offence against the public peace, punishable by fine and imprisonment. Thus Mr. Justice Blackstone says—"The punishment of common affrays is by fine and imprisonment. Where two persons coolly and deliberately engage in a duel, this, being attended with an apparent intention and danger of murder, and being a high contempt of the Justice of the nation, is a strong aggravation of the affray, though no mischief has actually ensued." Under a recent statute, such persons may become liable to transportation. If death ensues, the parties implicated may be tried for murder. The Military code has been, and will continue consistent with this. The 107th Article of War, 1844, renders all parties, principals as well as seconds, implicated in duelling, liable to be cashiered. The 103rd and 104th Articles prescribe to a Commanding Officer the duty of preserving order in his regiment, and of placing under arrest all who use reproachful speeches and gestures; a duty enjoined, with the view of preventing duels, and of bringing to trial by Court-Martial parties who offer insults, and who will not afford redress by apology and acknowledgement of their error. Moreover, officers in command of guards are under the 60th Article punishable for allowing persons to go forth to fight a duel. By the 104th Article, officers of inferior rank may place under arrest those who are engaged in quarrels, frays, or disorders; and by Articles 35 and 104, any officer, though of superior rank, who refuses to obey is liable to be cashiered; while in the 105th Article, Her Majesty points out to the Army, that those who, being willing to make or accept frank explanations, apologies, or redress, refuse challenges, act as is suitable to the character of honourable men, do their duty as good soldiers, and are not only acquitted of all disgrace, but of all opinion of disadvantage.

It is manifest then that an officer cannot be subjected to trial and punishment for leaving undone that which the law thus expressly forbids, or for doing that which is thus distinctly declared not merely to be no offence, but to be suitable to the character of a man of honour, to be conformable to military duty, and to be conduct above all blame or reproach. Still an officer who allows the stigma of dishonourable conduct to rest upon him, or passes over, without notice, an insult offered to him, is liable to be brought to trial before a Court-Martial, not because he declines to fight a duel, but because having failed to obtain speedy atonement through the intervention of mutual friends, or by other lawful means, he neglects to report the matter to his Commanding Officer, and thereby to invite a searching investigation into his character and conduct. By such neglect he seems either to acquiesce in the justice of the imputation cast upon him, and to admit that there is something in his conduct which he fears to lay bare before honourable men, or to show that, regardless of his own reputation and honour, he knows not what is becoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, and that indifferent to the peace and order of the regiment, he is unmindful of the rules of military discipline. His conduct then becomes the proper subject of inquiry and adjudication before a Court-Martial.

In all such cases, however, it is most desirable to exclude the possibility of misconstruction. And as the new Articles point out with clearness the course which is consistent with the character of honourable men, it will be the duty of those who may have to frame charges, as well as of those to whose revision and correction, or approval, charges may be submitted, to take care that the offence be described in language which shall distinctly state those particulars in which the letter or spirit of Her Majesty's Articles of War has been neglected or violated.

I have, &c., (Signed) J. NICHOLL.

This letter of instructions is so well calculated to set at rest any erroneous impressions which may have existed on this point, and places the question of framing charges in reference to the 31st Article of War on a footing so clear and intelligible, that it is only necessary for me to express my entire concurrence in the principles so ably laid down by the Judge-Advocate-General.

I have, &c., (Signed) H. HARDINGE.

MEMORANDUM.

WAR-OFFICE, MAY 3, 1844.

Any Officer holding a commission in Her Majesty's Army, who has received the Royal permission to accept and wear a Foreign Order, will, on transmitting the necessary documents to the Secretary-at-War, have his name recorded in the Army List as having established his claim to wear the same.

H. HARDINGE.

NAVAL UNIFORM.

St. Vincent, at Spithead, May 22, 1844.

GENERAL MEMORANDUM.—The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having acquainted me that in consequence of information which has been conveyed to their Lordships, they deem it right to call my attention to the 2nd Article, Section 13, Chapter 5, of Her Majesty's Regulations, and also to Her Majesty's Commands promulgated on the 30th June, 1843, specifying the Uniform to be worn by H.M.'s Naval Officers, in which is the following direction:—"The Blue Morning Coat now in use is abolished." My Lords consider, therefore, that after so calling the particular attention of the Admiral at the Port to Her Majesty's commands, it will only be necessary for my Lords further to explain, with a view to prevent the possibility of further misunderstanding on the subject, that the Great Coat Her Majesty has permitted to be worn by H.M.'s Naval Officers, when necessary, is to be understood only according to the real intent and meaning of that expression, and such Great Coats are only to be worn over their proper and Uniform Coats. The same is hereby made known, for the guidance of H.M.'s Naval Officers.

(Signed by the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.)

STATIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

[Where two places are mentioned, the last-named is that at which the Depôt of the Regiment is stationed.]

1st Life Guards—Windsor.
2nd do.—Regent's Park.
Royal Horse Guards—Hyde Park.
1st Dragoon Guards—Canterbury.
2nd do.—Ballincollig.
3rd do.—Dublin.
4th do.—Longford.
5th do.—Dundalk.
6th do.—Piershill.
7th do.—Cape of Good Hope; Maidstone.
1st Dragoons—Dublin.
2nd do.—Edinburgh.
3rd do.—Bengal; Maidstone.
4th do.—Ipswich.
6th do.—Nottingham.
7th Hussars—Birmingham.
8th do.—York.
9th Lancers—Bengal; Maidstone.
10th Hussars—Cahir.
11th Hussars—Dublin.
12th Lancers—Manchester.
13th Light Dragoons—Exeter.
14th do.—Bombay; Maidstone.
15th Hussars—Madras; Maidstone.
16th Lancers—Bengal; Maidstone.
17th do.—Hounslow.
Grenadier Guards [1st batt.]—Winchester.
Do. [2nd battalion]—St. George's Barracks.
Do. [3rd battalion]—St. John's Wood.
Coldstream Guards [1st batt.]—Portman St. B.
Do. [2nd battalion]—Wellington Barracks.
Sc. Fusilier Guards [1st batt.]—The Tower.
Do. [2nd battalion]—Windsor.
1st Foot [1st batt.]—Gibraltar; Tralee.
Do. [2nd battalion] Quebec*; Enniskillen.
2nd do.—Bombay; Chatham.
3rd do.—Bengal; Chatham.
4th do.—Madras; Chatham.
5th do.—Dublin.
6th do.—Chester.
7th do.—Gibraltar; Brecon.
8th do.—Bolton.
9th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
10th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
11th do.—Athlone.
12th do.—Mauritius; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Mauritius.
13th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
14th do.—Canada; Belturbet.
15th do.—Limerick.
16th do.—Dublin.
17th do.—Aden; Chatham.
18th do.—China; Chatham.
19th do.—Cephalonia; Jersey.
20th do.—Bermuda; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Bermuda.
21st do.—Bengal; Chatham.
22nd do.—Bombay; Chatham.
23rd do.—Barbadoes; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Canada.
24th do.—Dublin.
25th do.—Madras; Chatham.
26th do.—Edinburgh.
27th do.—Cape of Good Hope; Naas.
28th do.—Bombay; Chatham.
29th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
30th do.—Cork.
31st do.—Bengal; Chatham.
32nd do.—Manchester.
33rd do.—New Brunswick; Buttevant.
34th do.—Dublin.
35th do.—Mauritius; Templemore.
36th do.—Dublin.
37th do.—Newcastle-on-Tyne.
38th do.—Gibraltar; Hull.
39th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
40th Foot—Bengal; Chatham.
41st do.—Canterbury.
42nd do.—Malta; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Malta.
43rd do.—Montreal; Cashel.
44th do.—Plymouth.
45th do.—Cape of Good Hope; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Gibraltar.
46th do.—St. Vincent; Boyle.
47th do.—Gosport.
48th do.—Jamaica; Guernsey.
49th do.—Winchester.
50th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
51st do.—Van Diemen's Land; Chatham.
52nd do.—New Brunswick; Cork.
53rd do.—Newry.
54th do.—Templemore.
55th do.—China; Chatham.
56th do.—Fermoy.
57th do.—Madras; Chatham.
58th do.—N. S. Wales; Chatham.
59th do.—Portsmouth.
60th do. [1st batt.]—Kilkenny.
Do. [2d batt.] Nova Scotia; Stirling.
61st do.—Limerick.
62nd do.—Bengal; Chatham.
63rd do.—Madras; Chatham.
64th do.—Northampton.
65th do.—Mullingar.
66th do.—Belfast.
67th do.—Manchester.
68th do.—Canada; Chatham.
69th do.—Castlebar.
70th do.—Leeds.
71st do.—Grenada; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Canada.
72nd do.—Fermoy.
73rd do.—Newport, South Wales.
74th do.—Montreal; Kinsale.
75th do.—Plymouth.
76th do.—Gosport.
77th do.—Jamaica; Dover.
78th do.—Bombay; Chatham.
79th do.—Gibraltar; Londonderry.
80th do.—New South Wales; Chatham.
81st do.—Canada; Buttevant.
82nd do.—Quebec; Clare Castle.
83rd do.—Weedon.
84th do.—Madras; Chatham.
85th do.—Barbadoes; Newbridge.
86th do.—Bombay; Chatham.
87th do.—Glasgow.
88th do.—Malta; Paisley.
89th do.—Canada; Cork.
90th do.—Ceylon; Carlow.
91st do.—Cape and St. Helena; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Cape of Good Hope.
92nd do.—Aberdeen.
93rd do.—Canada; Carlisle.
94th do.—Madras; Chatham.
95th do.—Ceylon; Kinsale.
96th do.—N. S. Wales; Chatham.
97th do.—Corfu; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Corfu.
98th do.—China; Chatham.
99th do.—New South Wales; Chatham.
Rifle Brig. [1st batt.]—Corfu; Athlone.
Do. [2d batt.]—Halifax, N. S.; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Halifax, N.S.
1st West India Regiment—Demerara, &c.
2nd do.—Jamaica.
3rd do.—Nassau, Sierra Leone, &c.
Ceylon Rifle Regiment—Ceylon.
Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment—Canada.
Cape Mounted Riflemen—Cape of Good Hope.
Rl. Newfoundland Comps.—Newfoundland.
Royal Malta Fencible Regiment—Malta.
St. Helena Regiment—St. Helena.

* Left Wing at Barbadoes.

[*This Document* being prepared exclusively for the U. S. Magazine, we request that, when used, its source may be acknowledged.]

STATIONS OF THE ROYAL NAVY IN COMMISSION,

With the Years when Built, and Dates of Commission of the Officers in Command.

Acheron, st., 2, 1838, Lt.-Com. B. Alpin, 1811, Mediterranean.
Adder, 1, st., M.-Cm. J. Hammond, (act.) Pemb.
Advice, 1, st., Lt.-Com. C. A. Petch, 1828, Pemb.
African, st., 1825, Mast.-Com. J. King, (act.) Sheerness.
Agincourt, 72, 1817, Rear-Adm. Sir T. J. Cochrane, Kt., Capt. H. W. Bruce, 1821, China Division, East Indies.
Aigle, 24, 1801, Capt. Lord C. E. Paget, Med.
Alban, 1, st. v., 1826, Lieut.-Com. J. Jeayes, Ireland.
Albatross, 16, 1842, Com. R. Yorke, 1833, Coast of Africa.
Albert, st., 1840, Lieut.-Com. D. Woodruffe, 1828, Coast of Africa.
Albion, 90, 1842, Capt. N. Lockyer, C.B., 1815, Lisbon.
Alecto, st., 1839, Lt.-Cm. W. Hoseason, 1826, Mediterranean.
Alert, 6, 1835, Com. C. J. Bosanquet, 1839, Coast of Africa.
Alfred, 50, 1811, Com. J. B. Purvis, 1809, Brazils.
Alligator, 26, tr. sh., 1821, Master-Com. J. N. King, 1823, China.
America, 50, Capt. Hon. John Gordon, 1818, Devonport.
Anson, 72, convict-hulk, Com. F. R. Coghlan, 1844, Hobart Town.
Apollo, 8, tr. 1805, Com. W. Maclean, 1841, particular service.
Ardent, st. 1841, Com. J. Russell (*b*), 1840, C. A.
Arrow, 6, sch., 1823, Lt.-Com. W. Robinson, 1837, Cape of Good Hope.
Asp, 1, st. Lt.-Com. W. W. Oke, 1825, Portpat.
Basilisk, 6, 1824, Lt. H. S. Hunt, (act.) 1835, S. America.
Beacon, 6, sur. ves., 1823, Com. T. Graves, 1841, Mediterranean.
Beaver, st. v., 1827, Lt.-Com. R. Mudge, 1815, Dover.
Bee, st. v., tender for the use of students on board the Excellent, and at the Naval College, Portsmouth.
Belvidera, 38, 1809, Cpt. Hon. G. Grey, 1834, Mediterranean.
Bittern, 16, 1840, Com. E. Peel, 1841, Cape of Good Hope.
Black Eagle, st. ves., 1831, Mast.-Com. S. B. Cook, (act.) 1838, Woolwich.
Blazer, 3, st. v. 1834, Capt. J. Washington, 1842, Surveying.
Bonetta, 3, 1836, Com. T. S. Brock, 1842, Chat.
Bramble, 10, 1822, Lieut.-Com. C. B. Yule, 1842, East Indies.
Caledonia, 120, 1808, Adm. Sir D. Milne, G.C.B., Capt. A. Milne, 1839, Devonport.
Cambrian, 36, 1841, Cpt. H. D. Chads, C.B., 1825, China.
Camperdown, 104, 1820, Vice-Admiral Sir J. C. White, K.C.B., Capt. W. F. Martin, 1824, Sheerness.
Carysfort, 26, 1836, Capt. Lord Geo. Paulet, 1833, Brazils.
Castor, 36, 1832, Capt. C. Graham, 1830, China.
Ceylon, 2, 1810, Lieut. R. Curtis, 1838, F.L. receiving ship, Malta.
Champion, 18, 1824, Com. J. Clavell, (act.) S. America.
Charon, st. ves., 1827, Sec. Mas. E. C. Rutter, (act.) 1837, Dover.
Childers, 16, 1827, Com. G. G. Wellesley, 1842, China.
Cleopatra, 26, 1835, Capt. Chris. Wyvill, 1832, Cape of Good Hope.
Clio, 16, 1807, Com. J. Fitzjames, 1842, E. I.
Cockatrice, 6, 1832, Lt.-Cm. J. Oxenham, 1826, South America.
Collingwood, 80, Rear-Adm. Sir G. Seymour, G.C.H., Capt. H. Eden, 1827, Portsmouth.
Columbia, st. ves., Lt.-Com. J. Harding, 1815, North America.
Confiance, 2, st., 1827, Sec. Mast. J. Jagoe, (act.) Devonport.
Conway, 26, 1832, Capt. R. Fair, K.H. 1837, Cape of Good Hope.
Cormorant, 6, st., 1842, Com. G. T. Gordon, 1840, S. America.
Cornwallis, 72, 1813, Vice Admiral Sir W. Parker, K.C.B., Capt. P. Richards, 1828, E. Indies.
Crescent, 42, rec. sh. 1810, Lt.-Cm. M. Donellan, 1808, Rio Janeiro.
Cuckoo, st., Lieut.-Com. A. Parks, 1815, Weym.
Curaçoa, 24, 1809, Cpt. Sir T. S. Pasley, Bart., 1831, Brazils.
Cyclops, 6, st. ves., 1839, Capt. W. F. Lapidge, 1837, Ireland.
Cygnet, 10, Com. H. Layton, 1825, Sheerness.
Daphne, 18, 1838, Cpt. J. J. Onslow, 1834, S.A.
Dasher, st. ves., Mas.-Com. R. White, (act.) Weymouth.
Dee, 2, st. v., 1832, Mast.-Com. T. Driver, 1809, Ireland.
Devastation, 6, st. v., 1841, Com. W. H. Kitchen, 1827, Mediterranean.
Dido, 18, 1836, Cpt. Hon. H. Keppel, 1837, Ch.
Dolphin, 3, 1836, Lt.-Com. W. O'B. Hoare, 1823, South America.
Doterel, st. ves. Mas.-Com. J. Grey (act.) Holy.
Dover, st. ves., Mast. E. Lyne, (act.) Dover.
Driver, 6, st. ves. 1840, Com. C. O. Hayes, 1839, China.
Dublin, 50, 1812, Rear-Admiral R. Thomas, Capt. J. J. Tucker, 1838, South America.
Dwarf, st. v., Lieut.-Com. W. C. Chamberlain, (1840), Ireland.
Electra, 18, 1837, Com. A. Darley, 1827, W. I.
Emerald, 1820, ten. to St. Vincent, Sec. Mast. S. Baggs, Portsmouth.
Espoir, 10, 1821, Com. A. Morrel, 1823, Coast of Africa.
Eurydice, 26, 1843, Capt. G. Elliot, 1838, W. I.
Excellent, 1810, Cpt. Sir T. Hastings, Kt., 1830, Portsmouth.
Experiment, 1, st. ves., Lt.-Com. J. Harper, 1815, Lake Huron.
Fair Rosamond, 2, Lt.-Com. A. G. Bulman, 1828, West Indies.
Fanny, tender to St. Vincent, Sec. Mas. G. Allen, Portsmouth.
Fearless, st. ves. Com. W. L. Sheringham, 1841, Plymouth.
Ferret, 6, 1840, Com. J. Oake, 1827, C. of Africa.
Firefly, 2, st. ves., Cpt. F. W. Beechey, 1827, Woolwich.
Fisguard, 42, 1819, Capt. J. A. Duntze, 1829, S. America.
Flamer, 1831, Lieut.-Com. C. J. Postle, 1836, Ireland.
Fly, 18, 1831, Capt. F. P. Blackwood, 1838, E. I.
Formidable, 84, 1825, Vice-Adm. Sir E. W. C. R. Owen, K.C.B., Capt. G. F. Rich, 1823, Mediterranean.
Fox, 42, 1829, Capt. Sir H. M. Blackwood, Bart., 1837, Ireland.
Frolic, 16, 1842, Com. C. B. Hamilton, 1844, S. America.
Geyser, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. E. I. Carpenter, 1827, Mediterranean.
Gleaner, 2, st., 1833, Sec. Mast. H. Hill, Berm.
Gorgon, 6, st. ves., 1837, Capt. C. Hotham, 1833, South America.
Griffon, 3, 1832, Lieut.-Com. C. Jenkin, 1829, North America.
Growler, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. C. H. M. Buckle 1836, Coast of Africa.

Harlequin, 16, 1836, Com. the Hon. G. F. Hastings, 1838, East Indies.
Hazard, 18, 1837, Com. C. Bell, 1830, E. Ind.
Hecate, 4, st. v. 1840. Com. J. P. Bower, 1841, Ireland.
Hecla, st.-v. 1839, Com. J. Duffill, 1839, Med.
Helena, 16, Com. Sir C. Ricketts, 1831, C.G.H.
Hermes, 2, st. ves., 1835, Lt.-Cm. W. Carr, 1821, West Indies.
Heroine, 6, 1841, Lt.-Com. H. R. Foote, 1842, C. of Africa.
Hornet, 6, 1831, Lt.-Com. R. B. Miller, 1837, W. Indies.
Hyacinth, 18, 1829, Com. F. Scott, 1841, Coast of Africa.
Hydra, 4, 1838, Com. H. B. Young, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Illustrious, 72, 1803, Vice-Admiral Sir C. Adam, K.C.B., Capt. J. E. Erskine, 1838, W.I.
Imaum, rec. ship, Commodore A. R. Sharpe, C.B., 1813, Jamaica.
Inconstant, 36, 1836, Capt. C. H. Freemantle, 1825, Bermuda.
Indus, 78, 1839, Cpt. Sir J. Stirling, Knt., 1818, Mediterranean.
Iris, 26, 1840, Capt. G. R. Mundy, 1837, China.
Isis, 44, 1819, Capt. Sir J. Marshall, Knt., K.C.H., 1814, Cape.
Jasper, st. ves., Mas.-Com. E. Rose, 1823, Pembroke.
Lark, 4, sur. v., 1830, Lieut.-Com. G. B. Lawrence, 1843, West Indies.
Larne, 18, 1829, Com. J. W. D. Brisbane, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Lightning, 2, st. v., 1823, Sec. Mas. W. Roberts, Woolwich.
Locust, 3, st. ves., 1840, Lt.-Cm. J. Lunn, 1829, Mediterranean.
Lucifer, st. surv. v., Com. Frazer, 1841, Ireland.
Lynx, 3, 1833, Lieut.-Com. J. T. Nott, 1810, Ireland.
Madagascar, 44, 1822, Cpt. John Foote, 1827, C. of Africa.
Malabar, 72, 1818, Capt. Sir G. R. Sartorius, Kt., 1814, Cork.
Mastiff, 2, 1813, sur. v. Mas.-Com. Thomas, 1808, Orkney.
Medea, 4, 1833, st. v., Com. F. Warden, 1838, Mediterranean.
Medina, 2, st. v., 1840, Mas.-Com. W. Smithett, (act.) Liverpool.
Medusa, 2, st. v., 1839. Lt.-Com. J. P. Philipps, 1815, Liverpool.
Mercury, tender, Sec. Mast. J. Scarlett, Ports.
Merlin, 2, st. 1839, Lt.-Com. E. Keane, 1815, Liverpool.
Meteor, 2, st. 1824, Lieut.-Com. G. Buttler, 1811, Ireland.
Minden, 20, hos. sh., 1810, Capt. Michael Quin, 1837, China.
Modeste, 18, 1837, Com. Thomas Baillie, 1841, S. America.
Mohawk, Com. W. N. Fowell, 1839, L. Ontario.
Monkey, 1, st., Sec. Master W. Bryant, (act.) Woolwich.
Montreal, Lieut.-Com. J. Tyssen, 1832, Lake Erie.
Nautilus, 10, 1830, tender to Victoria and Albert, Lt.-Com. W. Tringham, 1826, Port.
Nereus, store ship, 1821, Mas.-Com. F. W. Bateman, 1837, Valparaiso.
Netley, 8, tender to Caledonia, Sec. Mas. F. H. May, Devonport.
Nimrod, 20, 1828, Com. F. H. H. Glasse, 1838, E. Indies.
North Star, 26, 1824, Capt. Sir J. E. Home, Bt. 1837, East Indies.
Ocean, 80, 1805, Cpt.-Sup. Peter Fisher, 1814, Sheerness.
Orestes, 18, 1834, Com. E. St. Ledger Cannon, 1838, Mediterranean.
Otter, st. v., Lt.-Com. H. P. Jones, 1814, Holyhead.
Pearl, 20, 1828, Com. R. H. Stopford, 1830, S.A.
Pelican, 16, 1812, Com. P. Justice (δ), 1824, China.
Penelope, st., 24, 1829, Capt. W. Jones, 1828, Coast of Africa.
Perseus, rec. sh., 1812, Lieut.-Cm. W. Greet, 1840, off the Tower.
Philomel, 6, 1842, Com. B. J. Sullivan, 1841, Brazils.
Pickle, 2, 1827, Lieut.-Com. J. A. Bainbridge, 1826, West Indies.
Pigmy, 1, st. v., 1827, Lieut.-Com. C. Autridge, 1815, Pembroke.
Pike, 1, st., Lt.-Com. A. Boyter, 1815, Portpat.
Pilot, 16, 1838, Com. W. H. Jervis, 1834, China.
Pique, 36, 1834, Capt. the Hon. M. Stopford, 1825, North America.
Plover, sur. v., Capt. R. Collinson, C.B., 1842, China.
Pluto, 2, 1831, Lieut.-Com. W. P. Crozier, 1837, Ireland.
Poictiers, 72, 1809, Com.-Sup. W. H. Shirreff, 1809, Chatham.
Polyphemus, 1, st., 1839, Lieut.-Com. T. Spark, 1812, Mediterranean.
Princess Alice, Mast.-Com. L. Smithett (act.) Dover.
Prometheus, st. ves., 1839, Commander J. Hay, 1841, Portsmouth.
Prompt, schooner, Mate A. Parkwright, 1843, Coast of Africa.
Prospero, 1, st. v., 1829, Sec. Mas. P. Rundle (act.), reserve packet, Pembroke.
Queen, 110, 1839, Capt. Sir C. Sullivan, Bart., 1814, on passage to England.
Racer, 16, 1833, Com. A. Reed, 1837, Brazils.
Rapid, 10, 1829, Lt.-Com. E. C. Earle, 1813, Coast of Africa.
Rattlesnake, troop ship, 1822, Mast.-Com. R. Brown, 1831, Portsmouth.
Raven, 4, 1829, Lt.-Com. John Stephen, 1815, Sheerness.
Redwing, st. v., 1834, Com. Thomas Bevis, 1829, Liverpool.
Resistance, 1805, tr. s., Com. C. G. C. Patey, 1840, North America.
Rhadamanthus, 2, st., 1832, Mast.-Com. Lees, 1812, particular service.
Ringdove, 16, 1833, Com. Sir W. Daniell, Knt., 1826, Coast of Africa.
Romney, depôt, 1815, Lt.-Com. R. M'Clure, 1837, Havannah.
Rose, 18, 1821, Com. H. R. Sturt, 1830, W.I.
Royal Sovereign, 1804, Capt.-Sup. Sir W. Pell, 1813, Pembroke.
Royalist, Lieut.-Com. P. Chetwode, 1832, E. I.
St. Vincent, 120, 1815, Adm. Sir C. Rowley, Bt. G.C.B., G.C.H., Capt. R. F. Rowley, 1830, Portsmouth.
Salamander, st., 4, 1832, Com. A. S. Hamond, 1838, South America.
Samarang, 26, 1822, Capt. Sir E. Belcher, C.B., 1841, China.
San Josef, 110, 1783, Rear-Ad. Sir Samuel Pym, K.C.B., Capt. F. W. Burgoyne, 1815, Plymouth.
Sapphire, tr. sh., 1827, Mas.-Cm. J. R. Fittock, 1827, China.
Sappho, 16, 1837, Com. the Hon. G. Hope, 1840, Cape of Good Hope.
Satellite, 18, 1826, Com. R. H. B. Rowley, 1842, Brazils.
Savage, 10, 1830, Lt.-Cm. J. H. Bowker, 1815, Mediterranean.
Scout, 18, 1832, Com. Hon. J. R. Drummond, 1838, Mediterranean.
Scylla, 16, 1809, Com. R. Sharpe, 1826, North America.
Seaflower, 6, cutt., 1830, Com. N. Robilliard, 1841, Jersey.
Sealark, 18, 1843, Com. T. L. Gooch, 1842, Coast of Africa.
Serpent, 16, 1832, Com. W. Nevill, 1825, China.

Shearwater, 2, st. v., 1826, Com. C. G. Robinson, 1838, surv. Coast of Scotland.
Siren, 16, 1841, Com. W. Smith (*b*), 1826, E. I.
Skylark, 4, 1826, Lt.-Com. G. Morris, 1823, part. serv.
Snake, 16, 1832, Commander Hon. W. B. Devereux, 1836, Mediterranean.
Snipe, 2, 1828, Lieut.-Com. G. Raymond, 1815, Ireland.
Sparrow, 6, ketch, Lieut. H. C. Otter, 1831, Chatham.
Spartan, 26, 1841, Capt. the Hon. C. G. J. B. Elliot, 1841, West Indies.
Speedy, 2, 1828, Lieut.-Com. G. Beaufoy, 1821, Sheerness.
Spider, 6, 1835, Lieut.-Com. R. E. Pym, 1815, South America.
Spiteful, st., 6, 1842, Com. W. Maitland, 1840, China.
Sprightly, 1, st., 1823, Mast.-Com. J. P. Moon, (act.), Holyhead.
Spy, 3, 1841, Lt.-Com. S. O. Wooldridge, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Star, 10, 1835, Cm. R. J. W. Dunlop, 1842, Coast of Africa.
Stromboli, 6, 1839, Com. the Hon. E. Plunkett, 1840, Ireland.
Styx, 6, st., 1841, Capt. A. T. E. Vidal, 1825, Azores.
Swallow, 1, st. Mast.-Com. R. Sherlock (act.), Dover.
Sydenham, st.-ves., Lieut. D. R. B. Mapleton, 1837, Woolwich.
Sylph, 2, tender to Caledonia, Devonport.
Sylvia, 6, Lt. E. E. Turnour, 1842, tndr. to Seaflower, Portsmouth.
Talbot, 26, 1824, Capt. Sir T. Thompson, 1837, Pacific.
Tartarus, st. v., 1834, Com. J. Wolfe, 1843, Ireland.
Thalia, 42, 1830, Capt. C. Hope, 1826, Pacific.
Thunder, 6, sur.v., 1829, Com. E. Barnett, 1838, West Indies.
Thunderbolt, 6, st., 1842, Com. G. N. Broke, 1840, Cape of Good Hope.
Tortoise, 12, Com. W. Finlaison, 1820, Ascension.
Tyne, 26, 1826, Capt. W. N. Glascock, 1833, Mediterranean.
Urgent, 2, st. v., Mas.-Com. J. Emerson, 1810, Liverpool.
Vestal, 26, 1833, Capt. C. Talbot, 1830, East Indies.
Vesuvius, 6, st., 1840, Com. E. Ommanney, 1840, Mediterranean.
Victoria and Albert, yacht, 1843, Capt. Lord A. Fitzclarence, 1821, Portsmouth.
Victory, 104, 1765, Captain Henderson, C.B., K.H., 1838, Portsmouth.
Vindictive, 50, 1813, Capt. Nicolas, C.B., K.H., 1815, Pacific.
Viper, 6, 1831, Lt.-Com. J. Carter, 1815, South America.
Virago, 6, st.-ves., 1843, Com. G. G. Otway, 1841, Mediterranean.
Vixen, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. G. Giffard, 1840, China.
Volage, 26, 1825, R.-Adm. Sir Hugh Pigot, C.B., K.C.H., Capt. Sir W. Dickson, Bart., 1837, Cork.
Volcano, 2, st., 1836, Lieut.-Com. E. C. Miller, 1826, Ireland.
Wanderer, 16, 1835, Com. G. H. Seymour, 1841, East Indies.
Warspite, 50, 1807, Capt. W. P. Wallis, 1819, Mediterranean.
Wasp, 16, 1812, Com. H. Bagot, 1838, West Indies.
Widgeon, 1, st., Lt.-Com. T. S. Scriven, 1822, Dover.
Wildfire, 1, st. 1826, Lieut.-Com. A. Darby, 1828, Weymouth.
William and Mary, yacht, 1807, Commodore Sir F. A. Collier, Kt., C.B., K.C.H., 1808, Woolwich.
Winchester, 52, 1822, Rear-Adm. the Hon. J. Percy, Capt. C. Eden, 1841, C. of Good Hope.
Wolf, 18, 1826, Com. A. Vyner (act.), 1841, China.
Wolverine, 16, 1836, Com. C. F. Brown, 1841, China.
Young Hebe, Lieut.-Com. W. T. Bate, 1841, China.
Zephyr, 1, st., 1827, Lieut.-Com. Jas. Small, 1825, Holyhead.

HER MAJESTY'S PACKET BRIGS AT FALMOUTH :—

Crane, Lieut.-Com. Lewis, 1821.
Express, Lt.-Com. E. Herrick.
Linnet, Lieut.-Com. P. H. Dicken.
Penguin, Lt.-Com. W. Leslie.
Peterel, Lt.-Com. T. Creser.
Swift, Lieut.-Com. J. Douglas.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

ROYAL NAVY.

DOWNING-STREET, May 3.

The Queen has been pleased to appoint Charles Fitzgerald, Esq., Commander in the Royal Navy, to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over Her Majesty's settlements in the Gambia.

WHITEHALL, May 9.

The Queen has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal, constituting and appointing Robert Maunsell, Esq., Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Captain in Her Majesty's Navy, one of the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, in the room of Edward Hawke Locker, Esq., resigned.

WHITEHALL, May 13.

The Queen has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, constituting and appointing the Right Hon. Thomas Earl of Haddington; the Right Hon. Sir George Cockburn, G.C.B., Admiral of the Red Squadron of Her Majesty's Fleet; Sir William Hall Gage, Knight, Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of Her Majesty's Fleet; William Bowles, Esq., C.B., Rear-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of Her Majesty's Fleet; the Hon. W. Gordon, Captain in Her Majesty's Navy; and the Right Hon. Henry Thomas Lowry Corry, to be Her Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions, islands, and territories thereunto belonging.

PROMOTIONS.

Commander—F. Briggs, from the retired list.

Retired Commanders—George Thomas, W. S. Oliver, and Robert Trotter, from the 7*s.* to the 8*s.* 6*d.* list.

Lieutenants—George Baker; William Peel, for proficiency in gunnery.

Paymasters and Pursers—W. H. Reeves, G. A. Lance, C. Fielden, W. H. Wiseman.

Mates—C. F. de Voux and W. Peel.

Surgeons—Robert J. Scott, A. Woodcock.

APPOINTMENTS.

Rear-Admiral — Sir Hugh Pigot, C.B., K.C.H. (1837), to command on the coast of Ireland.

Captain—H. Eden (1827), to Collingwood.

Commanders—Henry Broadhead (1841), to Collingwood; J. Hay (*b*), (1841,) to Prometheus.

Lieutenants—Gabriel Johnston (1841), of Prometheus (addit.), to Stromboli; A. F. Webster (1844), (addit.), to Cornwallis; J. P. Palmes (1842), and R. A. Stewart (1839), to Cygnet; D. R. B. Mapleton (1837), to Sydenham; Bassett J. Loveless (1811), to Greenwich Hospital; W. G. Deane (1843), to Hecate; John F. C. Hamilton (1841), to America; F. H. Harper, (1841), from Daphne to Racer, vice J. F. Warre (1841), removed to Alfred; F. Willoughby, (1843), from Alfred to Daphne, vice Harper; F. T. B. Hankey (1833), C. J. Balfour (1838), J. O. Bathurst (gunnery), (1838), P. Somerville (1841), G. E. K. Gore (1843), to Collingwood; W. H. Stewart (1842), from Illustrious to Ringdove; E. P. B. Von Donop (1838), from Eurydice to Illustrious; Henry Oakeley (1843), to America; Hon. F. Curzon (1844), (addit.), to Sydenham; G. B. Jeffreys (1841), (addit.), to Alfred; J. Compton (1838), (addit.), to St. Vincent; J. B. Hooystra (1841), to Hydra; O. Cumberland (1841), to Albert; T. Freer (1821), to Madagascar; R. J. D. Waddilove (1843), (addit.), to Dublin; John Strettell (1841), to Prometheus; R. M. Sandom (1843), to Excellent; F. S. M'Gregor (1838), to Prometheus.

Masters—C. T. Tucker (1837), to America; John Penn (1831), to Collingwood.

Mates—O. M. C. Read (1844), to Skylark; M. Jones (1843) and R. Dew (1842), from Caledonia to Collingwood; H. T. N. Cheshyre (1840), to Sydenham; G. M. Jackson (1838), to St. Vincent; H. De Lisle (1837), to Alfred; C. F. De Voux (1844), to Excellent; W. Peel (1844), to Winchester; John Cartwright (1840), to Collingwood; H. J. Grant (1842), to Collingwood; R. A. Buchanan (1838), to America; Selby Lilburn (1834), to Prometheus; G. M. Smith, to Cyclops; Hon. F. Walpole (1843), to Collingwood.

Second Masters—G. S. Hall (1830), to Sydenham; George Polglaze, to America; G. S. Hall (1830), to Sydenham; John Symons and James S. Hill (1838) (act.), to Caledonia; W. Draper, to Lynx; H. A. Moriarty (1837), to Formidable; G. J. Gibbon (1832), to Collingwood; Charles Parsons to Fox; J. S. Bensted (1840), (addit.), to Redwing; T. Hart (1833), (Acting Master), to Prometheus; J. Wallis (1844), to Lynx.

Midshipmen—Riley, De Horsey, Dawson, Moreton, Urmston, from St. Vincent; and Morgan and Lambert, from Queen; and Mason, from Indus, to Collingwood; Angus Campbell, to Albion; E. Scott, to Excellent.

Naval Cadets — H. West, from Pearl, to Excellent; Hardinge, Armytage, and Wyndham, L. C. Hamilton, J. G. Goodenough, to Collingwood; Charles Bere, to Cygnet.

Surgeons — Alex. Cross (1838), to Imaum; O'Neil Ferguson, M.D. (1841), to Cygnet (cancelled); F. Mansell, M.D. (1840), to Collingwood; Robert John Scott (1844), to Royal William; Robert M'Crae (1841), to Cygnet; J. D. Tweeddale (1843), to Prometheus.

Assistant-Surgeons—John Speer (1841), to Collingwood; Geo. Ball (1837), from Snipe, to San Josef; Andrew Coates (1827), to Snipe; Jewers (1844), (act.), to Collingwood; S. Livesay, M.D. (1833), to Sydenham; A. Robertson (1809), to Alecto; Robert Clarke, M.D. (1840), (addit.), to Caledonia; Richard P. Chapman (1843), (act.), to Prometheus.

Chaplains—N. Procter (1840), to Collingwood; John Falls (1827), to Iris.

Paymasters and Pursers — C. H. Jones (act.), to Cygnet; A. Dawson (1812), to Collingwood; J. Barrett (acting), to Prometheus.

Clerks—C. D. Gourd, to William and Mary yacht; R. H. Lowcay, to Bonetta; J. T. Rutter (in charge), to Sydenham; Wiles, to Collingwood; H. Parsons, to Camperdown; M. Crouch, to Ocean; F. B. Marshall, to Collingwood; W. Parminter, to Collingwood; T. W. S. Neame, to Cygnet.

* The officers of the Queen and Formidable exchanged ships, on Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Owen shifting his flag to the latter.

ROYAL MARINES.

ADMIRALTY, May 3.

Gent. Cadet William Sandom Davis to be Second Lieut.

ADMIRALTY, May 6.

First Lieut. George Evans Hunt, to be Capt., vice Capt. Henry Savage, to half-pay; Second Lieut. Fleetwood John Richards, to be First Lieut., vice Hunt, promoted; Gent. Cadet Edmund Charles Domville, to be Second Lieutenant.

ADMIRALTY, May 6.

Brevet-Major J. R. Coryton, to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice Lieut.-Colonel D. Campbell, to retired full pay; First Lieutenant J. Mitchell to be Capt., vice Brevet-Major Coryton, promoted; Sec. Lieut. H. H. Goold to be First Lieut., vice First Lieut. Mitchell, promoted.

COAST-GUARD.

APPOINTMENTS.

Lieut. Frederick Hennah, R.N., to command the station at Thorney, vice Lieut. Jas. Thos. Nicholls, R.N., superseded; Commander John Hills, R.N., to be Inspecting Commander at Littlehampton, vice Commander Joseph Cammilleri, R.N., superseded; Lieut. Henry Probyn, R.N., to command a Coast-Guard station.

REMOVAL.

Lieut. Robert Taylor, R.N., from Greatham Creek, to Chichester Harbour.

DISCHARGE.

Lieut. Thomas Heales, R.N., of Silsea station, superseded.

ARMY.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, April 22.

Royal Regt. of Artillery—Capt. and Brevet-Major Charles Dalton to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice John Gardon, retired on full pay; Sec. Capt. Charles William Wingfield to be Capt.; Sec. Capt. Alexander Tulloh to be Capt., vice Dalton; First Lieut. William Hamilton Elliot to be Sec. Capt., vice Tulloh; Sec. Lieut. Alexander Cameron Gleig to be First Lieut., vice Elliot; Sec. Capt John Sidney Farrel to be Capt., vice Dyson, retired on full pay; First Lieut. Peter Maclean to be Sec. Capt., vice Farrel; Sec. Lieut. Charles Frye to be First Lieut., vice Maclean; Sec. Capt. Henry Poole to be Capt., vice Fenwick, retired on full pay; First Lieut. Charles Robert Wynne to be Sec. Capt., vice Poole: Sec. Lieut. the Hon. William Charles Yelverton to be First Lieut., vice Wynne.

Second Regiment of West York Militia—John Hardy, Esq., to be Capt., vice Boynton, who retires.

Worcestershire Regiment of Militia—Major John Cox to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice Josiah Patrick, deceased; Capt. Thomas Clutton Brock to be Major, vice John Cox, promoted.

WAR-OFFICE, April 26.

1st Dragoon Guards—W. H. de Rhodes, Gent., to be Cornet, by purch., vice Sutton, appointed to 12th Light Dragoons.

12th Light Dragoons—Lieut. T. Bernard to be Capt. by purch., vice Philips, who retires; Cornet J. Williams to be Lieut. by purch., vice Bernard; Cornet H. G. Sutton, from 1st Dragoon Guards, to be Cornet, vice Williams.

9th Foot—Capt. J. Harvey, from 44th Foot, to be Capt., vice Ballard, who exchanges.

11th—Lieut. S. S. Cox to be Capt., by purch., vice Forbes, who retires; Ensign J. Pattison to be Lieut. by purch., vice Cox; W. Goode, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Pattison.

23rd—Assist.-Surgeon W. G. Watt, from the Staff, to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Loinsworth, who resigns.

25th—Lieut. E. G. Whitty, from 26th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Rudyerd, who exchanges.

26th—Lieut. H. E. S. Rudyerd, from 25th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Whitty, who exchanges.

44th—Capt. V. V. Ballard, from 9th Foot, to be Capt., vice Harvey, who exchanges.

46th—Lieut. W. H. O'Toole to be Adjutant, vice Sharpe, deceased; Ensign J. E. Spilling to be Lieut. without purch., vice O'Toole, appointed Adjutant; J. G. Clarke, Gent., to be Ensign vice Spilling.

47th—Lieut. F. Estwick, from 94th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Clarke, who exchanges.

51st—Lieut. W. Birch, from 25th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Stansfield, who retires; Lieut. W. Birch to be Adjutant, vice Carey, promoted.

71st—Brevet-Major W. Guard, from h.p., Sub-Inspector of Militia in the Ionian Islands, to be Capt., vice H. E. Austen, who exchanges; Lieut. T. H. Colvill to be Capt. by purch., vice Guard, who retires; Ensign W. Hutchinson to be Lieut. by purch., vice Colvill; J. I. Macdonnell, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Hutchinson.

74th—Serjeant-Major F. Dunbar to be Quartermaster, vice D. M'Curdy, who retires upon half pay.

87th—Lieut. W. Boyd to be Capt. by purch., vice W. Boyd, who retires; Sec. Lieut. W. E. Adams to be First Lieut., vice Vigors, deceased; Sec. Lieut. F. Colegrave to be First Lieut. by purch., vice Boyd; Ensign A. Dawar, from Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, to be Sec. Lieut., vice Adams; J. Doherty, Gent., to be Sec. Lieut. by purch., vice Colegrave.

94th—Lieut. R. N. Clarke, from 47th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Estwick, who exchanges.

1st West India Regiment—T. Clark, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Thompson, deceased.

Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment—J. G. Stewart, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Dewar, appointed to 87th Foot.

Unattached—Lieut. G. R. Langley, from 19th Foot, to be Capt. without purch.

Royal Eastern Regt. of Middlesex Militia—T. M. Carvich, Esq., to be Captain.

Warwickshire Yeomanry Cavalry—The Hon. W. H. Leigh, to be Cornet, vice G. P. B. C. Noel, resigned, April 12.

North Salopian Yeomanry Cavalry—R. P. Jones, Gent., to be Lieut., vice Clay, resigned; W. H. Austin, Gent., to be Cornet, vice Jones.

WAR OFFICE, April 30.

Brevet.—To be Lieutenant-Colonels in the Army—Major Thomas Ryan, 50th Foot; Major Edward William Bray, 39th Foot; Major Gustavus Logie Christie, 3rd Foot; Major James Stopford, 40th Foot; Major Marcus Barr, 29th Foot; Major Peter John Petit, 50th Foot; Major Henry Havelock, 13th Foot; Major Charles T. Van Straubenzee, 39th Foot.

To be Majors in the Army—Capt. Patrick M'Kie, 3rd Foot; Capt. Fitzherbert Coddington, 40th Foot; Capt. Joseph Boyer Oliver, 40th Foot; Capt. Arthur William FitzRoy Somerset, 1st or Grenadier Guards; Capt. Marmaduke George Nixon, 39th Foot; Capt. William Langley Tudor, 50th Foot.

To be Lieutenant-Colonels in the Army, in the East Indies—Major Henry Clapton Barnard, 51st Bengal N.I.; Major John Gavin Drummond, 6th Bengal N.I.; Major Hope Dick, 51st Bengal N.I; Major Owen Phillippe, 56th Bengal N.I.; Major Wm. Henry Earle, 39th Bengal N.I.; Major William Garden, 36th Bengal N.I.; Major Edward James Smith, Bengal Engineers; Major Joseph Nash, 43rd Bengal Light Infantry; Major William Geddes, Bengal Artillery; Major Thomas Sanders, Bengal Artillery; Major Humphery Jarvis White, 50th Bengal N.I.; Major Christopher Edward Thomas Oldfield, C.B., 5th Bengal Light Cavalry; Major James Alexander, Bengal Artillery; Major John Theophilus Lane, Bengal Artillery; Major William Mactier, 4th Bengal Native Cavalry.

To be Majors in the Army, in the East Indies—Capt. Patrick Grant, 59th Bengal N.I.; Capt. Birnie Brown, Bengal Artillery; Capt. Henry Meggs Graves, 16th Bengal Grenadiers; Capt. Charles Grant, Bengal Artillery; Capt. Bradshaw York Reilly, Bengal Engineers; Capt. Frederick Brind, Bengal Artillery; Capt. Henry Clayton, 4th Bengal Light Cavalry; Capt. Richard James Holwell Birch, 17th Bengal N.I.; Capt. Henry Joseph Guydon, 31st Bengal N.I.; Capt. James Saunders, 50th N.I.; Capt. James Horsburgh M'Donald, Bengal Artillery; Capt. [illegible]
Bengal Artillery; Capt [illegible]
Bengal Light Cav[illegible]
28th Bengal [illegible]
Bengal N.I.
gal N.I.; [illegible]

Light Cavalry; Capt. Neville Aubury Parker, 58th Bengal N.I.; Capt. Francis Roberts Evans, 26th Bengal N.I.; Capt. James Gray William Curtis, 37th Bengal N.I.; Capt. Thomas Young, 2nd Bengal Grenadiers; Capt. George Dalston, 58th Bengal N.I.

Denbighshire Corps of Yeomanry Cavalry—Hugh Jones, Esq., to be Capt., vice Joseph Peers, resigned; Robert Lloyd, Gent., to be Cornet; William Rowland, Gent., to be Cornet.

DOWNING-STREET, May 2.

The Queen has been pleased to appoint Major-Generals J. Grey and H. G. Smith, Companions of the Most Hon. Military Order of the Bath, to be Knights Commanders of the said Order; and Colonel J. Dennis, 3rd Regt. of Foot; Col. T. Valiant, 40th Regt. of Foot; Lieut.-Col. A. Campbell, 9th Lancers; Lieut.-Col. T. Wright, 39th Regt. of Foot; Lieut.-Col. C. R. Cureton, 16th Lancers; Lieut.-Col. G. J. M. Macdowell, 16th Lancers; Lieut.-Col. J. Anderson, 50th Regt. of Foot; Lieut.-Col. J. O. Clunie, 3rd Regt. of Foot; Lieut.-Col. E. W. Bray, 39th Regt. of Foot; and Lieut.-Col. J. Stopford, 40th Regt. of Foot, to be Companions of the said Order.

Her Majesty has also been pleased to appoint the following Officers, in the East India Company's Service, viz.: Major-Gen. J. R. Lumley, Bengal Infantry, Adjutant-General of the Army; Major-Gen. J. H. Littler, Bengal Infantry, to be Knights Commanders of the Most Hon. Military Order of the Bath; and Lieut.-Col. W. A. Yates, Bengal Infantry; Lieut.-Col. G. E. Gowan, Bengal Artillery; Lieut.-Col. A. Pope, Bengal Light Cavalry; Lieut.-Col. E. Biddulph, Bengal Artillery; and Lieut.-Col. C. Hamilton, Bengal Infantry, to be Companions of the said most Hon. Military Order.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

1843.

Dec. 15th, at Port Arthur, Van Diemen's Land, the Lady of Capt. Errington, 51st Light Inf., of a son.

1844.

April 6th, at Gibraltar, the Lady of Capt. W. Monro, H.M.'s 79th Regt., of a daughter.

April 8th, at Weedon, the Lady of Capt. Battley, 64th Regt., of a son.

April 16th, at Winster, the Lady of Lieut. H. Norman, R.N., of a daughter.

April 18th, at Tynemouth, Northumberland, the Lady of Major G. W. Francklyn, 37th Regt., of a son and heir.

April 18th, at Rumleigh, the Lady of Capt. W. K. Stephens, R.N., of a son.

April 21st, at Earlswood Lodge, near Reigate, the Lady of Major E. P. Lynch, K.L.S., of a daughter.

April 21st, at Bath, the Lady of Sir Charles Shaw, of a son, who survived but a short time.

April 23rd, in Halkin-terrace, the wife of Capt. Milligan, of a daughter.

April 24th, at Gibraltar, the Lady of Assist.-Commissary-General Dinwiddie, of a son.

April 29th, at Cowes, the wife of Mr. George Johnson, Master, R.N., of son.

May 3rd, at Southampton, the Lady of Capt. Yolland, Royal Engineers, of a daughter.

May 4th, at Portsmouth, the Lady of Capt. Hart, 49th Regt., of a son.

May 4th, at Madeira, the Lady of George Stoddart, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for that island, of a daughter.

May 5th, at 43, Hyde-park-square, the wife of Capt. H. R. B. Brandreth, Royal Engineers, of a daughter.

May 22nd, at Preston, the Lady of John Cameron, Esq., Royal Engineers, of a son.

In Chesham-place, the Lady Arthur Lennox, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

March 28th, at Naples, Lieut.-Colonel C. Hay, commanding 19th Regt., fourth son of *the late* General Sir James Hay, K.C.H., to *Ellen, second* daughter of the late Major-General Sir Charles Ashworth, K.C.B., K.T.S.

April 18th, at Aldingbourn, H. Schomberg, Esq., Commander, R.N., eldest son of Vice-Admiral Schomberg, to Sarah, daughter of the Rev. W. S. Bayton.

April 22nd, at Christ's Church, Capt. Carr, 38th Regt., to Jane Conwell, 20, Park Road, Regent's Park.

April 23rd, at St. Mary's, Bryanston-square, C. C. Grey, Commander, R.N., to Caroline, daughter of the late Major T. Macan, of Carriff.

April 23rd, at Wherwell, Sir W. Eden, Bart., to Elfrida S. H. Iremonger, daughter of Colonel Iremonger.

April 23rd, at Bath, Capt. Ballard, 9th Regt., eldest son of the late Rear-Admiral Ballard, C.B., to Emily, daughter of J. R. S. Phillips, Esq., of Danbury.

April 25th, at St. Mary's, Bryanston-square, F. Elliot Voyle, Esq., Bengal N.I., to Caroline Sarah, youngest daughter of Rear-Admiral Noble.

April 25th, at Worting, Capt. R. L. Warren, R.N., eldest son of Vice-Admiral Warren, to Eleanor Charlotte, second daughter of the late Pelham Warren, Esq., M.D., of Worting House, Hants.

May 1st, at Stillington, near York, George Joseph Huband, Esq., Capt. Unattached, late Capt. in the 8th Hussars, to Marianne, youngest daughter of Rear-Admiral Croft.

May 2nd, at Fulham, Edward Howley Palmer, Esq., to Jessy Fanny, fourth daughter of Capt. Greville, R.N.

May 6th, at Catherington, Hants, Lieut.-Colonel E. Napier, late 46th Regt., to Eliza Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Daniel, Esq., Madras Civil Service.

May 9th, at St. John's, Paddington, Capt. Sir Spencer Vassall, R.N., K.H., to Letitia, only daughter of the late E. B. Napier, Esq., and widow of the Rev. C. H. Pulsford.

May 9th, at Charlton, J. Grenfell Moyle, Esq., 10th Regt. Bombay Army, to Bessie, daughter of Frederick Ross, Esq., of Cheltenham.

May 20th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Viscount Melgund, eldest son of the Earl of Minto, to Emma, only daughter to the late General Sir Thomas Hislop, Bart., G.C.B.

May 21st., at Banstead, Surrey, E. B. Tinling, Esq., Capt., R.N., to Mary Anne, daughter of the late Francis Brace, Esq.

At Stoke, Devonport, Lieut. Raymond, Commander of H.M.'s cutter Snipe, to Anna Maria, daughter of W. Tuckfield, Esq., R.N.

DEATHS.

Jan. 6th, Surgeon Hosack, h.p. Staff.

Jan. 13th, at sea, on board H.M.S. Rattlesnake, on her voyage from Hong-Kong to Portsmouth, Captain Henry Geary, Royal Artillery.

Jan. 31st, of cholera, on board H.M.S. Hydra, off the coast of Africa, J. Thomas, Esq., eldest son of the late Colonel Thomas, 28th Regt., aged 45, H.M.'s Commissioner at St. Paulo de Loando for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Feb. 16th, Lieut. Jas. Read, h.p. Royal Marines.

Feb. 17th, Rev. — Gilpin, h.p. 8th West India Regt., Chaplain's Department.

Feb. 17th, at Umballah, East Indies, in her 18th year, Henrietta Charlotte Eliza, wife of T. Folliott Powell, Esq., Lieut. in H.M.'s 16th Lancers, and eldest daughter of Colonel Bolton, commanding H.M.'s 31st Foot.

Feb. 23rd, at Demerara, Lieut. Thompson, 1st West India Regt.

March 7th, Lieut. Cameron, late 3rd Royal Veteran Battalion.

March 7th, Capt. Fairtlough, late 4th Royal Veteran Battalion.

March 16th, Lieut. Griffith, h.p. 36th Foot.

March 16th, Capt. Craig, h.p. 29th Foot.

March 16th, Lieut. Warren, late 7th Royal Veteran Battalion.

March 19th, Lieut. Galway, h.p. 75th Foot.

March 23rd, at Pulteney Town, Wick, N.B., Lieut. Robertson, h.p. 27th Foot.

March 25th, at Edinburgh, Major M'Intyre, late 2nd Royal Veteran Battalion.

March 26th, at Amsterdam, Capt. Duval, Unattached.

March 26th, Lieut. Grenier, h.p. 61st Foot.

March 27th, Capt. T. Byrne, Unattached.

March 28th, at the Isle of Man, Surgeon Regan, h.p. 10th Foot.

March 31st, at St. Kitt's, Lieut. Lethbridge, 86th Foot.

March, on passage to Bombay from Calcutta, Ensign Porter, 86th Foot.

April 3rd, at Florence, Elizabeth, wife of Major-General Daubeney.

April 3rd, in Port of Spain, Trinidad, aged 30, Ellen, wife of Stephen F. Carmichael, Esq., M.D.

April 4th, at Dover, Major Tathesell, 95th Foot.

April 5th, near London, Lieutenant-General A. Salvin.

April 5th, Quartermaster Rodgers, h.p. 66th Foot.

April 6th, at Kelmain's, Lieut. James Smith, h.p. 20th Dragoons.

April 8th, at 27, Queen-street, Edinburgh, Mrs. Margaret Moncrief, wife of Gen. Stirling, of Duchray and Auchyle.

April 12th, Quartermaster Sawyers, late 6th Royal African Battalion.

April 12th, at Paris, Emilie Marie Hodgson, the wife of Major-General Henry Hodgson, of the Bengal Army.

April 16th, at St. John's Wood Terrace, Mrs. Saunders, widow of the late Capt. Saunders, 41st Foot.

Died on the 17th ultimo, at Lisbon, Janet, the beloved wife of Capt. John Mackenzie, h.-p., 94th Regt.

April 19th, aged 65, Mary Ann, widow of Lieut.-Col. Bailey, late Maj. of the 19th Lt.-D.

April 19th, at Guildford, Capt. Geo. Norton, R.N., aged 78.

April 20th, in Park-street, Grosvenor-square, Miss Anne Catherine Paek, aged 76, only sister of the late Major-General Sir Denis Paek, K.C.B.

April 21. Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton, Bart., K.C.B., whose death, at Leamington, where he had repaired for the benefit of his health, was recorded in our last, entered the Service in 1777; was made a Lieutenant on the 22nd of November, 1790, and as such served on board the Barfleur in Lord Bridport's action off Cape St. Vincent in 1797 (in which were also his gallant friends, two of the Admirals at the present Board of Admiralty); was made a Commander on the 3rd of July, 1799; and in command of the Speedy, 14-gun brig, in that year fought several actions in the vicinity of Gibraltar; three of the enemy's vessels he captured during this command near Cape de Gatt under a heavy fire of musketry from the surrounding hills. In the following October he destroyed four of the enemy's vessels in a heavy surf, at the time exposed to the guns of a fortification and musketry from the beach, and in the next month of November he displayed consummate skill and gallantry in beating off two Spanish schooners, and ten other armed vessels; by these services he won his Post-rank, which is dated the 25th of April, 1800. He was then selected by Sir James (afterwards Lord) de Saumarez as his Flag-Captain, and in command of the Cæsar distinguished himself in the severe action off Algesiras of the 6th of July, 1801. Subsequently, in command of the Minerva, when that frigate ran aground in a fog and was lost near Cherbourg, he defended her during a heavy fire of several hours, for which unsurpassable gallantry he received the highest praise when acquitted at a Court-Martial for the loss of his ship. In 1807, when in command of the Spartan frigate, Sir Jahleel assisted in driving the French garrison out of Pezaro and destroying the castle; in the following month assisted in blowing up the Castle of Cesaratico, destroying a neighbouring battery, and compelling the island of Sussin to surrender; assisted at the reduction of Zante and Cephalonia, and particularly distinguished himself at the capture of Cerigo, where he was first in command. These and many other important services did this gallant officer render in the Adriatic. In the same ship, in 1810, in concert with the Success, he fought a most gallant action with and defeated a French squadron in the Bay of Naples, in which action he was severely wounded. The gallant deceased was created a baronet on this occasion, and received other honours, and on the 8th Feb., 1811, had a pension conferred on him of 300*l.* per annum for the wounds he had received. He obtained his flag promotion as Rear-Admiral on the 22nd of July, 1830, and as Vice-Admiral on the 1st of July, 1840, and subsequently had another pension conferred upon him of 300*l.* per annum for good service; he also received a grant from the Patriotic Fund. The gallant deceased was the son of the late Rear-Admiral Brenton. He was twice married. His eldest son, Mr. Launcelot Charles Lee Brenton, who succeeds to the Baronetcy, was born in 1807.

April 22nd, at Tottenham, Thomas Pownall, R.N., aged 56.

April 23rd, at Mutley, near Plymouth, H. G. Page, Esq., Surgeon, R.N.

April 24th, at Warwicke House, Worthing, in his 46th year, G. F. Jones, Esq., Barrister, eldest son of the late Sir Richard Jones, K.C.B.

April 25th, at Abbott's Leigh, Bristol, from the effects of injuries received by being thrown out of a pony-carriage, Frances, relict of Vice-

Admiral T. L. Wolley, of Clifton, in her 72nd year.

April 27th, in Panton-street, Haymarket, John Allan Wright, Esq., late of Darlington, Durham, Lieutenant, R.N., aged 51.

April 27th, at Lisbon, Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Stubbs, of the Portuguese Army, a name well known to every officer of both Services who served in the Peninsula. This distinguished officer was originally in the British 50th Regiment, and accompanied his regiment, which, with two others, were sent to Lisbon in 1797. Here Lieut. Stubbs became attached to a young Portuguese lady of many personal attractions, to whom he was subsequently married. On the circumstances becoming known to the late Queen of Portugal, she offered him a company in her service, which he accepted; and, having gone to England to dispose of his commission, returned to Lisbon to fulfil his double engagement. When our troops entered that capital in 1808, they found the subject of this memoir a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Portuguese Army; on the re-organisation of this force by General Beresford, he was appointed to the command of a regiment, in which he served until 1813, when he became Brigadier, and continued his services throughout all the campaigns until the close of the operations in France, in 1814, when he became Major-General. After the peace, Sir Thomas Stubbs was appointed to command the military division in the Alemtejo. On the accession of Don Miguel to the throne, Sir Thomas Stubbs quitted Portugal, and returned to England during the reign of that Prince, who confiscated part of his property in his absence. When Sir Thomas returned to Portugal, Don Pedro made him Governor of Oporto, which he held for some time. Subsequent to this, about 1824, he became Lieut.-General, and held several high situations at the Portuguese head-quarters, where his opinions and advice were always respected and well received. There he remained until his death, carrying with him the regrets of all the British and Portuguese who enjoyed the benefit of his acquaintance. Sir Thomas Stubbs was C.B., Knight of the Order of the Tower and Sword, and Viscondé de Villa Nova de Gaio.—Naval and Military Gazette.

April 27th, in Green-street, Grosvenor-sq., Lady George Murray, daughter of the late Lieut.-General Francis Grant, and relict of Lord George Murray, Bishop of St. David's.

April 28th, at Greenwich Hospital, after a short illness, Lieutenant Nicholas Tucker, (1797). By his uniform kindness and officer-like demeanour, he insured the esteem and respect of all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

April 28th, at Hoegate-house, Plymouth, Rear-Admiral William Furlong Wise, C.B. The commissions of this gallant officer were—Lieutenant, May 1, 1804; Commander, Nov. 1, 1805; Captain, May 18, 1806; Rear-Admiral (at the promotion in honour of the birth of the Prince of Wales,) Nov. 23, 1841. Like most of the Flag Officers on the list, Admiral Wise was distinguished in early life by his numerous gallant exploits, for the performance of which he obtained rapid promotion. When commanding the Mediator, in 1807, with a detachment of seamen and marines under his orders, he stormed the fort of Sumana. He was also Captain of the Granicus at the battle of Algiers. Admiral Wise was universally respected in the neighbourhood of Plymouth. He was nominated a C.B. in 1816.

April 29th, at Castle Heddingham, Essex, of apoplexy, Henrietta, widow of the late Col. Griffiths, Bombay Army, aged 64.

May 1st, in South Anne-street, Dublin, James Egan, late of Tuam, Esq., Lieutenant on half-pay of H.M.'s 21st North British Fusiliers.

May 5th, at Butterley Hall, Derbyshire, the only daughter of Major Jessop, aged 23.

May 5th, at Brocklehurst, near Gosport, aged 51, Harriet, wife of Capt. T. G. Wills, R.N.

May 5th, Mr. Oliver Davies, aged 76. He, with the few remaining survivors, shared in Nelson's victories of St. Vincent and the Nile.

May 7th, at Abergavenny, Major-General William Phillips Price, Esq., H.E.I.C.'s Service, aged 68.

May 7th, at Trafford-park, Lancashire, Thomas William de Trafford, Esq., late Capt., Royal Scotch Greys.

May 14th, General Charles Pye Douglas, at his residence, Rosehall, N.B., in his 77th year. He was appointed Cornet in the 3rd Dragoons, 31st Dec., 1782; Lieut., 9th Jan., 1786; Capt., 24th Aug., 1792; Major by Brevet, 1st March, 1794; Lieut.-Col., 1st Jan., 1798; Colonel, 25th April, 1808; Major-General, 4th June, 1811; Lieut.-General, 19th July, 1821; and General, 28th June, 1838.

May 18th, at Leamington, Mary Anne, the wife of Capt. Bernard Granville Layard, 26th Regt. of Foot.

May 21st, Vice-Admiral the Honourable Sir Courtenay Boyle, K.G.H., after a protracted illness. He was brother of the Earl of Cork and Orrery, and married Carolina Amelia, daughter of William Poyntz, Esq., of Midgham House, Berkshire, who with five children survives him. Sir Courtenay Boyle entered the Navy at an early age under Lord Nelson, and was subsequently employed both at Sheerness and Somerset House as a Commissioner of that Service. Sincerely attached to his profession, he devoted himself with heartfelt zeal to the various duties entailed upon him during many years of his active and official life. Sir Courtenay Boyle was in his 75th year.

May —, at Plymouth, Lieut. Anderson, 49th Foot.

At Liverpool, Mary, wife of A. Magnay, Esq., 69th Regiment.

PERSONAL ADVENTURES AND EXCURSIONS IN GEORGIA, CIRCASSIA, AND RUSSIA.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. POULETT CAMERON, C.B., K.T.S., &c., EMPLOYED ON A SPECIAL SERVICE IN PERSIA.

(Concluded from page 409, No. 184.)

CHAP. VI.

SAINT PETERSBURG—CONCLUSION.

I SHALL now proceed to offer a few remarks upon a subject, the which has caused more discussion, and a greater variety of opinion, even among professional men themselves, than any connected with Russia that has ever yet been brought forward,—I allude to the Muscovite Navy, regarding which I may mention that none of the very slight remarks I am about to offer are hazarded without the impressions they convey having met with the concurrence of several naval officers, chiefly foreign, but including one or two English, whose opportunities of forming a true estimate of the Russian maritime power have been such as others have seldom, if ever, possessed.

Till the accession of the present Sovereign, the Muscovite marine may be said to have barely existed; so neglected and decayed had it become since the eventful day of Trafalgar, where the fleets of France, in that last deadly struggle with her rival, were swept beyond the power of further competition with her victorious adversary on the surface of the ocean.

Never at any period a favourite service with the Russians themselves, the Emperor Alexander, from that time relieved from all fear of maritime aggression on the part of Napoleon, turned the whole of his attention towards his land forces alone, as the arm by which the fate of Continental Europe must be decided.

On the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris, and the return of the Autocrat to his own dominions, the same system of neglect towards the navy was observed, and on his death, at Taganrog, in 1826, the whole of the Imperial marine, with the exception of three or four frigates in the Mediterranean, was confined to a number of old worn-out vessels, one-third of which was barely accounted sea-worthy.

To the present Emperor, therefore, solely belongs the reputation of having created this power by his own energy and exertions; and to his activity and vigilant watchfulness alone is owing whatever degree of efficiency it may have attained, as, sooth to say, with some few solitary exceptions, chiefly foreigners, the service even now is by no means a popular or agreeable one, either with officers or men.

As regards numerical strength, the Russian navy may, indeed, be termed formidable, the combined fleets of the Baltic and the Euxine mustering fifty-five line-of-battle ships and thirty heavy frigates, from forty-four to sixty guns, besides a large number of corvettes, and small craft of every description, the various estimates for which exhibit a total of ready-trained seamen amounting to rather more th
But then, as regards their nautical skill and d
repeated and obstinately-disputed question.

In the course of two-and-twenty years' service I have seen a great deal of our own men-of-war, both in my earlier days, but more particularly within the last eight or ten years. Since the period of my being first employed on a special service I have also had many opportunities of observing the French, and, if I was struck with the difference between the bold, free, and careless bearing of our own jolly tars, and the semi-military appearance of the Gallic seamen, it may easily be imagined with what astonishment and incredulity I regarded the first detachment of Russian sailors I fell in with, who, with their erect starched exterior, the very ultraism of stiff military bearing, their beautifully-cleaned belts and appointments, jackets, and foraging-caps, seemed the very beau-ideal of some crack regiment in the capital.

But take a glance at the training of the seaman, and let it speak for itself. The army officers assert, I know not with what justice, that of the entire body of recruits the worst are sent to the navy. On joining the head-quarters of the corps to which he is appointed, (for all agreeable to military detail are regimented according to rule,) the conscript is duly cropped, drilled, and pommelled *à l'ordinaire*, and at the expiration of the usual period, having completed his usual routine of instruction as a soldier, is sent on board a line-of-battle ship, and never, perhaps, having previously seen a fish-pond in the whole course of his life, is entered at once upon the duties usually awarded to an expert and skilful seaman, to the exercise of which four months alone in the year are allowed, the remaining eight being devoted to military drill and parade in barracks.

Can a system like this be reasonably expected to prove effective? Suppose, for example, a British regiment, on a similar principle, was shipped on board one of our own men-of-war; admitting the justice of the conclusion that, *provided the weather was calm*, (*!*) they could handle the ropes and tackles, man the guns, &c., &c., *if it did come on to blow?* oh! ye unfeeling rascals, ye sons of the ocean, say how often have you held your sides, half splitting with uproarious laughter, at the miseries endured by your helpless red-coated confrères, embarked in the same vessel with yourselves.

If this is the case with the English soldiery, whose food, or climate, or some other reason, is generally supposed to habituate the natives of the British Isles very quickly to a life or passage at sea, what must its effects be on the inhabitants of the continental nations, whose diet and habits are so totally dissimilar that a long course of training is requisite to render them capable of even the most ordinary exertion on an element to which they have been so wholly unaccustomed*.

I must not, however, omit to mention that such is the docility and amenity to discipline of the Russian seaman, that, considering the

* Towards the close of the year 1832 I was embarked with a French regiment in a large steamer, the voyage of which it was anticipated would not exceed three days. On the second day of our leaving port we encountered a furious gale from the S.W., and, after several ineffectual efforts to make head against it, we were compelled to put back. The soldiery were chiefly men of the late Royal Guard of Charles X., men of uncommon size and vigour; but so utterly paralyzed were the whole by sea-sickness, that the Surgeon of the vessel afterwards declared, if we had remained at sea, and the gale continued, he was firmly convinced that at least twenty of the men would have sunk under it.

disadvantages under which he labours, it is perfectly incredible the proficiency he attains, (especially in the mild climate of the Mediterranean, where, too, he is continually at sea,) which has repeatedly elicited the admiration of the officers of our own fleet there.

In the Baltic I am inclined to believe the very reverse is the case; at least, the year I was there a line-of-battle ship and heavy frigate both ran aground, (a circumstance, I was informed, by no means unusual during the short yearly cruize of the fleet,) in a gale of wind, if it could be so termed, that would not have altered the course of a Channel pilot-boat, while a magnificent steamer, with a picked crew of officers and men, having the Empress and Grand Duchesses on board, ran some risk of sharing a similar fate; an incident which so provoked General Wilson (a Birmingham gentleman, held in universal esteem,) the director of the Imperial manufactories, that he very roundly declared to her Commander he knew no more of a steamer than a hog!

And yet there is a college of Naval Cadets at St. Petersburg, the which (were the military flummery omitted) is well arranged for the training and education of excellent officers, and in which the Emperor himself takes the highest degree of interest. It is under the control and management of the good and venerable Admiral Kruzenstern, who for many years served in the British Navy, and than whom for such a service a fitter selection could never have been made; at the head of, or inspecting and reviewing his youthful corps, the spectator calls to mind the representation of the Patriarchs of old, presiding over their numerous descendants. In a large and lofty apartment of the institution is the model of a frigate, about fifty feet long, by means of which the students are carefully instructed regarding the handling of the various ropes and tackles, reefing and furling sails, &c., &c.; while every year the entire body are shipped in a frigate, for a short cruise during the summer in the Baltic.

Regarding their vessels, the Russian men-of-war, though heavy in make, and possessing a very irregular appearance from the variety visible in their build, in guns, stores, and rigging, and in their interior arrangement altogether, are well found and in good order, while, in point of cleanliness, even the ships of the British Navy cannot be deemed superior. One fatality, by all accounts, seems to attend them, which must render the Russian marine a continued drain upon the Imperial treasury, and this is, that whether owing to the wood of which the vessels are constructed not being properly dried or seasoned, or, as some assert, the *freshness* of the water in the harbours of Cronstadt, they so quickly become unserviceable from rot, that by the time the short space of fifteen years has expired they are utterly useless, and are compelled to be broken up*.

A few days after my return to the capital, down came the winter in good earnest; in one night the Neva was frozen over, and four-and-twenty hours afterwards crossed in a variety of thoroughfares to the opposite side of the city.

Sledges and ice-hills now quickly came into play. The latter is a

* I have heard, since my departure from St. Petersburg, that this subject having at last attracted the attention of the Imperial Government, orders have been issued to the various dockyards, requiring the wood used in [illegible] [illegible]oned previous to its being employed.

species of winter amusement very much in vogue among all ranks, sizes, ages, and sexes in the Northern metropolis, and is similar to what many of my readers are, in all probability, familiar with, as prevailing several years ago in Paris, under the denomination of "Les Montagnes Russe;" that, however, was far less frolicsome and exciting than the present, of which the following is a slight description.

A rough scaffolding being erected on the ice, with a slope sufficiently steep, is covered over with snow, down which are thrown several buckets of water, which being perfectly frozen within a few hours afterwards, a small light sledge, sufficiently large to hold one, or sometimes two persons, is dragged to the summit, when, upon being seated, a slight kick sends the vehicle flying with a velocity absolutely petrifying to the charioteer, who, half blinded with the rapidity with which he shoots along, on reaching the bottom of the declivity begins to entertain some idea he is never going to stop, at least such was my own impression, and led me to believe for the moment I was about making an involuntary second visit to Cronstadt. Gradually, however, the sledge decreased its swiftness of motion, and then came to a halt. On the progress of the conveyance being arrested, its occupant jumps up, (pretty sharply, too, if he would not incur the risk of being charged in the rear by the next comer, who may, perchance, have been despatched on his excursion with a stronger impetus than himself,) and seizing the rope attached to it, drags the sledge back to its starting point; it being considered as unsportsmanlike and derogatory to discharge this somewhat porterlike office by deputy.

It certainly is an inspiriting invigorating exercise, and on the occasion of any grand fête, when the Neva is filled with groups of every description, from the Imperial family to the peasant, the picture it presents is equally novel as agreeable.

At length the grand day of the presentation arrived, and a very important one it was, too, judging by the rolling of drums and the clash of arms, as the various guards paid their devoirs to Princes, Generals, and Ministers in quick succession, as they rolled onward in their gorgeous state equipages to the Palace of the Hermitage, where, since the destruction of the magnificent and unrivalled Winter Palace by fire, in 1837, the Court has usually been held.

Lord Clanricarde proceeded at an early hour, and on our arrival the party was conducted to the saloon of private *entrée*, passing through that of the general *assemblée*, now filled with a brilliant and dazzling display of uniforms, and every variety of magnificent costume.

The apartment into which we were ushered is one possessive of a singular, I might almost say a painful degree of interest. When the Allies first occupied Paris, in 1814, and the Emperor Alexander had made his appearance in that capital, the admired of all observers, and surrounded by all the lavish adulation paid to a powerful and successful monarch, in that hour of triumph, in that period of glorious intoxication, a whispered murmur reached him that one, the beautiful, the elegant, the humane, and the beneficent, whose influence over her stern husband was never exerted for aught but good,—the bright star of his destiny, with whom began his career of successful glory, and estranged from whom commenced his even yet more rapid fall,—was dying neglected and deserted, (all having, in the terror of the moment, for-

saken her, with the exception of two or three old domestics,) in the Palace of Malmaison!

In that instant, triumph, war, ambition, all was forgotten, and throwing himself into a carriage, accompanied by his confidential physician, Sir James Wyllie, he drove with the speed of lightning to the chateau; on arriving at which, and demanding entrance, he was ushered into a beautiful and exquisitely-furnished apartment, reclining upon a couch in which lay the faded, yet still lovely, Empress Josephine!

A glance at once satisfied Sir James that all assistance was hopeless, (indeed she only survived till the next morning,) but the attentive and considerate kindness displayed by the amiable-minded Autocrat in the course of his visit, so completely soothed the mind of the dying Empress, that, as a slight testimony of her regard, she begged his acceptance of all that the room (her own favourite boudoir) contained.

After her decease these effects were carefully removed to St. Petersburg, and in the saloon where we were now assembled the whole were arranged exactly as at Malmaison. The paintings were most beautiful, and never, even in Italy, do I remember to have witnessed a collection of such choice and perfect gems of art.

I was still gazing upon a small but exquisitely-finished Madonna, a masterpiece from the hand of Guido, (and whose Madonnas are like his?) when a stir without announced the approach of the Imperial party, and almost the same moment the folding-doors at the extremity of the apartment were thrown open, and preceded respectively by a perfect squadron of chamberlains and demoiselles d'honneur, the former blazing with gold and embroidery, and the latter wearing the rich and singularly-pleasing Russian national costume, the Emperor and Empress entered.

Each passing round the circle formed to receive them, entered into familiar conversation with every new arrival as he was presented by his respective Ambassador. I was the only military stranger, and on my name being announced by Lord Clanricarde, was minutely questioned by His Imperial Majesty on a variety of points connected with the discipline and interior economy of the British and Indian Armies, in a manner which showed him well acquainted with both.

The Empress, mild, benignant, dignified, as the softened tones of her voice fell upon the stranger's ear, he could no longer wonder at the veneration her character and presence everywhere inspired, and which volumes could not tell so fully as the artless simple description of a beautiful English girl, who, constantly in the society of the Imperial family during their stay at Ems, exclaimed, "She was the most loveable being in the world."

On the breaking up of the Court I was overwhelmed with congratulations, and the highest degree of cordiality, by several persons whom till then I had never previously beheld, but who now reminded me of my having brought letters to them from their various relatives in Moscow, and other parts of the Empire!—Whew—

> "'Tis strange what a wonderful deal of éclat
> Is caused by the smile of the great Autocrat."

Of course, however, I did not fail to make suitable acknowledgments, and was leaving the room, when a stout good-humoured looking gentleman accosted me with—

"His Imperial Majesty, Sir, has commanded me to invite you to the ball this evening, for which a card will be immediately despatched to your hotel. Ahem! (and he glanced at my boots and pantaloons,) you are, of course, provided with the requisite costume?"

I was well aware to what costume he alluded, having been previously informed it was the etiquette of the Russian Court for all ranks and persons, with the exception of lancers, hussars, and Cossacks, to appear in that most uncomfortable of all branches of unmentionable wearing apparel, familiarly denominated "cut-shorts!"

In answer, I begged to represent to the Great Chamberlain, (for it was no less a person who addressed me,) my extreme regret that wearing the appendages in question, however consonant to the forms and customs of the Russian Court, was strictly prohibited by the *code militaire* of the British Army.

"Oh! Sir," replied my stout friend, "in that case it is unnecessary, as no infringement upon *military* rule is ever desired here."

On returning to my quarters I found my writing-table literally covered with invitations for balls, fêtes, and dinners innumerable, and Mrs. W—— herself, *in propria persona*, superintending some alterations she had directed to be made in the sitting-room.

"Bless me, Sir," was her opening salutation, "the servants say that all the great men of the place have been inquiring after you. I don't know much about that myself, but certainly two or three of them are the ugliest people I ever saw in my life!"

I could not refrain from smiling at my respected friend's *extempore* essay upon the relative merits of personal attraction, but hinted, as the opinion in question, however true in the abstract, was not very generally conceived to be the most agreeable to the parties concerned, a little less candour, however reprehensible in some matters, would be highly advisable in this.

I dined in the evening with the family of my friend, Mr. L——, they having kindly volunteered to take me to the ball with them, and to which we drove at a somewhat early period.

It was now, indeed, that I had a full opportunity of observing the splendour of the Russian Court. In the morning, with the exception of our hurried passage through the grand reception-room, no opportunity for observation had occurred, excepting in the saloon of private *entrée;* now, however, the blaze of magnificence which burst upon the view was utterly beyond description, and rendered all that I had previously witnessed in the other Courts of Europe a mere bagatelle in comparison: but if the rich paintings, the exquisite statuary, the innumerable works of the choicest vertu, in which the rarest malachite seemed as general as the most ordinary material in other lands, the costliest mirrors, columns, and ceilings, brilliant with all that taste could execute and wealth could command, if this united display, mingled with the gorgeous habits *de la cour*, superb uniforms, and various striking costumes, formed a picture dazzling and wonderful to the eye of a stranger, there was another circumstance still more striking, especially to an Englishman, remembering the ultra stiff formality of his own Court, and that the one in which he stood was representative of the most absolute government in the world,—and this was the urbanity, kindness, and condescension of the Emperor, Empress, and the whole of the Imperial

family, who, full of life and joyous spirit, with a smile, congratulation, and kindly welcome for every one, rendered the scene replete with gaiety and pleasure, and, in lieu of the rigid, I may almost say morose degree of etiquette I had been led to expect, never do I remember to have witnessed, even in private life, a more perfect picture of freedom and amusement.

By the by, I may mention the evening enlightened me as to the cause of His Imperial Majesty's universal popularity with his lady subjects, (that is, the younger part of them,) since there he was, laughing, chatting, and doing the agreeable, beyond all competition, which, coming from a splendid figure, six feet two or three in height, decidedly the handsomest and most soldierlike-looking fellow in Europe, and Emperor of the Russias to boot, the effect may easily be conceived: indeed, to do him justice, a better judge of, and sharper eye for, a pretty face I never remember to have met with; and of the estimation in which he was held by the possessors of this very attractive and most essential feminine requisite, I was myself an example, from casually reverting to him with my fair partner, in the course of a waltz, by the familiar term of "My friend Nick," an abbreviation of orthography, and His Imperial Majesty's cognomen at the same time, which elicited considerable indignation from "La belle Russe," but the which was most effectually removed when I mentioned that the observation in question, so far from being intended as offensive towards the Emperor, was expressive much more of hearty good-will and cordial feeling, we English being, as the world very well knew, such odd creatures, that rarely, if ever, was a favourite British sovereign, statesman, or commander, left without a peculiar soubriquet of some sort or other, the which, indeed, was a sure sign of the estimation in which he was held.

A slight incident at the conclusion of the waltz was the cause of much mirth in the immediate neighbourhood of where I stood.

"I say, my fine fellow," said a voice close to my elbow, and which came from as choice a specimen of a Muscovite giant as the eye would wish to rest upon, Colonel D——, of the Dragoons of the Guard, "I say, you seem very comfortable in your costume, there; I wonder you were permitted to pass." And the gallant Commander, throwing a glance upon his own huge supporters, encased in cut-shorts, according to rule,—an attire, I subsequently ascertained, he regarded with the utmost degree of aversion,—next cast his eyes with an envious gaze upon my own Netherlands attire. "Acting," he continued, "I suppose, upon the English principle of——Oh! oh! oh!"

This interjectional interruption proceeded from a practical illustration of the evils sometimes attending his own dress paraphernalia, and was caused by a sudden and untoward incident, occasioned by a young Cossack officer, evidently newly caught in the Ukraine, and imported to the capital, who, whirling past in the waltz, brought the edge of his spur to bear pretty sharply upon the undefended extremities of the dragoon, who forthwith executed a variety of pirouettes and demivoltes, wholly independent of the music, absolutely astounding in a person of his colossal make and proportions.

"You may as well laugh outright," he said savagely, "as stand there, with that hypocritical face of yours."

This observation, addressed to myself as the remote cause of his

disaster, while struggling to maintain the requisite external degree of sympathizing concern, good breeding and humanity on such an occasion required, proved rather too much, not merely for my own gravity to sustain, but that of those around, a general peal of laughter following this wrathful ebullition of the discomfited dragoon, in which, a minute afterwards, he himself good-naturedly joined.

A few days after the ball I took the opportunity of going a round of the various palaces in the capital, the very gem of which, however, magnificent as the whole of them are, as I have previously mentioned, was destroyed by fire the year previous, and which I have heard those well qualified to judge assert could not be equalled by the united splendour of the rest of the Imperial residences, both in the environs of and in St. Petersburg itself.

Most providentially, nearly the whole of its rich furniture, paintings, statuary, gorgeous armoury, &c., &c., was with considerable difficulty preserved. Connected by inclosed galleries with this melancholy scene of ruined splendour are the palaces of the Great and Little Hermitage, in which, as I have already observed, the recent grand court fete was held. The extent of these superb edifices, running by the side of the Neva, including the private theatre, is rather more than a verst, or three-quarters of an English mile.

It is said, by foreign artists who have visited the Russian capital, that by far the best and completest collection of Wouvermans, Teniers, and even Spagnolettis, are found here, with upwards of twelve hundred other paintings of the first description, belonging to the Dutch, Spanish, and Italian schools.

One of the most remarkable, and indeed, in my estimation, equally beautiful, (though by no means so grand and extensive,) is the palace built expressly for, and presented by the Empress Catherine to her lover and minister, the celebrated Prince Potemkin, and which, though devastated, and all but destroyed, by the eccentric and capricious Paul, was subsequently renovated, and in a great measure restored, by the Emperor Alexander.

The gardens of the Chateau, converted by that crack-brained monarch into a riding-school for the cavalry, are perhaps the most singular the world ever witnessed, and far exceed any fabled description of beauty and wonder the imagination of the poet or painter has either attempted or portrayed, since by means of concealed flues and stoves in the midst of a city buried in frost and snow, the stranger may here wander through walks perfumed by the fragrance of the blossoms of the citron, the lime, and the orange, while myrtles, geraniums, and roses, lead him momentarily to suppose that he has exchanged the dreary banks of the Neva in the month of December, for the sunny stream of the Guadalquiver, in the heavenly period of its early spring.

About twelve miles from St. Petersburg, is the beautiful pavilion palace of Czarskoezelo, the favourite residence of Catherine II., and the seat of her voluptuous pleasures. I can offer no description of the grounds, but I have been told in summer they are pre-eminently beautiful, and the general effect equally singular as pleasing, from the Turkish kiosks, Chinese pagodas, arches, grottoes, and Grecian temples scattered through them.

One room in the palace possesses a melancholy interest in the esti-

mation of the stranger; this is the favourite apartment of the late Emperor Alexander, in which everything remains as he left it on his departure for Taganrog, from whence he was never to return. His hat and gloves lay on the table, and all wore the appearance of the tenant of the chamber being merely momentarily absent.

Strange and unaccountable is that presentiment of approaching evil which oppresses and subdues sometimes even the most powerful minds.

The morning of his quitting the capital, the Emperor, exhilarated with the prospect of the journey, was remarked to be in higher spirits than he had manifested for many months past, by his suite and attendants, one of whom, approaching him, requested his orders on some subject against his return.

The word seemed to fall on his ear with the shock of a thunderbolt.

"Return!" he said, with melancholy bitterness, "I shall never revisit Czarskoezelo again." Too truly indeed was his foreboding verified.

The bed-chamber of Catherine, which also remained untouched since her death, is furnished with all the rich and luxurious elegance for which she was so celebrated; the walls are of fine porcelain; and close by the bedside is an admirably concealed door. ("Oh, my!" as Mrs. Trollope's young American ladies would exclaim;) hold your tongue, Sir, and be d—d to you; do you suppose the veriest greenhorn in the world cannot understand *for what purpose* it was intended, without your unmannerly interpretation? these rascally servants will do any thing but shut their eyes, as they ought, and pretend to do, and not trouble their heads about their ladies' actions.

Czarskoezelo was also the favourite residence of Orloff, in the zenith of his fame and power; and it was here occurred that last sad melancholy incident of his life in public.

He had married the young, the beautiful, and amiable Countess Zinowieff, to whom he was devotedly and passionately attached, and in whose society perhaps the short fleeting period of real happiness he ever knew, was experienced. In the bloom of life and health, and within a few months after their union, she was suddenly carried off, and laid in her early grave, a stroke of misfortune so sudden and severe, that the mind of her unhappy husband gave way beneath it.

No one from that moment was admitted to his presence, except one or two confidential domestics; he ate of what they placed before him, and then either sat or reclined in listless apathy, not a tear or moan escaping him; or, passed the time in vacantly wandering from one rich suite of apartments to another, of his gorgeous and miserable home, as if in search of the lost and loved one, whose radiant beauty and angelic sweetness had so recently shone, diffusive of every earthly happiness, where all now was darkness, gloom, and wretchedness.

At length, by the instigation of an acute and intelligent physician, he was prevailed upon to leave St. Petersburg, and proceed upon a lengthened course of travel; from which period till upwards of two years afterwards, no tidings were heard of him, beyond his being engaged in one incessant change of movement from one country to another.

One night about this time, the chateau of Czarskoezelo was the scene of one of those select, gay, and brilliant soirées in which the Empress took so much pleasure. Never had she appeared in her

best days, though now past the bloom of life, more strikingly handsome, or more replete with happiness, as she promenaded the ball-room, her arm resting upon that of a pale, stripling, elegant form, in a rich hussar uniform, upon whose feminine beauty of feature and countenance, her eyes were fixed with looks of the deepest and fondest love and devotion.

It was the *fair-haired Lanskoi*, the *one, sole* being she ever regarded with true affection, whose early and untimely death from decline, crushing and overwhelming with the deepest affliction the heart of the ambitious Sovereign, the artful and intriguing ruler of an equally unscrupulous and unprincipled period, added one more to the many examples of,—what a riddle is woman!

Mirth and gladness were at the highest, the ball proceeded merrily, when a tall, powerful, gentlemanly man, on whose noble and dignified features either disease or the acutest mental misery, or perhaps both, had impressed a paleness so livid and wasted, as rendered his countenance scarcely human, suddenly entered the room. As if in defiance of court etiquette and derision of the gorgeous costumes around him, he was attired in a suit of the deepest mourning; but on his broad and muscular chest glittered, set in the choicest brilliants, the insignia of the most illustrious Orders of Knighthood in Europe.

It was Orloff! He strode into the middle of the assembly, till he reached the spot where the Empress stood.

"You are gay to-night, Katerina," he said, with a maniac laugh; "how happy everything seems around you." Then, changing his tone, he added, in a voice of thunder and ferocity of manner, that startled even the boldest heart present, "How dare you be dancing and enjoying yourselves, and my poor wife not cold in her grave."

Pale and agitated, for several moments, the Empress vainly struggled to give utterance to the words, "Good God! Orloff, are you mad?"

"Mad!" he exclaimed, in that low, deep, stern tone of intense passion, so frightful to hear, as slowly he raised, and menacingly held his finger towards her. "Mad! aye, and WHO made me so? through whom did I become a murderer and a regicide?"

Catherine now shook so violently, that her favourite was obliged to cast his arm around her waist to sustain her; but equally alarmed at the fearful degree of agitation which possessed her, and the threatening aspect of Orloff, while even some of the boldest veterans of the great Souvaroff stood by paralyzed and confounded, the noble youth, placing himself as a shield before the Empress, and resigning her to the care of her trembling *demoiselles d'honneur*, advanced and confronted the giant.

"Boy," said Orloff, contemptuously extending an arm, in muscular strength and proportion, rivalling that of the Hercules Farnese, and which most certainly would have crushed the elegant form of the favourite to death at a single blow, "Boy, I wish not to harm you, yet come not near me, stand aside, and let me once more gaze upon HER who has alike been the cause of my glory and my guilt."

The fierce tones of his deep and powerful voice, became wholly changed and subdued, as he uttered the conclusion of the sentence, sadly and mournfully they struck upon the ear. The exciting energy of the moment was past, he gazed with pity and affection upon his Sovereign and mistress, as sinking upon an adjoining ottoman, that last

resource and relief of the hopelessly miserable, the intensely wretched, (whose unutterable agony of mind has been occasioned by their own guilt, vice, or folly,) in its weakness overcame him, and he wept,—the iron-nerved soldier—the unscrupulous votary of ambition—that man of blood, the regicide, wept—wept like a child.

He became insensible the next minute, and was borne from the room to his own mansion, at which he had only arrived that evening from abroad, when hearing of the Empress' intended fête, he ordered his carriage, and set off to the palace.

He lingered but a short time afterwards, his mind never recovering the shock it had sustained in the stroke which, bereaving him of the only tie which bound him to existence, bore the semblance of that retributive justice of that unseen Power, whose sentence may, for purposes of its own, perhaps be stayed, but yet as surely and unerringly one day falls.

The presentation to the Emperor was followed a week afterwards by a similar ceremony to the Grand Duke Michael, whose newly-erected palace is considered as carrying the palm in architectural beauty from all the splendid mansions in the capital, not even excepting the far-famed Winter Palace itself.

On arriving, we ascertained that our own party, consisting of the gentlemen of Lord Clanricarde's Embassy and myself, were the only persons to be introduced on the occasion; and having been shown into an ante-room, notification of our presence was immediately forwarded to the Grand Duke.

The apartment into which we were ushered, was certainly one adapted to fill a stranger with curiosity and astonishment. Had I not been aware of the locale in which I stood, I should at the moment have supposed I had stumbled upon the well-furnished orderly room of an enthusiastically zealous commander of one of the regiments of the Imperial Guard, instead of what we were given to understand it actually was, the private sitting-room of the Prince himself.

The walls were hung with pictures in plain wood frames, representing soldiers in every position, performing the various movements of the manual, platoon, lance, and sword exercise. In one corner was a camp couch, or bedstead, with a mattress about as soft and pliant, as the beautifully-polished boards on which we were treading, while on a plain table, (which, with a few chairs, formed the entire of the rest of the furniture,) were several books, which, from their figure and appearance, I could have sworn at a glance were General Orders, Army Regulations, Field Exercise, and all that sort of thing.

By the time I had finished my survey, we were summoned up stairs, and in a small withdrawing-room, the splendour and rich paraphernalia of which, formed a singular contrast to the one we had just quitted, found the Grand Duke waiting to receive us.

After some conversation of a general nature, he turned to me, and commenced such a sharp cross-examination relative to the drill, discipline, manœuvres, rewards, periods of service, &c., of the British and Anglo-Indian armies, that I had reason to congratulate myself upon being an old Adjutant, but for which circumstance I must, to a certainty, have been floored, the more especially since it was very easy to perceive, that my Imperial catechist was as fully *au fait* to the subj (as indeed to what army *in the* world is he not?) as myself.

On concluding, he bowed to us and retired, his departure being almost immediately followed by the entrance of the Grand Duchess Helen, who in the ordinary and common-place parlance of a mere formal interview, contrived to impress upon us the conviction, as to how well merited is the opinion universally entertained of her popularity, with all classes in St. Petersburg.

Indeed, some peculiar good fortune seems to have attended the whole of the present princes of the House of Romanoff, in their selections for domestic life, since, however loved and esteemed in their own native faderland, their being transplanted to the frozen regions of the North, has but rendered their virtues and amiable qualities the more highly venerated and appreciated, by those among whom their future destiny in life has been cast.

I was engaged to dine this evening with Mr. Plinkey at the English Club, so termed from having originally been founded by our countrymen, where the members have the privilege of inviting non-resident foreigners, and which institution, (flattering and complimentary distinction to British honour and integrity,) bears on its records this first rule, that its treasurers and secretaries shall always be Englishmen.

The occasion of my present visit there, was attended by an incident equally annoying as ridiculous. I had called a drotchsky for the purpose of proceeding, and having put the usual query to the asvoshtikh, or driver, as to whether he was acquainted with the locale in question, and being very confidently answered in the affirmative, I jumped in, and we set off.

After flying about for the period of nearly half an hour, the coachman suddenly stopped, and turning round, very candidly confessed his ignorance of the place I wished to proceed to, recommended my getting into another conveyance, of which several were at hand, and paying him for the drive with which he had accommodated me.

I willingly acceded to the first part of his proposition, but signified a most emphatic negative relative to the latter; as however I was preparing to take my seat in the other drotchsky, which had drawn up beside me, the driver of the one I had previously engaged, placed himself before me, expressing his intention not to permit my departure, if his claim was not previously satisfied.

Oh! how bitterly did I regret my ill fortune in being in plain clothes, since the very sight of the cocked-hat and epaulettes, would not merely have settled the question at once, but have consigned my friend to the nearest guard-house, where he would have been pretty summarily and strongly advised in a manner he was not likely very easily to forget, as to his future conduct, before he was liberated. In the meantime, attracted by the dispute, the crowd gathered round us, and learning what had occurred, immediately took the part of the stranger; one of them, a well-dressed, and I should say an opulent burgher, advancing towards, and accosting me in French, politely offered his services and assistance in any way they could be available, at the same time soliciting to know whom he had the honour of addressing.

My information relative to the latter part of his request, elicited a stare of incredulous astonishment, as he sceptically remarked, "An English Colonel! then pray, Sir, may I ask what you do in this dress, and where is your uniform?"

In reply, I could only inform him, that in my own country it was not

customary for officers to be clad in harness at all, unless upon duty, or with their regiments; and that even in private society in his own capital, it was not expected of foreign officers to appear so, unless on occasions where any members of the Imperial family were present*.

He was satisfied with the explanation, and turning to the driver, commenced lavishing upon him every term of opprobrium, (and a Russian generally thinks of a good many,) for his gross violation of the laws of hospitality, and imposition upon a stranger, in which interlocutory exercise he was zealously and ably seconded by the mob.

Such a clamour and medley of tongues the world never witnessed; but the rascal stuck to his point, and never let go his hold upon my cloak, his lungs were as strong as any of his opponents, and he bawled as loud as the best of them; the annunciation of my rank too, which was made with all due pomp and emphasis to frighten him, was productive of quite the reverse, being received with a grin of derision, as pointing to my unhappy bourgeois dress, he jeeringly inquired if *that* was a Colonel's uniform.

I was more than half inclined to have recourse to the "argumentum ad hominem,"—the fist was clenched, the arm upraised, when prudence suggested such a proceeding was calculated to be productive of considerable mischief, and might even convert my present warm supporters into as bitter enemies, Russian warfare on these occasions being invariably confined to the tongue.

In the meantime it began to snow, then it began to blow, and as a natural consequence the snow began to drift, at first slowly, and then most furiously, while visions of snug fires, comfortable dinners, and their various agreeable concomitants, as if in mockery, rose before my irritated imagination, to suggest the necessity of getting away from my present predicament under any circumstances.

Swallowing my indignation therefore, as I best could, I at once announced my willingness to pay the man's demand, an intimation however so far from settling the question, only rendered it more uproarious than ever, since, received with dissent and disapprobation by my own followers, it served but to strengthen the supposition of the driver that he would get his money, and consequently rendered him the more determined upon asserting his claim.

In the interim, the drift was every moment increasing, and driven to desperation by cold and hunger, as seizing my French-speaking follower by the arm, I exclaimed, "My very kind and excellent friend," —here came full butt upon my face such a burst of the drift, that it seemed actually as if a huge snow-ball the size of, and hurled with the force of a 64-pounder, had come in contact with it. Half-choked and blinded, it may easily be supposed my eloquence was very effectually checked by the disagreeable interpolation.

After no little exertion, I at length succeeded in obtaining a hearing; and through the medium of my interpreter, eulogizing their zeal on my behalf to the skies, but mentioning that I was keeping a large circle of friends waiting (a most imaginative and theoretical reasoning, as, alas! I knew too well the Club waited dinner for no one, whether King or Kaisar,) begged the favour of being permitted to do what I pleased.

* Russian military officers are, however, very reluctant to see th
than in uniform, and are very desirous of their never appear
other costume.

This produced some effect; and after a little farther parlance, engendered by the inquiry as to what was the actual fare between my residence and the Club, on discharging this, (the amount being somewhat less than a shilling,) for not a fraction more would they permit the fellow to receive, we were each permitted to wend our different ways.

On joining my friends, I found dinner half over; but perfectly famished as I was, this was an affair of very little moment, and with a hurried apology for my absence, I fell to with hearty good will; and it was only on the removal of the cloth, while sipping our wine, that I related the cause of my detention, much mirth being elicited by the recital; several of the *militaires*, however, intimating at its conclusion, they trusted the circumstance would act as a preventive against my moving out in future otherwise than *en tenue*.

I have subsequently more than once thought of this trivial adventure; and although I must candidly confess in the impatience and irritation of the moment, I wished my friends at the devil for their officious kindness, it has struck me as a characteristic trait highly honourable in the Russian middle or lower orders, so different to what I have observed in other countries, their thus warmly espousing the cause of a stranger as they did on this occasion.

I was in the full run of all the gaieties of the season; and in St. Petersburg in the winter they are not a few, when all my prospective visions of fun and frolic, balls, routs, assemblées, and ballets, came to a conclusion as summary as it was unexpected, by an order from home to the Ambassador, directing me to proceed forthwith to Berlin, and thence to England.

'Slife here was a change. "When was I to start?"

"Oh! you have plenty of time to get ready; the courier does not leave till to-morrow at daylight." (It was then about four o'clock, P.M.)

"But my passport! the office is closed by this time, and—"

"It has already been sent for, and will be here immediately."

"But the usual advertisement of three successive weeks—"

"I'll see to this."

"Reporting my departure—"

"I'll take care of that."

It was in fact, no go, all my excuses to obtain a respite having already been met, and anticipated. Talk of a Quartermaster-General! an Ambassador is worth the whole Corps d'Etat-Major.

There was no help for it; I rushed from the Embassy to the English Magazine, for, wholly unprepared for such a sudden emergency, like most persons in similar cases, I had every thing to procure; thanks, however, to the active exertions of my friend Mr. Colquhoun, every thing was obtained, packed, and stowed away; and the following morning, cloaked, furred, and shawled, I mounted the britchska, and having taken my leave of the great northern metropolis, was occupied the next fortnight *en route* to Berlin, in dashing through apparently trackless wastes of snow, at a rate, the rapidity of which only those who have travelled as a Russian courier, can either appreciate or understand.

NOTICES FROM KAFIRLAND.

WRITTEN ON THE SPOT.

No. II.

We left Graham's Town for Fort Peddie, on the 22nd of March, and had much difficulty in procuring a wagon, that allowed by the Commissariat being half the size of the one we obtained at Port Elizabeth. Just as we were about to start, we were ordered to halt, and await further orders; and then I had to listen to a variety of reports. Some said another regiment had arrived at Cape Town, and we were to proceed to Natal, others whispered something about the Isle of France. At all events, important dispatches had reached Graham's Town from the seat of Government. So, there was I, in my wagon, hired and packed for Fort Peddie, the troops under arms, the Commissariat preparations made for the march, the tents struck, &c., and a probability of all these arrangements being upset. At last, a mounted orderly arrived, full of important haste, and breathless, as becomes a herald of South African counter-orders. The detachment was to be detained —for an hour—I forget what for, something about a few extra men or arms; some trifling matter which had little to do with the move, and which would have been settled at the proper time if the seat of Government had been on the spot, or if the Lieutenant-Governor were allowed to act without reference to an authority six hundred miles from the metropolis of the frontier, whence all orders relative to the daily occurrences that call for prompt and decisive measures, ought to emanate.

We were thus delayed till the afternoon, when we proceeded as far as we could, and pitched our tents on the top of one of many hills, between which the wind came rushing in gusts, which threatened to withdraw our shelter from over our heads. My child I screened a little from the chilling wind, by placing a saddle in an angle at her head—a novel addition to the couch of a young lady.

Our road next day lay through a pleasant country, where the grass was green, and the mimosas bright with their golden clusters of flowers. At the spot where we out-spanned, a wagon, driven by Fingos, had halted: it was drawn close up to a bush, and the party in charge of it, consisting of two men, three women, and their children, were seated in the shade. To our surprise we observed, that one man was reading aloud to the party; and anxious to hear the language, which is peculiarly soft and liquid, we walked up to the group. Our surprise was increased, when we found that the book occupying their attention was the Bible translated into the Kafir language, which, by the way, scarcely differs from the Fingo. The sight of this dusky group so employed, had a strange effect, and the flowing ease and beauty of the language in which the Word of God was explained to the attentive listeners, increased the interest we felt in the scene. None of them could speak English; but the reader, pointing to the book, uttered the single word "Good" impressively. It is singular enough that Barrow and other travellers do not allude to the race of Fingos;

this oversight is probably owing to their having been, till of late years, the slaves of the Kafirs*. The following account of them I have gathered from a work compiled by the editor of the "Graham's Town Journal," and published in 1836:—

"It appears that the term 'Fingo,' is not their national appellation, but a reproachful epithet denoting extreme poverty or misery,—a person having no claim to justice, mercy, or even life. They are the remnants of eight powerful nations, which have been destroyed or driven out of their country by the destructive wars carried on amongst the natives of the interior. Five of these nations were destroyed by the cruel Matawana, and the rest by the notorious Zoola Chief Chaka, or some of the tribes tributary to them. The names of these nations were—

1. The Amalubi,—signifying a people who tear and pull off.
2. The Amazizi,—a people who bring. About twenty years ago, they as a powerful nation, inhabited the country on the north-east of Natal.
3. The Amabile,—people of mercy.
4. The Amazabizembi,—axe-venders.
5. The Abasækunene,—right-hand people.
6. The Amantozakive,—people whose things are their own.
7. The Amarelidwani,—(no definite meaning.)
8. Abashwawo,—revilers or reproachers.

"These nations being broken up and dispersed, many of those who escaped fled westward, and thus came into collision with the Amakosa Kafirs, but principally with the tribes of the late Hintza, whose death is graphically described by Sir James Alexander, 14th Regiment, in his account of the last Kafir irruption, in 1834 and 1835. They became slaves, herds, 'hewers of wood, and drawers of water,' as well as tillers of the ground. They were oppressed in every way; when by industry they had gathered together a few head of cattle, they were either forcibly taken away from them, or being accused of witchcraft, their property was confiscated. In short, their lives and property were held on the same precarious tenure, the mere will of their capricious, cruel, and avaricious taskmasters.

"This state of bondage at last became utterly intolerable, and its victims only looked for an opportunity to throw off the yoke. Their attention had been anxiously turned towards the colony, and communications had been made to the frontier authorities long before the irruption in 1834, urgently praying for an asylum within our boundary; but this application was kept a profound secret, from a conviction, that were their intentions known to the Kafirs, the indiscriminate massacre of the poor Fingos would be the consequence."

The war, of which many histories are given, delivered these poor creatures from their bondage, and they are now a happy people, with their own independent possessions of cattle, &c. Sir James Alexander supplies an interesting description of their deliverance from captivity.

They are a fine muscular race of people, bearing a great resemblance to the Kafirs, yet easily distinguishable from them: unlike the Kafirs they are a cheerful race. The moonlight nights seem their seasons of festivity; and their wild chant now rising loud and shrill from the huts opposite Fort Peddie, and now falling into a low muttered chorus, now led by a single voice, and again sinking into indistinctness, has a

* The term "Kafir," is by no means recognised by the Kafirs themselves. It was bestowed on them by the Portuguese. The word is from the Arabic, and signifies Infidel.

singular effect on civilized ears, not the less extraordinary from its being sometimes united with a running accompaniment of wolves howling about the cattle kraals, and dogs yelling after them. At such times the wild chorus generally ceases, lights hurry to and fro in the kraal*, or hamlet, and there is a sound of a hunt, such as one might fancy would be ably illustrated by Retzsch's wondrous pencil; and after successive shouts from the Fingos, and yells from the dogs, the yelp of the wolf is heard further off, and changes to a smothered whine, till it ceases altogether. The dogs continue barking for some time, the torches are extinguished, and as all again becomes quiet, the strange chant recommences. Sometimes the noise of clapping of hands, resembling, from the distance at which it is heard, the sound of the tom-tom, or rude drum, may be distinguished, marking time probably to the steps of the untiring dancers, for their revelry generally lasts till morning's dawn.

Neither Fingos nor Kafirs seem to take much note of time: they sing and dance when they are merry, sleep when fatigued, eat and drink when hungry and thirsty. Days, weeks, months, and years pass by unnoticed, and uncounted. If in want of comforts which must be purchased, they work to earn money. If well provided, they will do nothing. In cold weather, they will not leave their huts even to milk their cows.

One of the most interesting anecdotes I have heard, was told me the other day, relative to a Fingoman, and tallies well with the scene I have alluded to of the group reading the Bible under the shade of the mimosa bush. A poor Fingo had made several applications from Graham's Town to a missionary, nearly fifty miles off, for a Bible; but for some time there had not been a sufficient number printed to supply the devout wishes of those "who would become Christians." Two years elapsed from the time this man first asked for his Bible. At last, one day he suddenly appeared at the station, and asked the missionary for one. The latter replied, that he was afraid he yet had none to spare; "but" said he to the Fingo, "if you will do what business you may have on hand in the neighbourhood, and come to me before you leave it, I will endeavour to procure you one, if such a thing is to be had;" but the poor traveller surprised the missionary when he said he had no business to transact there, save the one thing which had brought him so far. He had come all the way from Graham's Town on foot for the Bible, he would wait till one was found or even printed for him, so the missionary was constrained to seek for one immediately, which he succeeded in obtaining; and then the Fingo offering half-a-crown, (the price of the book was eighteenpence,) the missionary offered back the shilling in change, but the traveller waited not; with the precious book it had cost him such toil to obtain, in one hand, and his knob-kurrie† in the other, away he trudged, light of foot, and certainly light of heart. He evidently considered his prize as more to be "desired than gold, yea than fine gold." Such instances of sincere conversion are very rare.

* The word kraal applies either to the group of huts forming a village, to a single hut, or the fold for the cattle.

† A stick with a knob at the end of it, used by the Kafirs and Fingos, as the Irish use their shilelaghs; in fact, a war-club.

We were detained at Trumpeter's Drift for two days, owing to the swollen state of the river. When we crossed it, we sent the wagon over before us, ere we took our seats in the ferry-boats, as it is not an unusual thing to be wrecked in the Great Fish River, although seated in a ponderous wagon drawn by fourteen oxen. The following ingenious mode of crossing a river, was once displayed by a Kafir who had for some time stood watching the vain attempts of a party of soldiers to struggle across the stream at a time when to ford it was attended by considerable danger. After smiling at their efforts with that sardonic expression remarkable among these savages, he quietly raised a heavy stone, placed it on his head, and then walked with perfect ease through the torrent to the opposite side.

Another instance of Kafir ingenuity in keeping themselves warm, has been related to me. A missionary and his family were travelling in severely cold weather; now and then they lighted fires, warmed themselves, and then went on. But the Kafir drivers snatched brands from the fires, running on in advance, setting fire to the bushes on the road-side, returning to the wagons, again advancing, and so on, till they left a long line of fiery bush in the track they had passed over.

One of our wagons stuck in the mud on its way; the drivers shouted, the dogs barked, the oxen struggled, but all in vain, till the soldiers lent their assistance. The Government allowance of six pound a year, called barrel-bulk, goes but a little way in replacing losses suffered in transporting baggage over the terrific roads and uncertain streams of Southern Africa.

It is said that Trumpeter's Drift is so called from a trumpeter of the 21st Light Dragoons having been lost in the river one dark night. It is a small post about twenty-two miles from Graham's Town. The little barrack for the soldiers and the officer commanding, faces inwards upon a quadrangle, and makes but a dull abode, the windows looking into the little square, and the air being admitted through loop-holes in the outward walls. This gives the quarters a dreary appearance; but in a land of savages, determined to annoy us whenever they dare, and in whom no faith should be placed, prevention is better than cure. Indeed, it is a pity that this wise old proverb has not met with proper attention in this colony hitherto.

The road from Trumpeter's Drift to Fort Peddie is execrable. There is much said about making a new one, but sad delays are occasioned by the distance of the seat of Government at Cape Town from those localities where all the work connected with our part of the colony is going on. Every official document must be sent to Cape Town for signature, reply, or approval. All this, besides being most inconvenient, adds enormously to the expenses of the colony, which would be much lessened if the Governor resided at Uitenhage (eighteen miles from Port Elizabeth) or Graham's Town, or if the Lieutenant-Governor were endowed with power to act on his own judgment as immediate circumstances might require. As long, however, as the heads of departments are kept at Cape Town these additional expenses must be incurred. To give an idea of them, in general, I need only mention that it costs sixteen shillings' postage at Fort Peddie before the signature of the principal medical officer at Cape Town can be obtained to an official document; and yet compare the few troops necessary at

Cape Town with the number required to garrison Graham's Town and its dependent outposts. I have so great a dislike, as a woman, to touch on what ought to be done anywhere, that I feel a great reluctance to speak of public matters connected with this colony; but I have always found, that to state facts, from which my readers may draw their own inferences, has more weight than the giving an individual opinion, however firm the basis may be on which such opinion is founded. Much mischief has ensued from the misrepresentation of affairs here by interested persons; at such a distance, it may be said, how are people to distinguish truth from fiction? A Governor at the Cape of Good Hope should be empowered to act (where the good of the colony demands it) according to immediate circumstances, and not have his hands tied till long-expected ships come in with despatches when the mischief is done. Wherever you go, from Cape Town to the neutral territory*, every one concurs in saying, that had Sir Benjamin D'Urban's measures been carried out, all would have gone on well; he would have completed such arrangements as would have made the Boers our friends instead of our enemies; and if the seat of Government had not been removed to Uitenhage, as he wisely proposed it should be, he would have empowered the Lieutenant-Governor to act in emergencies without a dawdling reference to him at Cape Town. The removal of the seat of Government is objected to on the score of expenditure. At the first start, the outlay would be considerable, but look at the continued petty expenses and inconveniences arising from the idle head quarters of the active part of the army, being 600 miles from the centre of the working circle. Either the seat of Government must be removed, or the Lieutenant-Governor at Graham's Town must be made Commander-in-chief of the forces on the frontier. No house can be well regulated with two masters under the same roof; how much then must it be divided against itself, when the man, who has the principal command of its affairs, has never seen it but twice, and knows nothing true of the details connected with it. The foundation of the house—to carry on the simile—may give way, and the second in command (the resident) would repair it; but no, he must refer it to the head of the house, who cannot hear or reply to his communication under three weeks. Alas! by the time the reply comes back much money has been spent among workmen for patching it up. The patching fails for want of unanimity and materials, and the whole structure must be taken to pieces, or more probably tumbles down of itself.

Settlers, Boers, Kafirs, and Fingos, would have been benefited by Sir Benjamin's measures. To this day the chiefs of the tribes often ask if there is any chance of Sir Benjamin being Governor; settlers, despairing of Sir Benjamin's reappointment, declare, if some redress is not made them for their grievances they must take vengeance in their own hands, and the poorest shopkeepers talk of illuminations for three days, in the event of Sir Benjamin becoming Governor. All parties would joyfully hail him, and as a General, troops must esteem them-

* Fort Peddie, though on the Kafir side of the Great Fish River, is considered as neutral territory, and the post has been there established for the protection of the Fingos.

selves fortunate under such gentle but consistent command; but if Cape Town must be the seat of Government, why not have a Civil Governor there, as in other colonies? Bring the Governor to Graham's Town, or make the Lieutenant-Governor, as I have said, Commander-in-chief, and bring the heads of departments to Graham's Town. Such arrangements must, eventually, benefit the colony, as regards not only its government, but its comforts and expenses. Algoa Bay presents less difficulties in landing troops than Table Bay, besides being safer in the winter months, and the distance would hardly add five days to the length of the voyage. The castle barracks at Cape Town and the main barracks would be eligible for such troops as it would be necessary to keep there, and when all the staff, artillery, and engineers, are lodged there would only be just room for a battalion of the line, and the squadron of the Cape Mounted Riflemen always on duty about the Governor at Cape Town.

One thing is certain, that the referring every official document to Cape Town is a great mistake in diplomacy. The Queen and her ministers might as well live at Hanover while parliament sits, leaving delegates, who have no more power than the picture of her Majesty, swinging as a sign over an inn-door. All these things are little considered in England because not experienced, and no one takes the trouble to examine into the "why and because" of all the little items which make the grand sum, added to the expenses here by the seat of Government being at such a distance from the work. As the arrangements for the government stand now, nothing satisfactory can ever accrue from them.

By the arrival of the 45th and the 7th Dragoon Guards it will be found, that an efficient force (on the plan of prevention being better than cure) will keep all dependants in better subjection. I should have said proper subjection, had Light Cavalry been sent out or the Cape corps augmented; but though the 7th Dragoon Guards are very fine fellows "in their way," they are not the men for this country or its warriors. The Hottentot soldier with his green jacket and clay-coloured trowsers, his keen eye, quiet patience, and tolerable knowledge of the Kafir language, is the man to meet an enemy who fires from behind a bush, and keeps the soldier dodging him and his locality for days. The tall upright Dragoon, in his red jacket, will be a capital mark for the Kafir's assegai or musket, or the long roer of the Boer, and when he has got rid of him, what a prize the horse that carries nineteen stone will be! Then the Dragoon, on his arrival, must be taught frontier geography concerning kloofs, valleys, flays, short cuts, friendly or hostile kraals, &c., &c.; and he must be suitably mounted. I can fancy a Dragoon Guardsman eying his Cape charger for the first time! And how he will bluster at his Hottentot guide, who would laugh in his face if he dare turn six feet into ridicule. But the Hottentot will smile quietly when there is neither food nor water, and draw his girdle of famine* tighter round his waist, and travel on under the sun (which overpowers the heavily-accoutred Dragoon) uncomplainingly.

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* Fingos, Kafirs, and Hottentots, make use of a band or handkerchief, drawn tightly round the body to deaden the pain of hunger; as the gnawing agony of famine increases, the ligature is tightened accordingly.

A great deal of mischief has been done by the authorities in the colony holding out threats against the disaffected which are never carried into effect. Still more mischief has been done by misstatements to the Government at home. To shew the impositions practised on people in England respecting the Cape, I need only mention, that a Port Elizabeth newspaper appeared at certain intervals in London some years ago purporting to have been published at Port Elizabeth, and containing many advertisements inserted as if by respectable trades-people established, and giving a glowing description of advantages to be derived by emigrating thither and by the purchase of extensive sheep farms. It was at last discovered that this Port Elizabeth newspaper was printed in London, the names heading the advertisements were as fictitious as the advertisements were unmeaning, and the exhortations to emigrate, the emanation of some unprincipled people who had an interested motive in misleading the credulous.

Many futile remarks have been made on the late Kafir war from a total ignorance of the people, against whom our troops were opposed. It is a pity that statesmen, before they issue their approvals or reprovals, should not make themselves at least as much acquainted as circumstances will permit with both sides of the question. Hence arose an opinion, that the late Kafir war was carried on with unnecessary severity, which tended to bring the colonial cause into disrepute, and to create a false sympathy for the Kafirs. Lord Glenelg got sadly muddled about an official notice of Colonel Smith's, which stated the number of cattle, goats, &c. captured, huts burnt by his troops while engaged in scouring the country this side the Rei. Lord Glenelg fancied, perhaps, that as the Kafirs fired on the troops singly, each behind his bush, and thus offered no organised opposition, they did not deserve to be punished, even as it would be necessary to punish a more generous enemy who made an attack in close column.

So little was really known of this colony in 1832, that Sir Richard Phillips informed his readers in one of his multifarious epitomes that, "Algoa Bay is a trap for needy emigrants, and the few surviving British settlers are living in great distress*." During the Kafir war an English periodical informed the public that Port Elizabeth, on the Great Fish River, had been captured by the Kafirs.

Port Elizabeth is about 500 miles from Cape Town, and is a thriving place; it first reared its head about twenty years ago, and has made a great stride in the last two or three years, owing to the increase in the number of ships touching there. Great inconvenience arises from the want of servants. It is a pity the Emigration Society do not send thither this class of people. Though many works have been written on the colony, referring generally to its inhabitants, whether aborigines or settlers, it is astonishing how little is really known of them in a domestic state, so to speak. A closer knowledge of their character would lead us to treat with them differently to what we do now. A Kafir, though a savage, is a keen lawyer, and a narrow observer of human nature. At this moment, from our system of threatening without putting our threats into execution, the Kafirs have a great idea of their power and consequence in our eyes. The constant cry of "Bassila," synonymous

* The settlement at Algoa Bay was in particularly prosperous condition in 1832.

with "Give, give," with which the Kafir, from the Chief to the herd, assails us, is not more a proof of their avarice than their cunning. They have found us so easy to impose on, and so readily coaxed into giving, that they think us fair game. They by no means feel grateful, —for, from our constantly complying with their requests, they now begin to consider a gift from us as a right or tribute, and shrewdly determine on losing no opportunity of taking advantage of a people whom they heartily despise, for allowing themselves to be taken in. But the best samples of British gullibility are in the delicate pincushions and workbags sent out by some insane society as rewards for "good little Kafirs," in the schools established for their instruction; and can only be equalled in folly by that of those well-meaning gentlewomen who spent their valuable time on flannel-waistcoats for the "dear little negroes on the coast of Guinea."

Our condescension in speaking kindly to them, and receiving the Chiefs in our houses, they do not appreciate. They would by no means treat each other with as little ceremony as they do us. The Chief Pato, who is possessed of cattle amounting in value to twenty thousand pounds, when he has asked for wine and obtained it, inquires if there be no tobacco, or asks for sixpence to buy a present. During the war he was our greatest enemy, and now is only outwardly our friend from interested motives. There is good reason to suppose that several of the Chiefs would have gladly made another irruption some months ago, when the Boers became disaffected, and Graham's Town was in consequence thinned of the troops.

And these are the people we treat as if we expected they would keep faith with us! Our generosity they imagine springs from fear of their numbers; and our trusting them they consider as the height of folly. And well they may!

I hope we shall be allowed a little rest at Fort Peddie; for the constant marching and counter-marching, from head-quarters to detachment, and from detachment back again, is very harassing, to say nothing of the expense incurred by hiring wagons and the destruction of such furniture and comforts as are indispensable to civilised people. The allowance of six pounds per annum, would be fair enough if officers were not kept continually on the move; and if stationary at any time there is no certainty of their remaining so. Perhaps not the good of the Service,—for it is injurious to it,—but the good of the colony demands all this stir and agitation, though this has yet to be proved; but the rations and allowances are by no means equivalent to the privations and disagreeables which the military undergo in frontier service. The pay of a mere Clerk of the works, in the Engineer establishment, is superior to that of an Ensign, as are his quarters and allowances, to say nothing of those little niceties understood as perquisites. The Clerk has no appearance to keep up, is not kept constantly on the move, has often better quarters than a Captain, and no casual expenses. How the Ensign manages to live on his pay is a mystery. By way of affording opportunities of economising, I have heard of Ensigns being sent to an outpost alone. What can be worse for the formation of a young soldier's character? A youth of sixteen despatched to a solitary outpost, without a single companion of his own grade.

At St. Helena the rations and colonial allowances were libera enough; but here it seems to me that money is frittered away to no purpose on some occasions, and spared where its expenditure is necessary on others. Officers are allowed rations for native servants; but it would be much better to add so much to their pay, to provide themselves with such servants (male or female, black or white,) as can be obtained. Officers,—particularly married ones,—are often denied the advantage of drawing a servant's ration, because they cannot obtain a male native servant of any description.

Much discomfort arises on the frontier from want of barracks, or even houses to hire. It is said Sir George Napier did not represent the necessity of building accommodation for the officers, as he thought they would prefer hiring private residences. The sentiment was just and thoughtful; but in the first place there are few houses to be hired, —such as are to let are in a dilapidated state, with thatched roofs, no ceilings, and clay floors. Nothing can be obtained fit to live in under from two to four pounds a month, which is more than the lodging-allowance, a Subaltern's being *six shillings a-week*, and a Captain's *eight!* No one will build good houses to let to people who are constantly on the move. By the way, the system of moving the troops from outposts to head-quarters, and *vice versâ*, is an arrangement that has been made within the last five years.

How matters are to be arranged as soon as the dependency of Natal is fairly established, in its relations to the British Government, is a question. It is a great pity that little boys, whose papas' positions lead them to anticipate a seat in either the Upper or Lower House, or a place in the Cabinet, do not learn geography. You gentlemen in the Colonial Office, who leave your clerks to do the work that should be yours, do take the map, and look where Cape Town lies and where Natal; and pray bear in mind, when issuing your various orders for the working of this great colonial machine, that the proper place for the *axle* is the *centre of the wheel!* In a word, some one in authority, vested in himself, without reference to Cape Town, must be placed either at Graham's Town or Uitenhage.

And what interest can I have in stating what I do? Does not the thing speak for itself?

In looking at Fort Peddie from a distance, it reminds one of Cooper's descriptions of groups of buildings erected by settlers in the prairies of America. The Fingo huts scattered all round favour the delusion, especially at night, when dark figures stalk to and fro, dimly seen in the light of their fires, and the chant I have endeavoured to describe rises and falls on the air. Now it was worthy of English philanthropy to rescue the Fingos from their captivity, under their hard taskmasters, the Kafirs; but their permitted idleness is abominable. It is true that on occasion they are able assistants to the government agents in rescuing stolen cattle; but for this they are amply rationed. The missionaries are indefatigable in teaching them their catechism; but no attempt is made to fit the women for service. Idle they are, and idle they will be; and we foster their idleness by protecting them with troops, while they absolutely refuse to milk the cows, unless they want money at the moment. All the miseries in the colony arise from the mistaken philanthropy displayed towards the coloured inhabitants, who are as inso-

lent as they are lazy. The whole system in the colony with regard to the black people is bad. In Cape Town, by paying high wages, servants (insolent and lazy though they be) may be obtained among the Malays, who at least know their business; but on the frontier, if you hire them and they rob you, you have no redress. You are told that by complaining to a magistrate you may get them sent to the house of correction, or tronck; but the Hottentots, Fingos, and Kafirs like nothing better, since there they are well fed, well clothed, and spend their mornings basking in the sun. Some are condemned to work; but the laws are so ill executed that this is seldom enforced. A treadmill is much wanted in Graham's Town,—for the natives' great defect being idleness, nothing would cause greater dismay than the prospect of a month's exercise of this description*.

As Fort Peddie is on the eastern side of the Great Fish River, which is frequently impassable from its swollen state, we are often without the comforts of butter, rice, flour, wine, &c. The mutton is indifferent, being of the Cape breed, and the beef execrable. The bread of the coarsest description. Poultry may be obtained when the Fingos will take the trouble to catch their fowls and sell them.

Since the Kafir war a tower has been built here, on the top of which is a 6-pounder. An excellent barrack has been built for the Cape Corps, and another for the troops of the line, but as yet no officers' quarter. The houses which are scattered about the plain on which the fortifications stand, (for, besides the barracks, there is another temporary fortress thrown up from the earth, and protected by a ditch,) give a picturesque air to the spot, and the thatched cottages and white chimneys rising above the few trees which have thriven round them, make a tolerable picture to look at, however little comfort there is to be found within them. The climate is certainly good, especially in the winter, which reminds one of our English autumnal days. The hot winds occasionally prevailing in the summer, when the thermometer is at 120°, are most unpleasant; but the house may be kept cool by closing and darkening doors and windows. These winds never last many days. I must not omit to mention our simple barometer, which saves us the trouble of carrying one about. Thus, take a bottle with a wide neck,—a large anchovy-bottle for instance,—and fill it nearly up to the neck with water; into this insert an inverted empty salad-flask, or bottle of such description, and in the neck of the flask place a loose piece of cork, of a size that will admit of its free movement up and down. The falling of the cork indicates the approach of wet or windy weather, while the rising of it foretells it will be fair. Mention is made of such a barometer in some old Dutch manuscript lately brought under observation at the Cape.

There are some missionary stations within a ride of Fort Peddie,—one of them, D'Urban, being scarcely a mile from the post. I rode over there the other day, to see a Fingo congregation. Among them, indeed, were some Kafirs; in fact, it was composed of many shades of colour, the pale-faced Englishman, the dingy children of fair-haired

* Since I began writing these sketches Captain Montague, the new Colonial Secretary, has arrived, and already animadverts strongly on the mode in which the convicts are employed and the laws neglected.

mothers and dusky fathers, the sallow stunted Hottentot, the merry-eyed Fingo, and the more dignified Kafir. On our approach to the building we distinguished a loud monotonous voice holding forth sentences in the Kafir language, without the smallest attention to intonation or emphasis. This was the interpreter. In the missionary's absence an assistant preached in Dutch, which was translated, sentence by sentence, into Kafir. The unconcerned air of the interpreter, and his reckless bawl, was much at variance with the wrapt air of attention bestowed on the exhortations by the congregation. Some of the Kafirs and Fingos were well dressed, in homely costume, indeed, but clean and neat, consisting of moleskin or fustian jackets and trousers, a felt hat, like those worn by English wagoners, and strong shoes. Others reclined on the floor, with their blankets or karosses draped round them, and ornamented with strings of beads, whose gaudy colours contrasted finely with their dark skins. Another day I witnessed the baptism of fourteen Fingos. Both men and women seemed to feel the solemnity of their position, the women particularly evinced extraordinary emotion. Some were unable to restrain their sobs, and one aged being affected me much by the manner in which she sought to subdue her feelings, wiping the tears quietly away as they followed each other down her dark cheek. All were decently clothed, and particularly intelligent in their appearance.

At the close of the service the missionary permits any of his congregation to ask questions concerning such sacred matters as they may at first find difficult to understand. Some of their arguments evince a singular disposition to subtle reasoning, and prove how arduous a task is undertaken by those who endeavour to bring these poor savages to Christianity. One day, after the missionary had dwelt on the misery arising from sin, and had expatiated on the natural proneness of man to vice rather than virtue, and on the dreadful consequences of disobedience manifested in the fall of our first parents, and its terrible results, ameliorated only by the hope of heaven through the merits of a Redeemer, in whose power to save and mediate we alone can trust, a Kafir, who had given his whole attention to the discussion, begged leave to ask a few questions. It was granted, and he began.

"You tell us," said he, in the measured and gentle tone peculiar to his language, "that all the world is wicked—dreadfully wicked; man is condemned to punishment except he be redeemed by faith. You tell us that every one is wrong, and God alone is right!"

"Certainly," replied the missionary, "except we believe in and obey God we cannot be saved."

"And you are sure," continued the Kafir, "that man is very wicked, and God alone is good!"

"Quite sure," replied the missionary.

"And there have been thousands, millions of men, and many, many countries far away and beyond the waters," pursued the savage, "full of sin, who cannot be saved, except they love and fear God, and believe in Him and in all these mysteries which none of us can understand, and which you yourself even cannot clearly explain?"

"It is but too true," said the missionary.

"And there is but one God?" pursued the Kafir, in a tone of enquiry.

"But one God," was the solemn answer.

The savage pondered some minutes, and then observed—"What proof have you that God is right and men are wrong? Has no one ever doubted that One being wise or the other being weak and sinful? How strange that the word of your one God should be allowed to weigh against the will and inclinations of the whole world. Your cause is hardly a good one, when hundreds and millions are opposed in deed and opinion to one. I must consider your arguments on Christianity well before I decide on adopting your creed."

Another remark of one of these natural logicians equally illustrates their determination not to be persuaded to anything without having their own reasons for it. Wherever their inclination leads them, they possess such an art of defending themselves as would be an invaluable addition to the talents of a special pleader in a criminal court. One Kafir who had become a Christian—at least apparently so (for I doubt the decided conversion of any, except the Chief Kama)—was striving, for reasons of his own, to bring others to the creed he had adopted. After much argument, one, who grew tired of it, closed it by observing that "since such punishments were in reserve for those who neglected the laws of the Master whom they engaged to serve, he preferred enjoying the world as much as he could while living, rather than becoming a subject of one whose laws were irksome, and whose punishments were so terrible."

This art of reasoning, however it may lead them into discussions as full of sophistry as ingenuity, may be the means of leading some of them to Christianity. It makes them keen listeners, and since the Word of God is so plain, that "he who runs may read," may not these poor people be persuaded to that which must teach them that wisdom and power, and mercy, and unbounded benevolence, are the attributes of that God whom they are invited to worship? Sometimes I hope this, and then some proof of Kafir treachery makes me wonder how I can ever form such a hope.

I should say with Fingos, Kafirs, and Hottentots, persuasion and quiet reasoning would work the will of God before all the threats relative to that dreadful world, where sinners are described as in everlasting torment. This is hardly the place for such discussion, but I cannot help saying, that I think the creed of many who profess to explain the Word of God, a fearful one; and instead of holding up our beneficent Creator as a Being worthy to be served for love, they dwell too much on the punishment of sin, rather than on the reward of virtue. It is by some deemed wiser to frighten the ignorant into serving God, rather than to lead them by gentle means to love Him, to honour and to put their whole trust in Him. What a mistake! I have often pondered on the difference of (if I may so express it) the two sources of religion —the one proceeding from fear of our great spiritual enemy (and which after all is a fallacious kind of worship)—and the other from love of the Almighty!

Tell the savage that God is infinitely wise and powerful, and good to those who serve Him, and he will at least listen further; by which means much may be done. Talk to him of a dreadful place of punishment, he will turn his back on you, and refuse to enlist under the banners of those whose chief arguments are based on such threats. Begin with

reference to God as merciful, as well as just, and the savage will soon acknowledge the necessity of punishment for evil deeds in an equal degree with rewards for virtue. It is right he should know that eternal suffering awaits the sinner, but before he is thus threatened, teach him "the beauty of holiness" and "praise God as one worthy to be praised."

There seems little doubt that Barrow's idea of the origin of the Kafir tribes in this country, is a just one. He imagines them to have been the descendants of those Arabs known by the name of Bedouins. "These people," says he, "penetrated into every part of Africa. Colonies of them have found their way into the islands of Southern Africa, where more difficulties would occur than in an overland journey to the Cape of Good Hope. By skirting the Red Sea, and turning to the southward, the great desert of sand, which divides Africa into two parts, would be avoided, and the passage lies over a country inhabited as far as is known in every part." The circumstance of their having short hair, would seem to militate against their Arabic origin; but their intermixture with the Hottentots and other nations along the coast may have produced this. Barrow adds, "Their skill in music is not above the level of the Hottentots."

The latter have a most perfect ear for music, and cannot resist dancing and chorussing to a tune that may please them. I have never heard the Kafirs evince any disposition to sing, unless I except the monotonous drawl which the women utter for the men to dance to. Of the Fingo evensong I shall have occasion to speak by and by.

It is already well known that the Bosjimen and Hottentots are the aborigines of the whole of this part of South Africa. As one great proof of this we find the names of the rivers are in the Hottentot language, between which and the Kafir there is no affinity. It may, by the bye, be observed, that the Bosjiman and Kafir language have one thing in common, a singular click, varying in its sound according to the letter pronounced: thus, C, T, R, and Q appear to be the letters uttered in clicks—T is uttered between the teeth like *teh;* the R also resembles T in its pronunciation; Q is produced by a click nearer the front of the teeth than is requisite for the pronunciation of the C, which in its turn resembles the noise made in imitation of drawing a cork, and when two Kafirs, Fingos, or Bushmen are conversing together on any subject that excites them to unusual rapidity of speech or gesticulation, the effect is extraordinary.

I mean not to lengthen my papers with long quotations from other writers, though to do so with that experience which a residence in the country must give, would be to compile a useful and entertaining chapter; but by here and there comparing what I see of these wild people with what I have read, much may be gathered together that will throw a light on matters connected with them in their present domestic state, if such a term may be applied to a people who are not yet tamed, and who, I doubt, never will be so. Like the lion, the tiger, the panther, and all the roaming tenants of the bush, the mountain, or the kloof, the Kafir has become identified with the country to which he now belongs; and though here and there one or two may be brought to understand the meaning of good principle, as a body the Kafirs will fulfil the destiny of their great progenitor Ishmael, of whom it has been decreed

by God that his descendants shall "have their hands against every man, and every man's hand against them." Even though a Kafir may be brought up among Christians from his youth, and accustomed to his dress by day, and his bed by night, he will most joyfully in manhood return to his kraal, his kaross, and his mat. The daughter of Cobus Congo (Konky) is a striking instance of this. Educated in the house of an excellent missionary, taught the value of principle, Konky is now married to a chief who has many other wives; she wears the kaross, and rides an unsaddled horse, after the same fashion as her husband and his cortège. If, however, the missionaries fail generally in the one grand object of converting the Kafirs and Fingos to Christianity, many among them may be brought to some degree of civilization. Already those who have been prevailed upon to learn to read (the difficulty lies in getting them to learn at all,) are diligent, and thirst for knowledge; as they progress in this, their communion with Europeans becomes more intimate, gradually they may acquire a wish to be clothed, and this will be of consequence to our manufactories. Already the English blanket, greased till it becomes the colour of ochre, begins to supersede the skin kaross; and the common brown coverlid is another favourite drapery of the Kafir. A printing-press is established at D'Urban, and besides the translation of the Bible, a periodical is published monthly, containing articles suited to their tastes, comprehension, and habits.

I have imagined that if some profitable employment were set on foot among them, it would have a beneficial effect; but I understand that wool-combing was tried, which would have added to their herds of cattle flocks of sheep, besides promoting habits of industry; but this failed—their idleness is incorrigible. What a valuable exportation from this colony would the article of wool have been in exchange for commodities of British manufacture. As it is, the principal articles of our manufacture coveted by them are fire-arms. There is some ill-devised and worse-executed law for the prevention of the sale of them, but it is of small effect. Even assegais made in England have been sent out here, but the Kafirs object to our manufacture of iron, as being too malleable, preferring those prepared at their own primitive forges. I have heard it remarked that the bellows they use in forging are proof of their having sprung from a race more skilled in the arts of civilization than themselves. Two pieces of hide are sown together in the form of a pointed bag; the wide part at top is stretched open by two sticks; in the point at the bottom, also open, is inserted a bullock's horn, filed at the point, through which the air passes, which is admitted by opening and shutting the bellows at the wide end.

To enter upon a description of their habits, customs, ceremonials, and superstitions would be to lengthen my papers beyond their limits. For such discussions my readers may be referred to various works, but a few examples shall be adduced in my next which have not fallen under the observation of persons merely travelling in the colony, and not, like myself, a resident in Kafirland.

THE SEAPOY OF THE INDIAN ARMY.

BY CAPT. POSTANS.

THOUGH the term Seapoy is in very general use as applied to the natives of India, comprising our immense local army under British officers, it is doubtful if the title is not used rather vaguely; and except with those whose duty calls them into close contact with him, the character and peculiar position of the native soldier is not, I believe, particularly understood. Whatever may be the case in England, it is certain that in India even, except with his own officers, and those whose duties it is to provide for his interest, little is known either of the terms on which the Seapoy serves the British Government, or of who or what he is, beyond a native of the country in regimentals, and, except in the colour of his skin, a faithful copy of his European brother in arms. It is proposed to treat briefly of this most important mercenary, on whom we must depend for our maintenance of British India, and who, apart from his mere character of a hireling, deserves our particular attention, and is replete with interest to the military man and statesman.

The term Seapoy is Europeanised from that of the Persian "Sipahí," and is applied in the East to any servant of a military character; it has with several others crept into the Urdú, or camp language of India, and is now in general use to distinguish those natives who have embraced the military service of the Company; but it applies only to the rank of private, and a native non-commissioned or commissioned officer, would not designate himself or be designated as a Seapoy or "soldier," even by profession, but confines the term to the ranks only, though in common parlance we designate all natives bearing arms as Seapoys or soldiers.

The native army of India was first formed from those servants whom the original factors and traders collected about them for their general service or protection. Its history, from Clive to the present day, is so intimately connected with that of the British power in India, that it is impossible to separate them; and the reader of the records of our successes and fluctuating supremacy, from its earliest dawn until its present universally acknowledged sway, must observe that to the natives of India anomalously enough do we in reality owe its possession as conquerors, and to the skilful management of one of the most delicate though valuable engines, which a mere handful of Englishmen have wielded with consummate ability and decision. A history of the formation of the native Indian army, therefore, from its foundation to its present grandeur, from the period when it amounted to some half dozen ill-equipped battalions to its strength of two hundred and fifty thousand disciplined men, can easily be gained by a perusal of our Indian history, and those acquainted with one, must be familiar with the other.

Containing, as India does, a great diversity of population, our armies of the three several Presidencies are each differently composed; that of Madras, for example, is recruited from its own provinces; that of Bombay principally from the Deckan or Mahratta country; and that

Bengal from the northern provinces of Hindostan—in all, however, the terms are equal, and the position of the soldier relatively to his employers the same. The conditions of service are indefinite as to time, the only proviso being, that so long as he is able to bear arms, he must continue to do so; that his promotion will depend on good conduct or gallantry; and that when pronounced, after a certain period, either unfit or unable to continue his exertions, he will have an (to him) ample pension for the rest of his days. If he falls beyond the frontier, or on foreign service, his widow or next of kin receives a bounty. It must be premised that the great inducement to accept our service with the natives of India, has ever been the good faith and punctuality we evince in fulfilling our engagements, coupled with a strict adherence to their religious and social prejudices. Native powers and princes, in many cases, give higher rates of pay, and offer ostensibly more advantageous terms, but it is found that instead of the regular and never-failing monthly muster and issue of pay, as with us, the latter is disbursed irregularly, sometimes liberally, but at others not at all. The native of India is keenly alive to his own interest, and his fidelity and attachment to us as a mercenary result entirely from the perfect confidence he can implicitly repose in the good faith of our engagements; and these performed towards him, he is equally unflinching in the discharge of his portion of the contract, for a more patient, steady, well-ordered, and faithful soldier under proper management than the native of India is nowhere to be found.

The two religions of India are, as is well known, the Mahomedan and Hindú, and from both, but principally the latter, are the native soldiers taken. The peculiar prejudices, particularly of the Hindú faith, would, under less able management than has been at all times evinced in our Indian administration, have presented the most formidable barriers to the organization of an army on principles of European discipline, but from time to time these have been gradually overcome, and the Seapoy, despite a religion which is the most exacting in its forms, and a social system of caste which is found to be invulnerable to every other means of impression, sacrifices both in the every-day discharge of his duty; nor does this arise from any ignorance or apathy on these most important points; on the contrary, he is fully alive to them, and on every other occasion is most unscrupulous in his observance, but, as if by a kind of tacit consent, waives all considerations to the paramount one of doing his duty. The particular and striking instances in which he foregoes the most cherished prejudices and infringes rules of religion, are only to be rightly appreciated by those conversant with its peculiarities. There is hardly a portion of his uniform or equipment which does not outrage a law of caste or religion; the Brahmin, for instance, who carries a musket in the ranks, is brought into contact perhaps with a caste whose shadow even would defile his bread did it pass over it. The instances of this are too numerous to be detailed, but prove incontestibly that for our service alone do these otherwise insurmountable obstacles become subservient.

Commencing as a private, being recruited from his native village by those of the Service who obtain the usual leave of absence, or by recruiting parties sent for that purpose, the native soldier commences his career by swearing on his colours to stick to them, and by the usual

amount of initiary torments,—but he is, in common with all natives, very ready at his instruction, and soon acquires a great degree of *esprit du corps* and fondness for the military life, which is looked up to as honourable, and entitles him to a certain degree of respect amongst his people, apart from his being individually an important servant of that great power to whom all look with awe in India. His promotion is entirely dependent on his own merits and exertions, and he has before him a career which is highly promising to his ambition and love of reward,—for from a mere private he may happily look to attain the rank of Subhadar-Major, or chief native officer of his regiment, with a (to him) princely allowance, and almost as much respect as is paid to the Commanding Officer himself. Between these are the grades of Naique (Corporal), Havildar, and Havildar-Major, (Serjeant and Serjeant-Major), Jamidar (Ensign), Subhadar (Captain), and Subhadar-Major, before alluded to. To each regiment there is a native Adjutant, Pay Havildar, Quartermaster Havildar, and the various petty appointments, with companies as in the European Army. The strength of each regiment of infantry is about 900 rank and file, with a very small proportion of European officers.

The leading characteristics of the Seapoy are extraordinary order and sobriety of conduct, cleanliness of person, fidelity to his employers, strict attention to his duties, the greatest possible attachment to the cause he espouses, and unflinching courage and endurance, provided always he receives a sufficient impetus in the example of his European officers. Such soldiers, it must be evident, require more than ordinary obligations on the part of those placed over them. Their religious prejudices and social peculiarities require to be known and duly cared for; for it is a primary and most wise rule in the government of India, the result of the ablest experience of some of the best soldiers and statesmen which Great Britain can boast of having possessed, that so far as may be consistent with the duties required by the state, the most perfect toleration and liberty of conscience should be given to all classes of our Indian subjects, but more particularly the native soldiery. Their great festivals and holidays, therefore, to those not on duty, are duly observed, and until lately such portions of their European equipment as openly infringed their prejudices were foregone; but of late years even this has not been so much attended to: for it is inconsistent with the curious fact that if he stood strictly on his religious tenets as a Hindú, we can only have that division of caste known as Parias, or in reality outcasts, in our ranks; for the very buffalo-skin which crosses his shoulders, is in direct contravention of the primary law which decrees the skins of animals to the Hindú to be especially impure, and the sacrilege of wearing that of the sacred animal an offence for which nothing could atone,—yet the very Brahmins, of whom there are numbers as Seapoys, are in this respect culpable. It was found, therefore, that, prudentially managed, the native soldier would soon be brought to waive his objections on many points which were once deemed insurmountable, and toleration now only extends to granting him every consistent indulgence in the celebration of his rites and festivals.

To the various arms of the Service, whether Artillery, Cavalry, or Infantry, does the native rapidly and easily accommodate himself. In the two former they take an especial pride, and it is impossible

imagine a smarter soldier than the best of our Indian light cavalry regiments can show; but though his military costume is becoming, and he delights in it, it is certain that his own graceful and easy native dress becomes his perfect though slight figure much more; and when he takes his favourite walk or strut into the bazaar, habited in his Eastern light robes, the Hindostan Seapoy may be seen in all his glory, his waist pinched in to a degree quite painful to the spectator, his blue or pink silk skull-cap stuck jauntily on the side of his head, whence obtrude the two short locks so sedulously cultivated, and his feet adorned with a pair of richly-embroidered slippers. His figure is the model of symmetrical though slender form, and his countenance is strikingly handsome, it would indeed be difficult to find any race of men so handsome in figure and person generally as the high caste natives of Hindostan, as they are seen in the ranks of our armies. In physical bulk and force they of course fall far short of the European, but in stature they are taller, and it is no uncommon thing to find a grenadier company of a Bengal regiment averaging a standard of 5 feet 11 inches. The Madras troops are small, and by no means so fine a body of men in appearance as those of the northern provinces; but they are hard-working, rough, and ready soldiers, assimilating much to the European habits of living, and, if the truth must be told, taking up that caste which the native of India denominates "Christian," *i. e.*, eating meat, and not sparing the bottle!!

The Bombay army had some of its regiments recruited from Hindostan; but for various reasons the Government has discouraged a continuance of the system, and the Mahrattas, a sturdy and hardy race of soldiers, form the greater portion of the ranks of that army. The Bombay Cavalry and Artillery, requiring men of larger stature, are still recruited from the northern provinces, and a splendid body of men they are. A mistake is made in giving to the native infantry soldier a weapon and accoutrements of equal weight with those carried by the British soldier, of a higher standard of physical force,—the musket is consequently unwieldy. It would be practicable, probably, to adapt the weight to the strength of the man.

It may be imagined, that the total dissimilarity of tastes, habits, religion, and prejudices existing between the officer and soldier in the Indian Army, must beget a want of that sympathy and close intercourse, which are absolutely necessary to form mutual confidence; that the Northern and Asiatic cannot possibly amalgamate; and that though as a mere machine he may go through his several routines of duty, the Seapoy is only known to his officer under arms, and even then the positions of command and obedience are those alone which are occupied; but such is not the case, at least with those who have the responsible duty of individually representing their nation to the great body of the people of India, and who do that important duty becomingly,—a fact which the most experienced and thinking portion of our Indian officers always keep in mind. To such the Seapoy looks with the twofold prominent feelings of respect and warm attachment;—the European officer becomes his friend and best adviser; the barriers which religion and social prejudices interposed, are broken down, and the most intimate concerns of his life are, by the native soldier, in the hands of his superior. It is true, that the interior economy of his house, the daily

supply of his food, and all those minor duties which form so essential a part of the obligations in European regiments, are not required. Instead of extensive barracks, barrack furniture, rations and drams, the Seapoy occupies a small hut, which is calculated merely to give shelter to himself and family from the sun and rain: his food, of the simplest kind, is prepared by himself: his beverage is the neighbouring spring; and so long as a tolerable bazaar is in his vicinity, whereat he can procure the very trifling articles which enable him to support existence, (for a native of India does not look upon food as a luxury, or upon his meals as anything but necessary to preserve life,) he is satisfied; but beyond these he is kindly alive to a protection and anxiety for his interests, and the deepest sense of gratitude and acknowledgment of attention is a leading feature with Asiatics, and his popularity with those under him, will be in exact proportion to the care and anxiety shown by the European officer to all concerning their welfare. The instances in which this feeling is shown, are numerous; let it suffice to mention, that lights are burnt to this day, within the author's knowledge, at the tomb of an officer of a native regiment, who died some twenty years since; and within his experience, the men of his own regiment, of the highest caste, refused to permit any of the functionaries employed on such occasions, to touch the body of an officer after death; he was prepared for, and carried to the grave by, the men of his own regiment. This is what no native of India, of caste, can do for his own father or mother, without the deepest contamination, and subjects him to be ranked with the most polluted and degraded of all ranks. It is quite extraordinary the degree of attachment which the soldiers show to those of their officers who take the very little trouble required to ingratiate themselves with them. The Indian historian's anecdote of the old native officer, who, entering a house, descried the likeness of Sir Eyre Coote, paid it the respect of the military salute, is one of many proofs that worth and character have their full value with this interesting people. The danger indeed is, that the European officer may find it take up too much of his time, for so fond are they of any attention, that the Seapoys and native officers would be ever seeking his society, did they find encouragement for so doing.

Gifted with an extraordinary degree of acute perception into the characters of others, the native of India soon discovers the disposition of his superiors, and shapes his course accordingly. Ask any one of the Seapoys of a native regiment, the character of his officers, and you will not fail to receive the most accurate and minute description. Many of the young hands in India would do well to ponder on this as also on the fact, that though, by no means confined within a moral system, which obtains in more civilized countries, nothing tends so much to lessen the respect of the natives, as immorality and laxity of conduct in his superiors. An error is too often committed by the inexperienced of imagining that the more they fall into Eastern habits and peculiarities, the more will they be likely to increase the attachment and confidence of the natives,—the result is directly opposite. As a European, he is looked up to by the soldier; but directly he applies to Eastern associations, and tries to imitate the native, from that moment respect is gone.

At his religious festivals and feasts, the native soldier is proud at having

the society of his officer; and though, on many of these occasions, there are plenty of opportunities for abandoning the constrained and studied respect elsewhere shown; yet they are never lost sight of, and when, to his infinite delight, the European officers assemble to witness their saturnalia of the Hooli or Deussirah, all is order and good conduct, though in his exuberant mirth at the former, he may avail himself of the only opportunity ever afforded for having a little good-natured revenge on his Adjutant or tight Commanding Officer, by bestowing an extra dose of the Hooli powder on his face and white jacket.

Many opinions exist as to the degree of bravery possessed by the native soldier, and the standard he ought to occupy in this respect with European nations; all experience however goes to prove, and on that alone can we argue, that so long as he is adequately officered and stimulated by example, he is to be depended upon for any service; and though not to be placed on an equality with the British soldier, is second only to him. His is certainly not of the dashing kind of bravery which so pre-eminently distinguishes our troops, but is unflinching and steady under fire, enduring to the last degree in the harass of warfare; and if confident in his leaders, will well support their orders. If, however, he is not thus adequately led, and has not that confidence which mutual intimate acquaintance can alone beget, he is, after all, but a mere mercenary, and too much must not be expected of him. One of the great points of his character is his fidelity to his trust. Commit treasure or any other charge to a Seapoy, and he will forfeit his life rather than desert it. The absolute and imperative necessity of adding to the number of European officers with the native army of India has been lately so universally acknowledged, but particularly by the brave Sir C. Napier, who wrote in his never-to-be-forgotten language from the hard-fought field of Miani, that it is devoutly to be hoped, for the sake of the reputation of our high name, no less than the safety of our Indian dominions, it will be attended to. If Europeans require 30 officers to a regiment 900 strong, is it possible to send a battalion of natives of equal number into the field, or to preserve them in discipline at home with only one-third the number? Yet such is absolutely the case, the thing is an obvious absurdity, though of the most serious kind.

The Seapoy has his failings and his bad qualities as well as other mortals, and a certain mutinous spirit, as it is called, is one of the leading accusations made against him,—in a word, he has been seen to attempt to exercise a right to dispute the terms of his service, and to shew a disposition to question the localities in which that service may be required without additional allowances. Let us, however, examine impartially the merits of the case, and view the exact position of the native soldier, not for a moment, with the intention of exculpating him on a charge which is totally inadmissable in military subordination, and completely unknown to our army, but simply to show, that though decidedly wrong in principle, he is to be tried by a peculiar standard. He is, it must be remembered, a mere mercenary, and serves us for interested motives, as before observed, trusting implicitly to our good faith. Nor is it extraordinary that it should be so; his pay is little more than adequate for the every-day wants of himself and family whilst he remains on home service, and if removed beyond

his frontier, and located in such a country as Sinde for instance, under the necessity of leaving his wife and family behind him, for these he must make provision, at the same time that he is subjected to extra expenses of marching, and hence the cause of his discontent; the batta or extra-marching pay has ever been the cause of disagreement between us and the native soldier, and it may fairly be argued, that much, if not all of the discontent which has from time to time shewn itself on this question, would have been obviated had the Indian Governments taken a broader view of the Seapoy's claims, and saved him and them a position to be lamented and deprecated, by due consideration prior to demanding his services. During the late wars beyond the Indus, to cross which river, to nine-tenths of the Hindú soldiery, was in direct defiance of their strongest religious prejudices, nothing of this kind was ever shewn; they have embarked in crowded transports, have fought in the Mauritius, Java, China, and even followed the track of the French armies on the banks of the Nile willingly and cheerfully, simply because in those days our Indian local legislators knew full well how to handle the engine committed to their charge, and acted upon the motto of that good soldier and great politician, Sir J. Malcolm, "by the natives we conquered India, and by them we must maintain it." The best of our European officers in India will own that they can induce their men to follow them anywhere, so long as the after all but fair claims of a faithful hireling are attended to. One regiment of Bombay infantry, which lately left Sinde, was there since 1838, nearly the whole time under canvass and separated from their families! Can it be possible to try the fidelity of troops further, and is it to be wondered at that the Seapoy should shrink from such trials? As I know of no other imputation on his character as a soldier than that above-alluded to, for with the much-questioned morality of the natives of India we have not to do, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of pronouncing my opinion, as the result of some study of the subject, that a more faithful, dutiful, and exemplary servant than the native soldier of India was never possessed by any state, and that on his officer, and his ruler, it is deeply incumbent to look well to his interest, and cherish by a system of constant care and the conciliation due to him as such, that attachment which has shewn itself in procuring and maintaining for the British power its vast Indian possessions; so long as these are rigidly adhered to he may be depended upon, and if we ever lose the high respect and fidelity hitherto evinced by our native army in India, it must be our own faults, for the Seapoy will not be the first to dissolve the contract. The more is known of him the more he will be appreciated, and, as in a former slight work* I ventured to point out, prominently, the necessity of those to whom are intrusted the important task of keeping up the respect and attachment of our native army, and the methods by which the end may be obtained, so I would wish to enlist for it the sympathy of our statesmen and soldiers, with a view to its receiving that attention and consideration which it so imperatively demands.

It would be useless to enter into details of the strength of the armies of the several presidencies, and would be ill-placed to draw any

* Hints to Cadets, by the author.

invidious distinctions as to their merits; but in justice to that of Bombay, it must be owned, that of late years they have had the extra work to do of furnishing garrisons to the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and *one-third of their whole strength* on and beyond the Indus, without any addition to their number whatever; yet they never complained, and are ready still to maintain their vast conquest in Sinde, to which the Madras and Bengal Seapoys were so much averse, provided only that increase to their numbers be given, without which, it is impossible they can do the work cut out for them. I could pursue this, to me, most fertile topic, much further, but have already trespassed sufficiently on your columns, and can only wish that it may be resumed by abler hands; for an interest in all that concerns the claims and situations of the native soldiers and army of India is a great desideratum, though it is certain to be one which must, sooner or later, force itself prominently on the public notice.

NOTES ON THE ARMY.

FULL-PAY RETIREMENT.

No. XII.

THE Royal Warrant, dated 1st October, 1840, issued at the recommendation of the Report of the Naval and Military Commission, is now beginning to take effect upon the promotion of the Army, or, to speak more correctly perhaps, upon some portion of the Army. The warrant established a retirement on full pay for 20 Lieut.-Colonels, 20 Majors, and 115 Captains, of whom a number, not exceeding 45, might be Brevet-Majors, at an annual cost to the country of 38,000*l.* Now, had this sum of 38,000*l.* been at once granted, most of the old officers, whose lengthened services would have entitled them to claim a full-pay retirement, might have been immediately provided for; but the surviving Lieut.-Colonels, Majors, and Captains of the reduced Veteran Battalions, receiving full pay, being included in and paid out of this grant of 38,000*l.*, a very few vacancies remained to be filled up from the Line. During the last three years, however, death has made no little havoc amongst the veterans, and the list of officers appointed under the warrant of the 1st October, 1840, has now increased to 12 Lieut.-Colonels, 17 Majors, and 46 Captains, of whom 16 are Brevet Field-Officers.

The regimental promotions caused by these full-pay retirements have been very partial;—like all other promotions in the Army, they have been made almost entirely on the chance and lottery system.

The 33rd Regt. has benefited by the retirement of two Lieut.-Colonels and one Major.

The 24th, 13th, 97th, by one Lieut.-Colonel and one Major.

The 16th, by three Majors and one Captain.

The 22nd, 57th, 92nd, Cape Mounted Riflemen, by one Major and one Captain.

The 89th, Ceylon Rifle Corps, by one Lieut.-Colonel and one Captain.

The 6th, 18th, 61st, 66th, 69th, 72nd, 77th, 82nd, by two Captains.

The 68th, 70th, 75th, by one Lieut.-Colonel.

The 3rd, 29th, 30th, 48th, 62nd, 1st West India Regt., by one Major.

The 2nd, 9th, 11th, 14th, 26th, 31st, 38th, 46th, 54th, 56th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 63rd, 65th, 67th, 78th, 87th, 91st, 93rd, by one Captain.

So that out of 99 regiments of the Line only 45—not one half—have obtained as yet any promotion by the warrant. Of the remaining 54 regiments—

The 8th, 19th, 27th, 32nd, 34th, 37th, 38th, 53rd, 71st, 79th, 88th, cannot look for any promotion, without purchase, by the retirement on full pay of a Regimental Field Officer for many years to come, as not one of the Lieut.-Colonels or Majors serving in these corps has more than twenty-five years' service, and the majority of them can scarcely number twenty years' full-pay service. Now, where the senior Captains are also of equally short service, it is no hardship to them to see so many promotions without purchase in other corps; but where the senior Captain is of some thirty years' service, and yet strong in constitution, and quite equal to the performance of all the duties of a Regimental Field Officer, it becomes a serious grievance to him when he finds that, in consequence of the rapid promotion which has taken place by purchase in the regiment, he has not only experienced the annoyance and mortification of seeing his juniors stepping over his head, but that his prospects of a command and distinction are also destroyed, by the closing up for many years of the only path to advancement. The sole alternative, then, left to him is to retire on full-pay,—a liberal and honourable provision for men whose minds or health of body are unequal to higher or further duties, but a miserable retreat for a very good officer still in the vigour of health and intellect, who is able and willing to devote his energies to the benefit of his country. This is the class of officers for whom no beneficial warrant exists; we acknowledge the class is a small one, very small,—but why is it so limited? Simply because there is no kind of encouragement for any man to do more than his exact duty,—just enough to escape reproof,—a mere mechanical routine, into which not an idea enters; generally considered a bore, and therefore never undertaken with that heart, and spirit, and mind, without which a man cannot, in any other trade or profession, ever succeed.

However short the period of service may be of a senior Major, Captain, or Lieutenant of a regiment, provided he has taken his fair share of the duties and the foreign service of his corps, we should say he is fully entitled to succeed to a casualty promotion, and we are happy to see that in most cases the authorities at the Horse Guards act upon this principle, but we must submit that vacancies caused by retirement upon full-pay, under the warrant of 1st October, 1840, cannot be altogether considered casualty vacancies. Nor do we think that where the seniors of rank are not of considerable standing in the Service, they could have any just reason to complain if officers of long service were promoted from other corps. We are perfectly well aware that some promotions would never take place unless it were clearly understood

that they were to go in the regiment, and we have no wish to interfere with arrangements *purely regimental*, between man and man, and in no manner affecting the *general* interests of the Service. As gold is the acknowledged and authorized source whence rank is to be obtained in the British Army, the amount paid, or the gazetting with or without purchase, can be a matter of no interest or real consequence, either to the Government or the public, except in those cases where the recommendations of Parliament, and the gracious intentions of Her Majesty, to promote or provide for meritorious and clever non-purchasing officers are counteracted by interest or private bargains. We most readily admit that both the royal warrants of 27th October, 1834, and 1st October, 1840, have been a great boon to the veterans of the Army, who only look to a comfortable retirement. Physically they have rendered many corps more efficient, by removing old and worn-out officers, but they can give no encouragement to officers of ability, who would dedicate their time and their talents to the Service, if any kind of rational hope were held out of fair advancement.

What is the position of the senior Captain of a regiment, where all the Field Officers are young men of very limited services, and the corps quartered in a healthy colony? Can he for a moment be expected to take an interest in his duties? Is it in human nature to work and to slave without any prospect of reward? What is the argument, and the just argument, advanced for paying all public servants well, that men of ability and industry will not devote their minds and time, unless duly and properly rewarded, and until the same principle is carried out in the Service, so far as promotion goes, the Army will only be a well-dressed machine,—always successful, it is true, for the bayonet in the hands of British soldiers is irresistible, but at an expense of human life, and what in this age is considered by many much more serious, at an expenditure of public money in the early campaigns, truly lamentable; whilst in a time of peace, your wisest and most humane rules and regulations lose more than half their effect, though carried out by some to the letter, when the spirit that animated the writer is not felt or comprehended by the officers into whose hands their execution is intrusted.

We have no desire to revive the controversy of purchase or no purchase, but we would direct the attention of the advocates for the abolition of purchase to the working of the Royal Warrant, 1st October, 1840. They can then ascertain whether it is possible to exclude the influence and power of money from an Army, three-fourths of the officers of which are able to purchase rank. The most stringent laws, backed by the heaviest penalties, cannot prevent men from purchasing what they desire to obtain, or others from selling what they wish to dispose of, provided there is no moral delinquency in the transaction. Unless, therefore, the Army were officered from a different class of society, and by men who had not the means to purchase rank within their reach, a system of purchase, whether open or disguised, must inevitably prevail. No one has attempted, we believe, to defend the principle of selling rank; the practice has been only approved of as being the system best adapted to the habits, manners, wealth, and spirit of the British Government and people. The question, therefore, has always been with us, how this system may be so administered,

that, while the rich officer may obtain all the fair and legitimate influence on promotion, to which his money may entitle him, his brother officer, less favoured by fortune, may not have his also fair and legitimate claims to promotion, arising either from ability or service, crushed and annihilated. We shall not again discuss the matter, having fully explained our views in Notes Nos. VII. and IX; and we shall only say, that another year's consideration of the subject, and a careful examination of the London Gazettes, have fully confirmed us in the opinions we then held. Education is spreading so rapidly throughout the population of the United Kingdom, and consequently amongst the ranks of the Army, that in a very few years a soldier will scarcely be found who cannot read; and unfortunately, the cheapest publications, and those most likely to fall into his hands, will not inculcate the principles which would make him a good man and a contented soldier. As knowledge increases, in the same ratio the power of physical punishment decreases; and unless officers are as superior in their acquirements of professional and general knowledge, as they are superior in rank to the men, the discipline of the Army will be somewhat difficult to maintain. A Sovereign can make a subject a lord, but cannot make him a gentleman, so can a man be made a Colonel or a General Officer, but there is no process by which he could be made a *good* officer. Some men are undoubtedly gifted with extraordinary powers of mind, which render them equal, without any apprenticeship, to meet and to overcome any difficulties that come upon them,—ready-made Generals; but such men are few, and can only prove exceptions to the general average capacity of mankind. There is no aristocratic, or even royal road, to the knowledge of military science and military government; however vulgar it may sound, a man who wishes to become a good officer, must read almost as much (observe men and things a great deal more), as he who aims to become a good lawyer, physician, or divine. If, indeed, an officer's duties were confined to inspection of parades, and barrack-rooms, and field-days, a week's observation would place a man of ordinary ability quite *au fait* at the business—even the most thick-headed recruit is turned out of the Drill Serjeant's hands in a few months so far accomplished in his military learning as to know a clean from a dirty soldier, a well-folded bed from a slovenly one, and his right hand from his left; but the highest qualification for a field officer, and without being fully possessed of it, no man can be called a good officer, is not a gift, or to be acquired in a few months or even years; it is moral courage, a confidence in one's own knowledge and ability, resulting from study and experience, which not only enables an officer to devise the best means upon every emergency, however unexpected and untoward, but which seems to communicate a confidence and courage to those under his command, by which he seldom fails to succeed. There is no one qualification, possessed by a commanding officer, so admired and beloved, as this same moral courage. A feeling of perfect security under all circumstances pervades every rank. He is quite able to take his own part and the part of his regiment, and will therefore never suffer an act of injustice to be done, either consciously or unconsciously, even towards a drummer-boy, without at least attempting to prevent it,—and soldiers, who are not to be deterred from

the commission of offences by fear of the most severe punishments, will put a check to their most vicious courses, rather than incur the reproof of a man whom they cannot help respecting. One great evil of the British army is, that men seldom arrive at the command of a regiment until they have become wearied and almost disgusted with the service. Youth can be no objection of itself if the person is qualified for command. Entering a regiment at sixteen years of age, and serving with it constantly for ten years, half the period as a Captain, if a man, of fair abilities, cannot render himself equal to the command of a corps at that time when he is twenty-six—we much doubt whether he will really prove more capable at forty-six—though the twenty years' additional experience may enable him to pass a half-yearly inspection to the "entire satisfaction" of the Major-General, as the provincial papers have it, but put him to perform new and difficult service upon his own resources, and worse than all, upon his own responsibility, and his mere physical courage and routine knowledge will but little avail either him or his corps. Self-conceit, which often has the appearance of self-reliance, must not be mistaken for moral courage; it may pass very well in a drawing-room, or on a parade, but in the field on actual service, it cannot be mistaken. It is calculating, however, somewhat too highly the honour of wearing a uniform, to suppose, that men of natural ability will devote their whole time to study and to duty, well knowing that they will be no further advanced, and if not for purchase probably far behind the men who have spent their whole period of service in amusement and routine duties. No doubt there is ability enough in the service, indeed we know men who might have attained to the highest honour in either of the learned professions, and who study hard and do much work; but it is not professional study or work, for all promotion is a lottery in which the dull man and the clever man are upon a perfect level, and the humblest reader of a penny magazine is in possession of knowledge enough upon the motives and feelings that guide men's actions, to tell that the highest principles and the most ardent enthusiasm, will fail and dwindle away when the prospect of reward or distinction is at an immeasurable distance, or depending upon chance and uncertain circumstances.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF MILITARY PUNISHMENTS, IN AS FAR AS REGARDS NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND PRIVATE SOLDIERS.

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Whipping or Flogging in Civil Jails.—Soldiers are liable to be whipped for delinquencies committed in civil jails. In Maidstone jail, for example, it has sometimes been deemed necessary to flog privates for breaches of prison discipline.

A person convicted of certain crimes may, if a male, be sentenced by the statute law of England, to be *once, twice,* or *thrice* publicly or privately whipped, in addition to such imprisonment as the court shall think fit to award.

Public whipping has, I believe, completely fallen into disuse both in England and in Scotland. Private whipping appears to be a very undefined punishment, the keepers of prisons having in practice nearly absolute power in the execution of this sentence, by which means the mode of infliction varies greatly in different jails. In some prisons it is alleged, that the whipping of prisoners is carried to a great extent of severity, from eight to ten dozen lashes being sometimes inflicted, in others not more than ten or twelve, and with a lightness that makes the sentence nominal. The cat of nine tails, or instrument of infliction, also varies greatly. In some prisons the cat or scourge in use, is similar to the instrument employed in the Army, in others to the cats employed in the Navy, while delinquents are punished in some establishments with an instrument like a common school-rod. The punishment is inflicted in some prisons the day previous to a prisoner's discharge,—a circumstance which obstructs moral improvement, and adds greatly to the numerous obstacles which lie in the way of a man in such a situation finding employment. While the infliction of flogging is hanging over a prisoner, he is little disposed to form good resolutions. He appears to feel that corporal punishment immediately before his discharge is unjust, and with a foreknowledge of the consequence of the whipping on coming out into the world, he steels his heart for the occasion, and goes forth from the prison a hardened sinner.—*Sixth Report on Prisons, Northern and Eastern District.*

The authors of the Seventh Report of the Commissioners on Criminal Law, seem much disposed to reject flogging altogether as a punishment. We say the Commissioners consider it "*a punishment which is uncertain in point of severity—which inflicts an ignominious and indelible disgrace on the offender, and tends, we believe, to render him callous, and greatly to obstruct his return to any honest course of life.*"

"By the discipline of *blows,*" as has been observed by Dr. Caldwell, "no moral or intellectual faculty is cultivated." It may, however excite resentment, hatred, and revenge; and if it should for a shor period deter from crime, it awakens no disrelish for it.

Imprisonment.—By the Mutiny Act, Section 7, a court-martial may sentence a soldier to imprisonment, solitary or
without hard labour, in any public priso

court may appoint, for "*immorality, misbehaviour, and neglect of duty.*" Every non-commissioned officer or soldier sentenced to imprisonment by a court-martial, forfeits all right to any pay from the day of his commitment during the time of his imprisonment. But a jail allowance may be drawn from Government by a proper certificate showing that the sum charged, not exceeding *sixpence a day*, has been actually and necessarily expended upon each prisoner.

Soldiers have been sentenced to be imprisoned for a period extending from 3 to 1460 days on foreign service, and from 3 to 1826 days on home service.—Vide Return prepared in accordance with the order of the House of Commons.

It may be stated, that by the Vagrant Act, the punishment for incorrigible rogues is imprisonment till the next quarter's sessions, hard labour for any time *not exceeding a year*, and in some cases the whipping of *male* offenders.

General and district courts-martial have the discretionary power of inflicting imprisonment without limitation, according as the court shall deem fit. Many reasons might be assigned for fixing a maximum term of imprisonment. Extreme severity, although allowed by the law, is perhaps rare in practice; but though the power be not abused, the law is still open to the objection that the court is unnecessarily invested with an excess of authority, which is only tolerated because it is seldom if ever used. An indefinite extent of punishment as may now be inflicted, operates perhaps less on the fears of the ill-disposed than the threat of a moderate but defined punishment would do, if attended with greater certainty as to its infliction. Indiscriminate sentences tend to confound the different gradations of guilt of which military delinquencies are susceptible, and which ought to be marked by the infliction of corresponding degrees of punishment.

The object of punishment by imprisonment, like other corrective punishment, is twofold—amendment and example; and as aversion to labour is the principal cause in civil life, from which the vices of the poorer classes deduce their origin and continuance, confinement with hard labour is adopted as a means of reforming a propensity to indolence and dishonesty, and training to habits of industry.

In the Army, however, disobedience is the principal cause of military offences, consequently the amendment expected by imprisonment is confined chiefly to an improved disposition in soldiers to obey their superiors. But imprisonment may do more harm than good: a place of confinement may become a school for insubordination and every kind of corruption, not only in civil jails, but also in provost prisons, such as the military prison in Dublin. "There is no vice," says Mr. Livingstone, (Penal Code of Louisiana,) "that affects the mind, which is not imparted by constant association; and it would be more reasonable to put a man in a pest house to cure him, than to confine a young offender in a penitentiary organised on the ordinary plan, in order to effect his reformation."

Solitary Imprisonment, Separate Confinement.—There seems to be no specific rule for the guidance of jailers and keepers of places of military confinement, in carrying this punishment into effect. The usual treatment of soldiers sentenced to solitary confinement in the Coldstream Guards, as described by Colonel M'Kinnon, is as follows:—

"The prisoner is placed in a cell or black-hole: some black-holes are very dark, others may have light enough to read by. He is allowed plenty of straw, and two blankets, and more when required, together with his great-coat. He is made to wash and shave every morning, and he is to walk for an hour under charge of a sentry, in the morning and afternoon. The allowance of sixpence a day is given in bread and milk, or bread alone, (with water I presume, *ad libitum.*) He is sometimes allowed a basin of soup out of his comrade's mess in cold weather. His cell is carefully searched to ascertain that he has no tinder-box, pipes, spirits, tobacco, or any food concealed. Every man has a Bible and Prayer Book, being part of his kit. In Portman-street barracks, all the cells *are dark*, and in Knightsbridge only one has light, and that scarce sufficient to read by."

Colonel M'Kinnon thinks, that to render solitary confinement effectual, the cell should be constantly dark, (a true black-hole), and the prisoner on no account allowed to walk out at any time, or to have any kind of recreation, neither should he be allowed a book, needle or thread, or any thing with which he may amuse himself. The admission of light, Colonel M'Kinnon thinks, would at once take off the severest and most beneficial part of the punishment.—*Evidence on Military Punishments, Question* 3884.

The discipline of Carlisle Jail may be detailed, it having been recommended as better than most, by Major Drought, 15th Foot.—*Appendix to Report on Military Punishments*, page 58.

"In that place of confinement the cell admits of but little light; the bedding is the same as in barracks, but no sheets are allowed. At 6 in the morning the prisoner is visited by the turnkey, and marched into the yard alone, where he is allowed ten minutes for washing, and at which time he receives his allowance of *bread and water*. He is then marched back to his cell, from which his bedding has been taken. At half-past 8 o'clock he is marched to chapel, where he sits by himself, and sees nobody but the clergyman. He returns to his cell, and is not visited till 7 in the evening, when his bed is put back. Once or twice a week he gets half a pound of cheese: he is not allowed to see any one except by order of his Commanding Officer."

Rigorous disciplinarians of the severe school appear to think that pain and reformation are the same thing, or at least cause and consequence, and that if sufficient of the former is inflicted, the latter will certainly follow,—an opinion which is obviously not well founded. Real improvement consists in a formation of better and purer principles, and a realization of them in the life and conduct,—a result which cannot be attained without self-respect, and without a prospect of some portion of happiness coming along with it. It is difficult therefore to perceive the wisdom of confining men long in a "black-hole," a position where soldiers are rarely if ever reformed,—where the health of persons of a nervous temperament may be destroyed, the spirits prostrated, the intellect clouded, and the heart broken. All punishments are attended with serious evils, but none are so bad as those which have a tendency to destroy the mind, on whose improvement we rest our hopes of instilling the principles of subordination.

Of all the punishments which are awarded by courts-martial, perhaps none strikes the mind of a soldier with so much terror as solitary confinement. Delinquents cannot contemplate without horror, the prospect of being shut up in company with their own thoughts, oppressed as the

mind must be sometimes with remorse. The state of inaction in which an energetic mind is placed by solitary confinement, is of itself a moral death.

Several officers have recommended that the allowance of sixpence a day for the subsistence of prisoners should be reduced even as low as threepence a day, exclusive of washing, or such a sum as would allow the prisoner one pound and a half of bread only, with water, each day. "All men imprisoned or confined," says one Commanding Officer, "should be dieted on bread and water only."—*Report on Military Punishments, App.*, page 621. Several other officers express a similar opinion.

On the 4th April, 1832, a General Order was published in Madras, containing regulations for the uniform execution of sentence of solitary confinement, consisting of fourteen paragraphs.

Paragraph 4.—"As a general rule, the diet of prisoners under solitary confinement is to be restricted *to bread and water*, subject to such addition as the medical officer may at any time deem to be necessary."

Previously to the issuing of this Order, European prisoners under solitary confinement in the Madras Presidency received their usual rations, with the exception of spirits. Medical officers may recommend a change of diet; but even if their suggestion be attended to, the sum expended in the purchase of articles of food for a prisoner, must in no case exceed sixpence a day.

The *congee* houses, or prisons, in a station in Bengal are thus described in *Life in the Ranks*, page 113, "The congee houses," says our author, "constituted a quadrangle of strong cells built in ranges one above the other, and were entered by means of balconies. Each cell was about eight feet high, and eight by six square; and confinement in this narrow space, joined to the overpowering heat of the climate, and scanty allowance of *bread and water* served to the inmates, rendered the punishment, in the case of a man labouring under the debilitating effects of arrack, equivalent to the sentence of death." A serjeant who was immured in one of the cells lost his reason the first night of his confinement, "he never recovered his senses, and death soon after put a termination to his sufferings." Two other non-commissioned officers were soon after confined in the congee house, "one died from fever brought on by excessive drinking, and a broken heart terminated the existence of the other."

If I am rightly informed, convicted prisoners in military prisons are chiefly subsisted on bread and water; in the West Indies they receive their daily ration in the shape of bread and coffee, and in the East Indies they receive bread and congee (rice water.) In one of the garrisons in this country, the allowance of 6*d.* a day is expended as follows:

3 pounds of Bread - - -	$3\frac{3}{16}$	pence
Coffee and Vegetables - - -	$2\frac{5}{16}$	
Washing - - - -	$0\frac{8}{16}$	
	6	

No part of the allowance in this case remains for the purchase of articles of clothing, tobacco, &c., &c. Dr. Stark, who made the

experiment of confining himself to a farinaceous diet, chiefly bread and water, lost about four and a-half ounces by weight daily, and became affected with scurvy, together with cachexy, and a restless disquietude of mind. Eventually he fell a victim to his zeal in prosecuting his experiments on diet. Bowel complaints and general debility are frequent consequences of confinement, and a uniform diet on bread and water, by which means soldiers are sometimes reduced in health and strength to such a degree that, when they are discharged from prison, they require to be admitted into hospital to recruit their strength, being unable for duty. The consequences of confinement and inadequate diet take place among civil prisoners. "We continue," says the Surgeon to the hulks, "to receive from the majority of prisons in England, prisoners in such a state of debility from low diet, cold cells, and solitary confinement, that they are not, on arrival, capable of doing a day's work in the dock-yard, nor of undertaking the voyage to Australia."

According to the prison reports it appears, that the diet of prisoners in some of the civil prisons, where soldiers are confined, is far from being sufficient.

Winchester County House of Correction.—"It appears to me, that *soldiers*, or others, placed in solitary confinement for a month, should receive a better diet than simple *bread and water*, and also, that they should be allowed to take a little more exercise daily in the yard. At present they go into the yard only for a few minutes in the morning."

In *Gloucester County Jail and Penitentiary*, "Those who are in solitary confinement for a fortnight generally become emaciated and very frequently suffer diarrhœa, but then they have only a pound and a half of bread, and a pint and a half of mint water, during the day."

Preston County House of Correction.—"The Surgeon in evidence states, that he lays it down as a rule, *never to allow any extra food or alteration* in the diet to any but patients in hospital. This appears to me an injudicious departure from those sound precautions for the preservation of health observed in other establishments. I allude, particularly, to the cases of *soldiers* imprisoned here under sentences of Courts-Martial for lengthened periods, and who have, in several instances, *suffered most materially in health.*"

The modification of the ordinary diet of a body of healthy persons should not be left to the discretion of the Surgeon or any individual servant of an institution. The managers are the responsible persons on whom devolves the duty of framing a proper dietary. A surgeon who is disposed to defer to the opinion of his employers may consider the privations of a prison, comprehending insufficient diet, a part and parcel of the punishment inflicted on a prisoner, and deem it inexpedient to interfere. Besides, where all the prisoners are suffering, or liable to suffer, from insufficient diet, or from a diet not sufficiently varied, it might be a very invidious duty for a Surgeon, under such circumstances, to recommend a better diet to one prisoner and not to many others. Considerable differences exist in the dietary of prisons, both in quality and amount, and where it is low or innutritive, the health of prisoners suffers accordingly. The prevalent prison diseases are *petechia*, or scurvy, and cachexy, or an ill-condition of body, which, in some cases, are attended by prolonged weakness, and in others the symptoms become so virulent that the patient never recovers. In the treatment

of prisoners, it is highly expedient to avoid every thing harsh and arbitrary calculated to embitter and exasperate their moral dispositions, and due care should be taken that their bodily or mental vigour should not be injuriously diminished.

Dr. Malcolmson, Madras Medical Service, thus describes the effect of solitary confinement and a bread and water diet on the health of soldiers in India:—

"Many men," says Dr. M., "particularly those of indolent habits, endure a confinement of four or six weeks on bread and water, without injury to their health; but in some instances a shorter period is sufficient to cause a total loss of appetite; the bread is hardly touched, and no other food being allowed, the patient is unable to eat or to digest it. The stomach becomes weak; there is uneasiness across the region of the stomach, spleen, and liver; the latter is torpid; the bowels are confined or they are relaxed with slimy discharges unaccompanied with pain; yet the swollen red tongue indicates the existence of irritation of the mucous membrane of the digestive canal. The pulse is quick and feeble; and the clammy skin, vertigo, debility, headache, and sleeplessness, shew how much the constitution suffers from diminished nervous power. The convalescence is slow, and the treatment requires to be adapted to the enfeebled state of the system." *Letter to the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, London*, 1837.

"It may not be improper to add," says Dr. Malcolmson, "that I have observed the minds also of prisoners confined for long periods, more especially when on a diet they believe to be destructive to their health, to become gloomy or even furious, and disposed to commit every crime."

This is a very unfavourable state of mind for improvement, inasmuch as, whenever punishment has the effect of exciting exasperation and despair in the mind of a criminal, his moral faculties will be closed against every beneficial influence which confinement is intended to produce.

The convicted delinquent has his rights, and it is for the interest of the State that a soldier should not be deprived of them; he is entitled to a wholesome atmosphere, decent clothing, and bedding, together with a diet sufficient in quantity and quality to support his health and strength, and adequate light during day to enable him to read. To render solitary confinement the more irksome, the cell windows are in some of the civil prisons so constructed as to admit a little light, but to exclude the sun-beams. It is in the military prisons alone, as described by Colonel Mc Kinnon, that total darkness reigns. Darkness is a prison punishment in America. The keeper of the Cherry Hill prison, in Philadelphia, is authorised to punish delinquent prisoners by confining them in a dark cell, and depriving them of the consolation of labour. The object of punishment being reformation, upon what principle should a soldier be starved and buried alive? By confining a man in a *black hole*, it may be said, he is forbidden to reform, inasmuch as we deprive him of the means of intellectual and moral improvement which might promote contrition and repentance. Simply to punish, without endeavouring to produce some beneficial alteration in the disposition of the person punished, is little other than an act of retribution or revenge. It cannot be too deeply impressed on the minds of officers that punishment is only allowable as a medium of reformation, the mere vindictive satisfaction of the law being an accumulation of the *evil* of punishment upon the evil of crime without any rational ulterior *object*.

An unvaried diet, or a diet deficient in quantity, or, to be more particular, a diet of bread and water, operates unfavourably to moral improvement and as a means of deterring from misconduct. It is, perhaps, as hurtful upon the intellectual as upon the moral part of the human mind. A soldier who is enduring great privations in regard to food, as a punishment, must be but little disposed to form good resolutions, or to attend to the lessons of discipline. "There can be no doubt," says Dr. Malcolmson, "of the truth of the principle, that no punishment can be just, or in the eye of God lawful, which tends to impair the efficiency, injure the health, and shorten the life, of the soldier; or which produces any effects that cannot be estimated by the judges when they assign a punishment for an offence." Let us recollect, that the soldiers are men of like appetites and passions with ourselves, and let us act towards them according to the dictates of humanity and the lessons of experience. Military law and military usages, when wisely and justly administered, like the law of God, do not "*desire the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live.*" (Ezek. xxxiii. 11.) An adequate quantity of food, sufficiently varied, and exercise, must be allowed to prisoners, if it be intended that they should afterwards be useful to their country or themselves. For the sake of example punishment should be somewhat severe but well regulated, and for the sake of the prisoner, and the interests of the State, the utmost care should be taken, that at the expiration of his confinement he may be liberated with his health and strength unimpaired, and, if possible, with an improved disposition to respect and obey his superiors.

The effects of an insufficient and an unvaried diet should be well considered, before healthy men are limited to bread and water, a restriction which has, in many cases, produced cachectic disease and scurvy in prisoners; and it ought to be recollected, that the constitution may be greatly injured by a too limited or an unvaried diet, long before decided symptoms of scurvy appear. The epidemic which broke out in the Milbank Penitentiary, London, nearly twenty years ago, is a memorable instance of the evils which result from insufficient nutriment.

With regard to the diet of soldiers undergoing punishment, I presume the object is, that they should have enough for nourishment and health, and very little more. How much and what quantity of food will suffice for that purpose has not, hitherto, been correctly ascertained by experiment. There is no universal rule in this respect, for the same quantity and quality of food which may be adequate to sustain the health and strength of one individual may be very inadequate to support another. Practically, however, the principal question seems to be, can animal food be safely excluded from the diet of military prisoners? I have no hesitation in answering this question in the negative. Soldiers have in general been accustomed to a daily allowance of 12 oz. of uncooked animal food, and it will also be recollected that a man who is undergoing punishment is liable to the influence of various debilitating causes, such as the depressing passions, want of exercise, &c. The ultimate intention of confinement being reformation, it is essentially necessary that a prisoner's health and strength should be carefully sustained, with a view to his prospective efficiency as a

soldier. I am disposed, therefore, to conclude that a soldier who is undergoing the sentence of a court-martial in confinement should invariably have a portion of animal food daily. The mean age of soldiers in the Infantry varies from about twenty-six to twenty-nine years, consequently a large portion of the men of each regiment must be under twenty-three years of age. Now every person who has devoted any attention to human physiology must be aware that a growing young man, from seventeen or eighteen years of age to twenty-two, requires, and will consume, more food than a man ten or fifteen years older. The reason is obvious; in a growing youth the progressive development requires to be provided for. Starvation in the early period of life permanently ruins the constitution; consequently I am disposed to suggest that no young soldier,—perhaps I may go still further, and say no soldier,—should be punished by depriving him of much of his usual daily ration of food.

It would be out of place here to dilate further upon the evils of an insufficient and inadequately varied diet, added to confinement, want of exercise, and depressing passions. It is sufficient to state that they are calculated greatly to injure the constitution, and to excite the most formidable diseases, although, from their anomalous character, these often escape detection until too late to be remedied by art. When the health becomes impaired by scanty nourishment, the subsequent addition to the diet may fail to restore it.

Limiting the diet of prisoners to bread and water appears to have been a very ancient mode of punishment by the English. When the famous Joan of Arc was convicted of heresy, the Bishop who passed sentence announced to her that of "grace and moderation" her life should be spared, but that the remainder of it must be passed in prison, "with the bread of grief and the water of anguish for her food." (*Au pain de douleurs et à l'eau d'angoisse.*)

Whatever may be advanced in favour of an extremely limited diet, as a means of reformation and for example in civil life, I am no advocate for its general adoption in the Army. The health and efficiency of the troops is of so much importance to the State, both in a financial and a political point of view, that too much care cannot be taken to prevent soldiers from being exposed to circumstances which may impair their constitutions and disgust them with the Service.

Imprisonment, conducted by either the separate or the solitary system, will, no doubt, tame in some degree the violent passions of some unruly individuals; but it may at the same time paralyze the energies of the mind, and impair the prospective efficiency of a soldier. The "black hole" system, conducted in the way recommended by Colonel M'Kinnon, would in all probability reduce many a mind to a weak, blank, negative condition. Books, together with good counsel, may dispose the mind of a prisoner to form good resolutions; but resolutions which have not been acted upon do not deserve implicit confidence,—reformation may not be the result. It is only by the exercise of subordination, and the practice of correct discipline, that the military virtues can be effectually cultivated. The morality of a prison, where there are no temptations, and where there is an absence of the power and opportunity of doing evil, is compulsory, and must not be depended upon.

There is one consequence of imprisonment which deserves considera-

tion, namely, that the mortality of prisoners is generally greater than that of free people. The loss of liberty, and the humiliation connected with the condemned state, may in part be the cause of the increased mortality. Hitherto, so far as I know, no census of the mortality of military prisoners has been made public. To appreciate the effects of confinement and the privations and sufferings connected with it, the annual proportion of deaths should be compared with the average annual number of soldiers confined in the whole Army. A statement of the mortality of prisoners should form an essential element in the statistics of the Army. In the American prisons it has been found that the mortality which occurs among prisoners confined in a state of complete solitude is more than double that of the mortality which takes place among prisoners who are in a state of solitude at night only.

MORTALITY OF THE AMERICAN PRISONS.

	Solitude at Night. Auburn Plan.										Solitude Day and Night. Pensylvania Plan.	
	New Hampshire.		Vermont.		Wethersfield, Connecticut.		Charlestown, Massachusetts		Asylum, New York.		Philadelphia New Penitentiary.	
Time when.	Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.
1828	..	..	..	2	..	1	290	4	571	9	..	..
1829	48	1	..	..	134	0	262	6	639	5	..	..
1830	54	..	..	1	167	4	290	5	620	18	31	1
1831	82	..	..	..	182	4	256	7	647	14	67	4
1832	89	1	..	1	192	2	227	11	683	12	91	4
1833	87	..	108	1	186	3	250	6	679	11	123	1
1834	86	..	..	1	189	1	277	4	679	11	183	5
1835	90	1	125	2	197	4	279	3	654	10	266	7
1836	82	1	120	2	204	8	278	4	648	18	360	12
1837	72	1	101	2	204	1	284	5	678	19	386	17
1838	73	..	95	1	187	9	302	6	660	15	402	26
1839	78	1	..	..	170	0	309	5	670	10	418	11
1840	81	..	..	..	187	2	320	2	682	14	405	22
1841	81	1	..	..	..	0	326	8	701	9	356	17
	993	7			2,199	38	3,950	76	9,211	175	3,088	127

N.B.—In no one of the prisons on the Auburn plan is the mortality 1 in 50, or 2 per cent.; in the New Penitentiary at Philadelphia it is more than 1 in 25, or more than 4 per cent.

Marking with the Letter D.—On conviction of desertion courts-martial are indirectly enjoined to award, as part of the punishment, that the offender should be marked with the letter D. It was a very general custom in the East to *brand* slaves on the forehead, as being the place most exposed, as well as on other parts of the body, the ultimate object being to distinguish the slaves if they should desert from their masters. For a similar reason it was common to brand soldiers, but with this difference, that while slaves were marked with the name, or some peculiar character, belonging to their master, soldiers

were branded in the hand with the name or character of their General. Roman recruits were branded upon final approval, and after a trial of three or four months.

Branding delinquents at one time entered largely into the English penal statutes. In the reign of Edward VI. a law was made for the punishment of idleness, by which, if a person brought to two Justices of Peace a runagate servant, or any other which lived idly and loiteringly for the space of three days, the said Justices shall cause the said servant or vagabond to be marked with a hot iron on the breast with the letter V (vagabond), and if he absconded for the space of fourteen days two Justices of Peace might order him to be marked on the forehead or the ball of the cheek with the hot iron with the sign of an S (slave), and adjudge him to be a slave to his said master for ever.

In former times branding was not limited by the Articles of War to the male sex. By the garrison regulations of Henry V., it was ordained "That if any common woman presume to come within the King's hoste, or nigh the same, by the space of three miles, if any so be taken to be brent (branded) on the right cheek at the first." If taken *afterwards*, "to be put in the ward of the Marshall, there to remain in prison as long as shall please the Marshall, and to have further punition as by him shall be thought convenient."

By the parliamentary ordinances in the time of Charles I. it is ordained, "If any whores shall be found following the army, if they be married women, and run away from their husbands, they shall be put to death without mercy, and if they be unmarried they shall be first *marked* by the hangman, and thereafter by him scourged out of the army."—*Samuel's Account of the British Army*, p. 93.

Branding in the hand or face was a punishment inflicted for theft and other offences until 1779, and it remained on the statute-book as a punishment for manslaughter till the reign of George IV., when it was entirely abolished. In recent times the iron was frequently not much heated, except in bad cases of manslaughter, when, as only one year's imprisonment could be added, the instrument was sometimes effectually heated. When branding was abolished as a punishment, whipping or imprisonment was substituted. Public whipping has already fallen into disuse, and private whipping is but very rarely practised, except for breaches of prison discipline, and chiefly on juvenile offenders.

During the reign of George I. desertion from the Army was punished by "*stigmatizing in the forehead*, unless the greatness of the number of desertions required some examples for terror of others, in which case they ordinarily threw the dice, and those alone upon whom the exterminating lot doth fall are hanged or shot to death. But in cases of reiterating the crime all deserters now-a-days are to die without mercy." —*Bruce's Institutions, &c.*, 1717.

Branding is now, I believe, rarely used as a punishment, except in China. In America it is much employed to mark slaves. We learn from Prince Oscar that, to the honour of Sweden, branding and several other barbarous punishments were never used in that country.

Branding deserters from the Army is, so far as I know, peculiar as a punishment to the United Kingdom. I do not know that it was ever adopted in France. During the old régime the crime of desertion was punished by slitting the nose, a punishment which was changed to that

of death without being more effectual,—a proof, says Mountesquieu, that the fear of even capital punishment is not a more powerful preventive of crime than less severe inflictions. I do not think branding was ever employed as a punishment in the British Navy.

The mode of inflicting this punishment is by a species of *tattooing*, which is performed in the following manner:—A mark of the letter D having been traced on the left side, two inches below the armpit, such letter being not less than an inch long, the skin is then pierced so as to draw blood, commonly with a small bundle of common sewing-needles, along the tracing of the letter; after which operation gunpowder is well rubbed upon the wounds, for the purpose of rendering the mark visible and conspicuous, and not liable to be obliterated. The *rationale* of the process is this:—The charcoal of the gunpowder being forced into the small orifices made by the needles, remains in the skin without festering after the wounds have been healed, and in consequence of the black colour of the charcoal, the letter D is visible. As it is usually performed, the mark presents but an imperfect specimen of tattooing, the orifices made by the needles being too small to admit the requite quantity of colouring matter. A shark's tooth is considered a good instrument for this operation, the cutting edge being angular and serrated. A saddler's needle, which is three-sided, is better adapted for tattooing than a round or common sewing needle. A piece of charcoal, rubbed upon a stone with a little water or lamp-black, so as to produce a thick liquid, is a much better colouring substance than gunpowder.

A circular has lately been issued from the Horse Guards, directing that the marking of deserters shall hereafter be performed in a uniform manner throughout the Army, by means of an instrument recently invented. This is made of brass, shaped at the end into the form of the letter D, from the outline of which is protruded, by means of a spring, a series of needle points, the length of which may be increased or diminished by turning a screw at the end of the handle of the instrument. By pulling back this nut, after the points are regulated, they recede into the box, when the instrument may be considered charged. A slight pressure on a small brass lever delivers the needle points, inflicting a puncture on the skin the exact shape of the instrument. These punctures, on being rubbed with a marking fluid, composed of a quarter of a pound of pulverised indigo, two sticks of Indian ink, and enough of water to render it liquid, leave an indelible mark of the letter D upon the arm or hand of the deserter. This punishment is only to be administered on parade, in the presence of the men; in the cavalry by the Trumpet-Major, in the infantry by the Drum-Major, and in rifle and light infantry corps by the Bugle-Major, who are to be instructed by the medical officer how to apply the instrument. It is, moreover, only to be inflicted in the presence of the Surgeon. The special duty assigned to a medical officer in the execution of the sentence of branding or marking a delinquent, is neither of a medical nor a surgical character, it being merely to instruct the Drum-Major how to apply the instrument. The machinery and mode of application of this instrument is, however, so simple, that few Drum-Majors will require any instruction. If marking deserters is considered indispensable, there is no possible means by which it can be accomplished with less pain and more certainty.

The mark inflicted by branding with a hot iron would not be so conspicuous as the mark by tattooing, and consequently it would be a less infamous punishment. Any indelible stigma or brand of infamy is a fearful punishment. For one thing, the infliction is completely irremissable; it cannot be removed by repentance, nor by any given period of good conduct. The great object of punishment being the reformation of an offender, it is very desirable that inflictions should be as much as possible exempt from that vindictive spirit which obstructs the exercise of mercy. A branded man may say, in the language of Cain, Henceforth "I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth." A soldier after being marked has no encouragement to mend, no inducement to do good, no incentive to subordination; his good actions are liable to pass unheeded, while his irregularities are readily noticed and rigidly punished. Branding will never urge men to reformation, it being much more likely to increase disobedience and discontent, and to drive them to acts of desperation. A soldier who is branded, has an insuperable bar set against him in the minds of his superiors; he can never hope to obtain their confidence, and hence one of the strongest encouragements to obedience is removed. Branding has been recommended to be extended to other crimes than desertion, on the principle that no punishment is more generally dreaded. (*Appendix to Report on Military Punishments*, pp. 82—91.) I am of a very different opinion, believing as I do that branding is the most vindictive and least reforming of all military punishments. Indeed, I think it is not a little degrading to the Army to retain a branded soldier in the ranks, the original use of branding being to distinguish runaway bondmen or slaves. Desertion will never be effectually prevented but by inducing men to like the Service, to prefer it indeed to other employments. If a man is dissatisfied with the Army, he may at any time desert in this country, and hope will tell him he may do so with many chances in his favour that he will escape being re-taken, and found again fit for service.

To brand a soldier, and then to discharge him from the Service, is to turn a man adrift in the world with greatly impaired means of earning an honest livelihood. Hunger urges its victims to follow dishonest courses, and what else can be expected from a branded and discharged soldier? It is the common misfortune of public punishments that they preclude the offender from all honest means of future support. Newgate thieves have been known to say, "We do not thieve from disposition, but we thieve because we cannot get employment. Our character is damned, and nobody would have us;" and so it is. Branding on the left cheek was employed as a punishment about the commencement of the last century, but it was found by experience that this infliction had not the desired effect of deterring such offenders from the committing of crimes and offences, but, on the contrary, *being rendered thereby unfit to be intrusted in any honest and lawful way, they became the more desperate.* The Act, according to which this punishment was inflicted, was repealed in the reign of Queen Anne.

I am aware that the usual apology or reason which is given for branding men who are discharged as being considered incorrigible, is to prevent their re-admission into the Army should they again enlist. This, however, will only apply to men who may be discharged under

the period of life when recruits are admitted into the Service. To brand men, therefore, who have reached twenty-six years of age, must in a great degree be a measure of vindictive retribution, not a medium of reformation or moral improvement. The man is stigmatised and degraded—and for what purpose? Certainly not for promoting his amendment, or for rendering him more subordinate. The question to be investigated in regard to this punishment is not merely how little a man is injured by it, but what benefit is likely to be derived from its infliction—to himself or to the country.

Courts-martial sometimes not only sentence men to be branded who are much more advanced in life than the age when recruits may be received into the Service, but they also sentence them to be branded a second time, and subsequently transported. Soldiers who have been transported are not likely to re-enter the Service surreptitiously, and consequently the reason alleged for branding men is fallacious. Branding is a relic of bad times, and carries something revolting to humanity along with it. To render a fellow creature the object of scorn has a tendency to harden him to vice, by rendering his return to self-esteem and the respect of his superiors almost an impossibility.

Discharged with ignominy.—The ceremony which takes place on discharging a soldier with ignominy, is conducted as follows. The regiment being assembled on parade, and the man about to be discharged brought forward, the several crimes and irregularities of which he has been guilty are recapitulated, and the order for his dismissal read, together with his discharge, in which is notified his ignominious and disgraceful conduct, the buttons, facings, lace, and any other distinctions, are then stripped from his clothing; he is marched down the ranks, and trumpeted or drummed, as the case may be, out of the barracks or quarters of the corps. It is directed by the Articles of War that "the names of all soldiers who have been dismissed with disgrace, or who have forfeited their pension owing to misconduct, shall be notified to the parishes to which they belong, such notification being affixed on the outside of the door of the church or chapel on the Sunday next succeeding the receipt of the notification." By this means a large portion of the disgrace inflicted on a soldier falls on his family and connexions. The innocent may consequently suffer more than the guilty; a result which is certainly not intended. Formerly, when a soldier was dismissed with ignominy, he was escorted, with a halter round his neck, by the drummers of the regiment, with a written label, containing the particulars of his crime, through the streets of the camp or garrison, and dismissed with a kick from the youngest drummer. I have seen a man flogged, and immediately after dismissed in this manner.

The discharging of a soldier, either with or without ignominy, is equally well adapted for the purpose of getting rid of an offender, which is commonly the principal object of this mode of punishment. It may be doubted whether discharging with ignominy possesses much of the deterring principle, as military people know well, that a discharge of this kind, like a sentence of transportation, has been often courted. The moral pain, when there is any pain arising from the ignominious ceremony, is commonly of a very temporary character, a circumstance which is partly caused by the sympathy of the spectators.

When Dumouriez was retreating before the army of the Duke of

Brunswick, in 1792, he adopted an unusual, if not a novel plan of punishing fugitives; he stripped them of their uniform, caused their eyebrows and heads to be shaved, and dismissed them with ignominy as cowards, which example, it is alleged, produced a very beneficial effect.

In the foregoing sketch, my principal object has been to describe the various punishments which have been employed in the armed force of this country, together with an account of the meliorations that have taken place in the administration of the Articles of War, with cursory remarks on the evils which result from an abuse of the penalties of military law and military usages, leaving the means of preventing these evils to the consideration of those in authority, whose duty it is to superintend the recruiting, the discipline, the efficiency, and the general welfare of the defenders of the State.

Abuse is an element which enters into all laws and regulations, and in proportion as laws and usages are liable to be misused under an average administration, they are unsuitable or inadequate for their object, and fail in effecting the ultimate end of punishments—reformation and prevention; in the Army—OBEDIENCE.

THE SWEDISH NAVY.

BY THE AUTHOR OF PAPERS ON THE RUSSIAN ARMY.

LET us then, in a few words, examine the maritime condition of the independent kingdom of Sweden; and next the character and disposition of the inhabitants of the now Russian Grand Duchy of Finland. Sweden has always, on account of her extensive coast and vast inland navigation, furnished, as she does now, bold and skilful sailors; albeit, their history is more crowded with accounts of desperate and daring achievements, than successes. Were she a wealthy country like England or Holland, with this main requisite she would soon possess navies; but being peculiarly poor and destitute of material revenues, it would be difficult for her to fit out efficient fleets within a given space of time.

Not that any one denies that she should have a navy; but in their partisanship in favour of what they call a great or little navy, statesmen, politicians, and electors, are divided into two camps. "Let us have ships of the line and frigates as we had formerly; let us commission those rotting in the docks, and build new ones," say those who advocate the "great navy system." "We cannot afford," observe their adversaries, "to keep more than five or six ships in commission, and we have more ships built than we can employ; such a fleet would be impotent, both for purposes of aggression and defence, and therefore let us content ourselves with a large fleet of gun-boats, which, favoured by the peculiar nature of our coast, will perfectly answer all purposes of defence."

Meanwhile, however, the maritime power of Sweden is limited to a small fleet of gun-boats, or row-galleys, mounted with a large
to a fleet of the best-constructed vessels in the world, bui

scientific plans of the English Chapman,—the most perfect of all shipwrights,—who, exiled from his own country by the want of appreciation of his talents, found in the encouragement of penurious Sweden a home, a fortune, and a Barony. Most of these vessels are decaying in idleness, in the harbour of Carlscrona, and Swedish naval officers seek daily for service in the English navy, to obtain a knowledge of naval tactics.

With regard to Finland,—the only mine for sailors in the Russian Empire,—torn by fraud and treachery from the parent state of Sweden, to the mutual regret of the Finnish and Swedish people, it was at first appeased by promises of a constitution from the Emperor Alexander, who seized it without the shadow of a claim, excepting that of force,—then treated with gentleness; it is now fast sinking into one of the *many Polands* which groan beneath the Russian despotism,—but one whose sufferings and claims on our sympathy have been unheeded in that system of philanthropy which has no attention or pity to bestow on any but what a French writer untranslateably terms "*grandes infortunes.*"

There is, however, no portion of the Russian Empire more worthy of our attention, in the event of a collision, not only for the reasons we have named, but because this vast province extends up to the gates of St. Petersburg,—because its population is anti-Russian,—because its wealth, cities, fortifications, roads, and lines of communication, all lie parallel with a coast which extends many hundreds of miles, and because here a limb of the Russian power may be cut through in innumerable places, like the body of a snake, and the very existence of its northern capital menaced, or its prosperity compromised, by efforts comparatively trifling. Finland, or Fenland (Suomi, as in the language of its inhabitants it is called,) is remarkable both for its extent—the picturesque character of its wild scenery—and its peculiar and primitive population. The Finns are probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the northern part of Europe, driven to its most inhospitable extremities, by the eruptions of Teutons, Goths, Scandinavians, and Sclavonians. Many branches of the venerable Finnish tree have been dissevered and scattered wide from the parent stem; and although these offshoots—divided into small or insignificant tribes—have retained much of their nationality, it has only been preserved entire by that portion of this ancient family, which is recorded to have been already in possession of Finland before the birth of Christ. Towards the extreme north, where the human race, like the productions of the vegetable kingdom, becomes stunted in its growth, the Finns have degenerated into Laplanders and Samoieds, both people whose languages (dialects of the Finnish,) attest a common origin. This language, soft, rich, figurative, and resembling no other known tongue, has led to the discovery of many of these dispersed branches, scattered far from each other over the surface of Muscovy and Siberia—all inconsiderable in numbers—and none having the importance of the pure Finnish race, which constitutes alone a people of more than a million and a half, whilst the other twenty-seven tribes of Finnish descent, do not collectively number two millions.

The Finnish people, which has always been remarkable for the intelligence of its individual members, and for

the exemplary harmony which has united them, singularly enough appears to have remained stationary, without showing in the annals of its history one solitary phase of a more brilliant destiny, as during the same period we may retrace in the past of every surrounding people. During two thousand years that it is recorded to have been in possession of the vast extent of mountains, forests, rocks, and lakes, to which it has given the name of Finland, we can find no account of the Finns having ever endeavoured to overrun their neighbours, or extend their territory. This want of national ambition and enterprise, is difficult to account for in a brave and hardy people, if we do not seek for a solution in the individual character of the Finns of the present day, which one may presume, like their language, to have altered little from that of their forefathers; courageous, enduring, but simple and honest, they are essentially a *contented people*.

Although long incorporated with the Swedish crown, its government of this country was so mild, their privileges so extensive, that this union was only productive of attachment and regard towards Sweden, and when forcibly separated from their adoptive mother, the Finns proved as faithful as the subjects of her native provinces, and have continued to entertain towards her feelings of filial affection. Whoever will take the trouble to peruse the campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus, at the glorious commencement of the Thirty Years' War, will find the Finnish regiments considered as the most trusty in his army—the Finnish sailors some of the most active of his fleet. Whoever now traverses Finland will find, in the eagerness with which its inhabitants cling to Swedish institutions, manners, and usages, and in their veneration for the Swedish name, ample evidence of their predilection for a nation which they are still taught from their childhood to look up to, and the most glorious recollections of whose history they have learned to associate with their own.

The Swedish language may be said to have become almost a national tongue in Finland, spoken as it is by all the higher and middle classes, of which a large portion is of Swedish descent, and generally understood in the towns, along the high roads, and by the better order of farmers. Twenty miles from St. Petersburg, and consequently more than seven hundred miles from the frontiers of Sweden, the Swedish is more generally spoken in the villages than the Russian language, though this territory has been in possession of the Russians for a hundred and forty years, and though thousands of the Finns come as sledge-drivers to earn, during the winter months, a few rubles in the great city. If it were not for this intercourse, to which their poverty obliges them, it is doubtful whether, even in the immediate vicinity of the capital of Russia, (which formerly stood on Finnish ground,) a single peasant would be found to learn the language of his masters, although this language differs from his own no more than the Swedish, of which, useless as it is to him, he takes a pride in speaking a few words, if he can master no more. Both the Russian and Swedish tongues differ radically from his own.

Finland is still governed by the Swedish laws; its modern literature is entirely Swedish, and until very lately the studies of those destined for the bar or the pulpit were gone through in the same language.

This country, the whole of which, together with the islands of the Gulf of Bothnia, is now in possession of Russia, may be computed to cover an area of about a hundred and twenty thousand square miles, with a population of one million four hundred thousand souls. Its inhabitants entertain a marked antipathy to the Russians, but this aversion had until lately not been occasioned by the harshness of their treatment by the Russian Government, whose policy has been to conciliate the population of the newly acquired principality, but has rather arisen from their attachment to Sweden, and a traditional feeling of hostility to the Muscovites, who formerly cruelly ravaged their territory on many occasions; the Cossacs, in the reign of Peter the Great, having even devastated the country as far as Vasa on the Gulf of Bothnia, the western extremity of Finland.

Few of our readers are probably ignorant that Finland was forcibly seized by the Emperor Alexander in 1808, when, suddenly declaring war on Sweden, on the pretext of forcing her to join the coalition against England, he marched his armies into this portion of her territory, and in the course of the same year annexed these provinces by ukase to his own empire. An interesting history of this was published in Stockholm, by Colonel Montgomery, which brings to light many curious facts relative to this transaction, and shows the profound duplicity and treachery of the Russian Emperor. He cites the authority of a nobleman who was then Swedish ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg, to prove the amity and good understanding on which the cabinets of Stockholm and St. Petersburg had previously been, and to show how the former was lulled into security by the assurances of Alexander, who, whilst his troops were invading Finland, declared to this diplomatist, with tears in his eyes, that he was forced by circumstances (*i. e.*, the fear of Napoleon) to act as he did, but pledged himself *not to retain a single village of Finland.* The inadequate Swedish force then occupying this vast territory behaved with characteristic gallantry; but left without stores, provisions, and reinforcements, the country was wrested from them. The treachery of the Swedish leaders, who belonged to its proverbially corrupt and turbulent nobility, was attributable in some instances to the direct influence of Russian gold, in others to their feeling of personal hostility to the reigning monarch, which they sought to gratify at the expense of their country; and they succeeded in doing so, losing Finland, and making the national irritation consequent on this loss the means of his dethronement.

In this war the Finns, by the active part they took in it, showed that they considered themselves as integrally a part of the kingdom of Sweden; a sentiment which has outlived all the efforts made by their new masters to conciliate them. These efforts were proportionate to the value of an acquisition of which the tenure would have been so uncertain if the national hatred had been aroused, and an acquisition which to Russia was of such vast importance, giving her, as it did, such an immense extent of coast along the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, and inclosing the latter thus entirely within subject shores. The commercial capabilities of this country and its numerous and hardy seamen, combined to render peculiarly valuable to Russia this new territory, the conquest of which carried her frontier almost to the gates of Stockholm.

Previous to its conquest, Finland had been governed by its own fundamental laws, and enjoyed the benefit of a representative government, which, however incomplete, sufficed for a people contented with so much political liberty as insured their civil freedom. The Emperor Alexander, after the cession of the conquered territory, guaranteed to the Finns the integrity of their fundamental laws and constitution, in a proclamation dated the 27th of March, 1810. This assurance, which on his accession was repeated by the Emperor Nicholas, proved, however, as illusory as the constitution given by the former to Poland; for since 1809 no Finnish diet has ever been assembled. On the other hand, Finland was carefully exempted from the taxes and vexations which render the Russian rule so harsh to its own subjects. The ports of Finland may have been considered as free, so trifling were the duties on all imports, and the country suffered comparatively little from police tyranny and exactions. This policy was still, until very recently, pursued by the Emperor Nicholas; but, in addition to it, he resolved to gain over the aristocracy of Finland by inducing them by every means to enter his service; and whilst he employed them in other parts of the empire, rewarded them with the utmost munificence. He thus taught the higher and middle classes to look forward to Russia, and to separate in feeling from the rest of their countrymen.

Alarmed at the Swedish spirit which had outlived so many years of separation, and which in case of war was so dangerous to the security of these provinces, he appears to have conceived the idea of invoking a national Finnish spirit to neutralize it, fully aware that the isolated nationality of Finland would grow feeble in comparison to its attachment to the adjacent kingdom. The cultivation of the Finnish language and the old Finnish poetry, was warmly encouraged, as well as all recurrence to the dim and remote recollections of its independent history, and in all its modern literature one can discern that those who write in the spirit of the government are careful to separate the Swedish from the Finnish; those who are not prepared to do so, on account of the severe censorship, do not write at all. Though the deprivation of their representative form of Government was severely felt by such of the higher and middle classes as were not seduced by the Imperial liberality, the mildness and gentleness of the Russian rule, so different from its harsh and oppressive character within the precincts of Russia Proper, or, in fact, wherever its dominion was firmly established, tended nevertheless to soothe the Finnish people, and to conduce, together with the long peace, to a high degree of material prosperity. No part of the Imperial dominions are, as compared to its former state, in a more flourishing condition than the grand duchy of Finland; and it may still further be asserted, that since Russia has taken possession of it, it has been a very happy country. Its trade has increased, its cities have been enlarged, its soil better cultivated, the higher classes have grown wealthy in the Russian service, and the middling affluent by commerce. But it must be remembered that these results have been produced precisely because Russia has governed this country in a manner diametrically opposite to the system pursued in every other part of the empire, which she never fails to introduce wherever she thinks her power sufficiently consoli-

dated. Unhappily for Finland the Russian Government seems to think this period arrived; a great increase of duties has taken place, the study of the Russian language is enforced, the tyrannical police becoming every day more oppressive, utter silence is enjoined on the press, freedom of speech is banished, and it is fast sinking into a ukase-governed satrapy. Either success or the natural impatience of his temper have in this instance (skilful politician as he has always shown himself on other occasions) caused the Emperor Nicholas to mar his own policy, and these first false steps have indisposed already the great bulk of the people, and done what such unremitting efforts had been made to prevent.

The Finns, who have always been a free, though not an independent people, are not likely tamely to submit to this treatment; the terrors which they entertained on their first conquest, and which the moderation of Russia during thirty years had almost lulled to sleep, have been again aroused, and more than aroused, for they are being realized. That fidelity, the national boast of the Finns, which, unlike most other national self-attributes, is not an imaginary characteristic, and which arose from the grateful recollection of past benefits received, might in a few more years of lenient government have been gradually transferred from Sweden to Russia. If the moral and religious differences between the Finn and the Muscovite would never have allowed the former any sympathy with the latter, he might still, unambitious as he is of national independence, have become faithfully attached to a government which allowed him the exercise of all the rights of which he was desirous, and which protected him in the enjoyment of them. This feeling is now out of the question, and the Finnish people, too feeble to offer any resistance, may endure without a murmur the tyranny of Russia; but in the event of a war the whole of their country may be easily roused against her, and a naval power might readily make use both of the feeling which pervades the inhabitants of this vast province and of the national temper of Sweden, which is marked by an intense and increasing irritation on the subject of the cession of these provinces to Russia, to effect the recovery of them, and in the prosecution of this scheme may count on finding the partiality and hope with which the Finns regarded Sweden for so many years, and which lived through the prosperous period of their separation from it, undiminished in their adversity. Finland, with its lakes, rocks, and forests, extends almost up to St. Petersburg. The richest part of it, with all its strongholds and lines of military communication, stretches along the coast, and therefore a hostile power whose naval supremacy was undisputed could, by a descent on any part of it, interrupt the circulation of the Russian force along these lines, and facilitate the re-occupation of the whole country by a Swedish army, to favour which the great mass of the population would at once rise up. All the natural obstacles which this country offers to the progress of an invader, and which would be much greater if it were not so poor, in the event of an invasion of Finland, would be turned against the Russians, from the fact of the unfriendly feeling she has excited amongst its population. The Finnish nobility, which it is true has generally been gained over to the Russian interest, might partly adhere to it, all other classes would delight in any prospect of freeing

themselves from the Russian yoke; and, amongst the middle classes, those who have the most influence over the peasantry, the Lutheran clergy will always perpetuate this hostile feeling, and when the opportune moment is arrived, join in any demonstration of it. Finland, therefore, which in certain cases adds so much to the power of Russia, and which, if she could depend upon its population, would prove so important as a maritime possession, in case of war with Great Britain, the only nation which can possibly undertake an aggressive warfare against her, in that event becomes an ulcerated limb of her vast body, and proves along her northern frontier the same thorn in her side which Poland does towards her centre and the Caucasian provinces on the southern extremity of her empire.

Finland is an exceedingly poor country, checquered with lakes and inland waters; the soil is either sandy, or covered with broken rocks of red granite in those parts which are not wholly stony. The barrenness of the ground seems to have discouraged the agriculturist, and the sterility of his fields, joined to their negligent cultivation, is everywhere apparent in the slovenly tillage and the miserable crops of rye. A few districts of bog land which admit of draining, and which have found cultivators with sufficient capital and enterprise to undertake it in the village clergymen, form occasional exceptions to this uninviting picture. Some parts of the country are covered with large forests of the white and red fir. It is crossed in every direction by streams and rivers, on many of which the timber exported is floated down to the sea, but which form cascades and waterfalls amongst the rocks, which prevents them from being otherwise navigable. The falls of Imatra are, perhaps, the finest in Europe, and if the mass of water poured down is less than at those of the Trollhätten, in Sweden, they are far more beautiful than the latter. The whole southern coast of Finland is divided from the open sea by an archipelago of thousands of island rocks, of various dimensions, some wooded, and some inhabited by fishermen, whose occupation upon the inland waters also furnishes the population with a large share of its subsistence. Many parts of Finland are very picturesque, though the eye becomes soon tired of the monotony of red granite rocks and dark fir woods, unrelieved by the more sublime or softer features of the landscape. This is, however, not universally the case; for, even in following the coast of the Gulf of Finland, which may be accounted the richest and most densely peopled part of the country, and in which the principal towns are situated, large tracts present the most desolate aspect imaginable; and, as we advance towards St. Petersburg, the last two hundred miles of the road show us only the bare rocky or sandy surface, and low stony hills, on which the trees, which seem scarcely able to suck sufficient nourishment from the soil to maintain vitality, are thinly scattered. The western part is the least barren, and has most of a Swedish appearance. The towns, which are built of brick or stone, are neat and cleanly; but Abo, the most populous, only contains thirteen thousand inhabitants, and Helsingfors, the most flourishing and the handsomest in Finland, little more than ten thousand. The latter city contains some fine modern buildings and a large unfinished cathedral, the architecture of which does not do justice to the fine and abundant material employed in its construction, and which strikes the spectator as being

placed to crown the summit of a stupendous flight of steps, which lead up to it from the great square. The greater part of the inhabitants of the towns are of Swedish descent, or of mixed Swedish and Finnish blood; and, wherever this is the case, present to our view a handsome and vigorous-looking race. We cannot say as much for the pure Finn, —high cheek-bones, elongated features, pointed chin, and a spare, thin figure, generally characterize his make; his eyes are of a light gray or blue, his hair and skin of the same sandy hue, and his beard, which he allows to grow, generally consists of a few hairs, thinly scattered on his chin, reminding us strikingly of the trees and bushes so sparingly sprinkled over the barren ground in so many parts of his country. His costume is the sheep-skin, with the wool turned inwards, and a peculiar wolf-skin cap, in winter; in summer, a coarse gray homespun woollen stuff, and a round felt hat with broad buckle. The peasantry inhabit cottages built of logs, and which are either isolated or collected together in villages. Although stone is everywhere in abundance, only the church is usually built of it, and sometimes the pastor's house. The former is roofed with small pieces of wood, cut like tiles, and smeared with tar; the steeple and belfry rise up separately in the churchyard, and always in the vicinity of the church itself is a sort of caravanserai, in which the congregation, who come immense distances to their place of worship, put up their horses and sledges. The Finnish peasants are not always the proprietors of the cottage or land they occupy, but often hold it from the landlord by a peculiar tenure, which obliges them, instead of paying rent in money or in kind, to devote to his service so many days' labour of man and horse during the year.

In character the Finn is brave, honest, patient, and frugal, but somewhat indolent. His natural probity is still further increased by his attachment to his faith, which is the Lutheran, and he is exceedingly valuable as a subject to a warlike government, from the peculiarity which distinguishes him of being applicable to any branch of the service. Accustomed to boating on the sea or on his lakes, and to the care of the horse, in which he takes great pride, he is equally fit for the infantry, cavalry, or navy.

The clergy, who go through their studies in the Finnish, Swedish, and German languages, are commonly well-educated men, contented with their moderate stipends. The simplicity of their lives and their attention to their duties, secures them the attachment and veneration of their flock, who habitually seek their advice in all domestic affairs, and resort to their arbitration in all cases of litigation.

If we except the inhabitants of a few Finnish villages within the government of St. Petersburg, which having fallen within the pale of the Russian Empire at a very early period were reduced to servage, it is surprising how little the constant contact with Russia and Russians has altered the Finnish character, even in those free villages which are situated in the vicinity of the metropolis, and which draw their subsistence from it, by sending thither their fish and dairy produce. The nobility of Finland also unfortunately proves an exception to this rule. Selected for offices of trust by the Russian Government, with the double view of gaining them over to its interests, and securing the services of public servants whose probity rendered them valuable in the vast sink of the Russian administration, so far from operating favourably

on its corruption, they have become themselves perverted and corrupted.

For many years past a considerable contraband trade with St. Petersburg has been carried on by the Finns, all foreign articles being only subject to a nominal duty in Finland, and to a very heavy one in passing the border of Russia Proper. It is principally carried on in sledges across the Gulf of Finland, and the small and active horses bred in the country, which are harnessed to them by the smugglers, are very fast trotters, and are sometimes purchased at high prices for this purpose.

As long as the Russian rule continued mild and indulgent in Finland, its inhabitants seem not very acutely to have felt the virtual suppression of the representative form of government, so solemnly guaranteed to them, both by the last and by the present Emperor. As the gripe of the Tsar tightened on their provinces, they became, however, more fully sensible of the injustice committed towards them, and of the importance of those rights which the Autocrat faithlessly withheld, and when beginning to writhe under the oppression, became sensitively alive to the value of the means of relief which had been ravished from them.

The severity of the secret police soon rendered it, however, dangerous to canvass the subject of these wrongs, which the Finns are now driven to brood over in silence. A pamphlet has been recently published in Stockholm by an exiled Finn, obliged to fly the country for having taken up the subject. It gives a full account of the claims of Finland to a constitutional form of government, and one may judge from the mild tone of expostulation in which the author writes now that he is hopelessly exiled from his native land, and beyond the reach of Russia, how gentle must have been his remonstrances when still within the precincts of the Russian Empire, and when still restrained by hope and fear. This pamphlet is also remarkable from the fact that its publication in Prussia has been forbidden by the Prussian censorship, without the suppression of so many passages as would have rendered it absurd to publish the work at all. The exceeding moderation which pervades its pages would render it not very difficult to point out many political writings of which the Prussian censorship has allowed the publication, though more hostile to its own Government than the pamphlets in question are to that of Russia,—thus proving a curious illustration of the influence which the Cabinet of St. Petersburg exercises over that of Berlin, and of which the Prussian League for the exclusion of British manufactured goods proves a much more serious example.

THE UNITED SERVICES.

THE COCKPIT DUEL.

"He's truly valiant, that can wisely suffer
The worst that man can breathe."
"If wrongs be evils, and enforce us kill,
What folly 'tis to hazard life for ill."—SHAKSPEARE.

ONE evening, shortly after the death of Capt. Stackpoole of the Statira frigate, who fell in a duel with Lieut. Cecil of the Argo, at Jamaica, the affair was brought forward, as a subject for discussion, on the forecastle of a fine eight-and-thirty in which I was serving, and remarks were made that did great credit to the hearts of the honest fellows who felt keenly the loss of a brave man through a delicate point of false honour, and which might have been easily arranged to the satisfaction of all parties had any judicious person been at hand.

The facts were briefly these; two officers of the Statira informed Captain Stackpoole, that Mr. Cecil "had declared in their presence, that he (Capt. S.) never spoke the truth." Four years elapsed from the alleged utterance of these words, and the meeting of the Captain and Lieutenant at Jamaica. The former sent his First Lieutenant with a message, demanding to know whether Cecil "had used such language, and if he had, it was impossible for both of them to exist in the same world together, for he should require satisfaction."

Now what could a man, situated as Lieutenant Cecil was, do under such circumstances? The question was accompanied with threats that in the first instance should have been spared; besides coming from the quarter that it did, more might be implied than met the ear, for Capt. Stackpoole was known to be a "dead shot," and, therefore, the avoiding of a meeting might be construed into cowardice. Cecil persisted that, "as far as he could recollect, he had never said anything of the kind; but as he might have made use of the words, he would not deny them."

Captain Stackpoole required a positive denial in writing, or to meet him the next morning with pistols, and the second having thus far delivered himself of his errand, asked Mr. Cecil "if there was anything he could say to the Captain, which might induce the latter to accept an apology."

To this Cecil replied, that "the message he had first received put it entirely out of his power to apologize—he much regretted that it had not been required at the outset, but now his only alternative was to give Capt. S. the meeting he demanded."

Thus terminated preliminaries, and Cecil, being well acquainted with the Captain's skill as a marksman, prepared himself, as a brave man ought to do, to meet the death which appeared to be inevitable. He had scarcely ever fired a pistol in his life, and consequently, had never practised as his antagonist had done, for I have heard it said, that the latter could throw a half crown in the air and hit it as it was falling—so much for equality.

About five o'clock (soon after daylight) on the succeeding morning the hostile parties met—took their ground at ten paces, and fired as nearly as possible at the same moment—Cecil who had bade adieu to

the world stood erect uninjured—Stackpoole was a corpse upon the ground—he expired without uttering a word, or even a groan—the ball of his adversary had entered his right arm a little above the wrist, glanced off through his side, fracturing a rib, passed into the lungs, and life was almost instantly extinct.

"I never liked your 'long shore duels," said the Captain of the Forecastle, after the foregoing particulars had been related; "there's never nothing like fair play in 'em as there is in being nailed down by the slack of your trowsers abaft, athwart a sea-chest, or the heel of a spare top-mast."

"Right, Jem," assented an old Quarter-master; "besides pistol balls were moulded for the enemy, and not for countryman to let fly at countryman."

"Talking about duels," said the Boatswain's-mate, "puts me in mind of one as happened among the midshipmen of a line-of-battle ship I belonged to, and if you like, messmates, I'll just overhaul it to you."

A ready assent was yielded to this proposal, and Tom Whistler, after a short preface, related the following particulars, which I shall give in his own particular idiom.

They were rather a skylarking, randomish, set of blades, were the midshipmen in that ship, as, messmates, you know most young genelmen are—and as full of tricks as Saint Jago's is of monkeys. We were fitting out in port, and had just got the rigging over the lower-mast-heads, and there was only two of the Lieutenants had joined, so in course there was plenty for 'em to do 'pon deck without troubling themselves with looking out after the youngsters below, though they kept them pretty taut at boat and dock-yard duty too. Well, one day it was raining heavy, and the hands were principally working under cover on the main-deck, and I was down in the after cock-pit getting the tiers cleared out for the cables as were expected to come alongside. The young genelmen were all on 'em on the mischievous lay, skulking about and tormenting each other, and one of 'em hauls up close to me and says,—

"Tom, we're going to have a bit of fun with Mr. Moodie," says he, "for he's ownly a know-nothing, and is always boasting of his grandfather, Lord somebody or other, and his uncle the Baronet, and his uncle the Bishop."

"And why not, Mr. Quinton?" says I, as I went on with my work, "if so be as he's got rich and titled relatives, there's never no harm in being proud of 'em as long as they desarve it, and I hopes they will be able by-and-by to think as much of him."

"Oh, but it isn't altogether that, Tom!" says the young officer, "but he is so proud hisself though he is as poor as a rat in a miser's kitchen."

"As to his being poor," says I, "that's no fault of his, Mr. Quinton, and I don't never like to see any one onbraided or punished for his misfortins."

"But then," says the youngster, "he sails so large in his talk about his courage, and what he'd do if anybody was to insult him, so that they are going to put his bravery to the proof. Hark, Tom, don't you hear them?"

"Why yes, it's plain enough to hear 'em, Mr. Quinton," says I, "but I'm thinking it's hardly fair for all hands to be badger-baiting a young officer as has just joined, and never was at sea afore;" for d'ye see, messmates, it was always a constant practice, when any midshipman came aboard as was a greenhorn, and had never dipped his hands in salt water, to play him all manner of tricks, and they were like young devils as to which could torment him most. Now, Mr. Moodie was a youth of good connexions, and hailed his relations with long handles to their names; but his own father was a poor man with a large family, his mother having displeased her parents by making a love-match—and I say, messmates, what's the use of getting spliced unless love twists the strands? To be sure a cargo of shiners goes a great way in the regard of hoisting aboard the pleasures of life, such as grog and 'bacca and what not, but money can't clap a purchase on the heart to bowse out its dear affections, as most on you knows. So Mr. Moodie's mother took to loving one of your 'long-shore craft as they calls a poet and wrote books, and her friends tried to make 'em part company—not because he had an ugly figure-head, or was out of trim in his bearings, for he was a fine handsome fellow, and talked all sorts of verses like an angel—nor could they log anything down again him in regard of his carackter, for he was as steady and well-behaved as a first-rate Bishop; but then, d'ye see, messmates, he was poor. Howsomever, all her family could do, they couldn't put her out of conceit of him, and so they got clandexterously married, which, as soon as it was found out, got her discharged from the family muster-book, and she was cast adrift to seek her fortune. Still she was happy with her husband, and he was happy with her; so that they were both happy together, and cared nothing for the breezes of the world, blow high, blow low. He sarved out his verses and his poems—nothing equal to Dibdin's though—and she played 'em off on the penny-forty—a rum name for music, messmates—and so they lived like a couple of turtle-doves. But by-and-by there was a youngster launched into life, and in due course of time another, and so they went on, whilst, as ill luck would have it, an opposition poet starts up, and the world, as it always does, throwing overboard all thoughts of past sarvices, runs down Mr. Moodie, and hoists the t'other over his head. Well, the long and the short of it is, messmates, that as the book-building consarn failed, they slipped their moorings, and dropped down the stream of poverty, for none of the nobs would lend 'em so much as a kedge anchor to bring up and howld on by; and what was the use of a long range of titles to cling to as slipped through their fingers like the buttered tail of a pig, or a topsel-tye well greased? Mr. Moodie tried to get an appointment abroad, and mayhap might have done so, if so be he could have waited long enough; but somehow or another there was so many to sarve, that he always got disappointed; and at last, finding he had but small hopes to ride out the gale of adversity, with nothing but promises for ground tackle, he bears up and turns schoolmaster in a small way, sarving out a due allowance of poetry and birch-rod alcumternately. But the husband and the wife always rowed in the same boat, there was no wrangling nor grumbling; they never ceased to love each other, and they doated on their eldest boy, who, as I towld you afore, had got the rating of Midshipman in the line-of-battle ship, through the kindness of

an old friend who had just come home from Ingee. I larned all this arterwards, messmates, but I thought it would be just as well to overhaul the matter here. Well, then, he was down in the cockpit, and about as happy as an onfortunate swab in the darbies looking forward to three dozen at the gangway.

To be sure, the youngster, finding himself in uniform, went off with flowing sheets in his talk about his great relatives who had never done nothing to save his parents from being wrecked, if so be as they'd been driven on the rocks, nor yet gave him a helping hand in regard of his outfit. But when youngsters get palavering together, they're just as giddy as so many geese; for, d'ye mind, they haven't the experience to lay up the strands of an argyment into a good head-fast, or to coil away their ideas, so that when they wants to overhaul a range the fakes may run clear without catching. And so it was with young Mr. Moodie, and whilst the others encouraged him on, he couldn't see as they were 'ticing his craft amongst the shoals and quicksands of ridicule on purpose to bump him ashore, and make game of him.

One of the young genelmen was called Mr. Larkins, and I'm blessed but the name he hailed by tallied exactly with the cast of his figure-head and the trim of his craft, for he was eternally larking about somut or other, and his very face displayed a mixture of fun and mischief that set everybody laughing. But there was always a rogue's-yarn of ill nature and spite laid up with the strands of his merriment, and he never cared what pain he gave to others so as he could enjoy pleasure hisself: even the man that he'd make free with as hail-fellow well met one half hour he'd report and get punished the next half hour, mayhap, for the very fault as he'd led him to commit—nobody liked him, and yet every body laughed at his humour. Well, this Mr. Larkins took to tormenting young Moodie soon after he was entered on the books and had joined the mess, and now, at the time of my speaking, had got him into a sort of raffle by first of all working upon his pride, and then taunting him in regard of his poverty; and the rest of the young scamps readily joined in the sport, because just then they had nothing else to do—not as ever they were backward in all sorts of devilry; but there being no particular duty carrying on either ashore or afloat, it came more nat'ral to 'em to pipe to mischief.

"Well, we've diskivered it all," says young Larkins to Moodie, as they came out of the berth, "we've found you out at last; and so you're a genelman in disguise, come to sea to wear your old clothes out—eh? I thought it was that from the first."

"You may think whatsomever you please," says Moodie, whose blood was already up. "Let me be what I will, I trust I shall never disgrace myself or my family by becoming Merry Andrew to a midshipman's mess."

"Do you mean that to be personal?" says Larkins, assuming anger, and really vexed at this hard hit, which told all the better in regard of its being the truth. "S'death, sir, you had better mind what you are about. But conceit and ragged shirts always stick to the same back."

"As to being personal," says Moodie, "if the cap fits your head, I beg you'd wear it. For the second I am minding—carefully minding what I am about. The last is more applicable to yourself than to any one I know."

"To me, sir—applicable to me?" says Larkins, "I as can show an inwentory of four dozen white-frilled shirts!"

"But you haven't got 'em in your chest, Larkins," sings out a youngster; "you have only eight to my certain knowledge, though you have clapped a figure of four in the marking ahead of the other figures, and there they are, forty-one, forty-two, and so on up to forty-eight."

A general laugh followed this exposure, messmates, for the facts were pretty well known to be true. "I wish some on you as is near him, would give that youngster a clout o' the head for me," says Larkins.

"Which you'll return him again," sings out the other, as he gave them a wide berth, and sprang up the after ladder: "them are the only debts you ever pay, Larkins."

"I'll pay *you* by and by," says Larkins, "and take a receipt in full of all demands, depend upon it, my fine fellow: I'd have you now, but I've got other business in hand."

"With me, I presume," says Moodie, in a rather contemptible manner, "but I would advise you not to carry your nonsense too far; for though but young in the Sarvice, I am not ignorant of the circumstances of life and the regulations of good society, though, perhaps, I should be out in my latitude to observe any kind of that last here."

"Mutiny, mutiny!" shouts Larkins, as he claps his hands together—"will you bear these reflections on your gentility, Reefers—will you submit to be insulted by a greenhorn as never saw blue water, and don't never know the main-tack from the cook's tormentors? Are our sacred privileges to be inwaded by a puny boaster as talks about rich relatives which he never had, and titles that are not to be found among the nobility of this country, whatever they may be at Madagascar or the Sandwich Islands? What do you say, genelmen? will you endure all this, and yet call yourselves officers?"

"He's in good hands, Larkins," says several as wanted to egg 'em on, "you are the oldest and the ugliest among us, and you shall be our champion—pistols, cutlashes, or boarding-pikes, or 24-pounders, if you like such delicate articles better."

"Yes, yes," says Larkins, "the respectability of the mess demands satisfaction—my own wounded honour—"

"Clap a plaster of tar upon your wound, if so be as you can find it," shouts the youngster on the ladder; "but it arn't by no means possible to injure nothing."

The flight of a boot-jack at the youngster's head, and which he narrowly escaped by bending down, stopped his voice for a few minutes; but it was plain that with all his striving to be cool, Larkins was getting into a passion.

"Genelmen," says Moodie, in a bit of a half sneer, as he puts on his hat, "genelmen, I shall leave you to your old pastime, which, from what I have seen, looks as if it had been pretty much practised among you before I joined—"

"And what may that be?" axes two or three on 'em in a breath, for they were nettled at his being so independent and sharp.

"What may that be?" repeats Moodie, as he was walking away, "why making fools of one another, to be sure." He turns round again—"I came into the Sarvice with good feelings and wishes for you all—

I hoped to be received with generosity by my new associates, and as I was wholly unacquainted with the duties of a ship of war, I expected to find young and ardent minds ready to show their friendship by giving me a lift in my edecation. But what have I found it since the very first hour of my coming on board?—parsecution—parsecution—nothing but parsecution, which neither the work of the day nor the silence of night has clapped a stopper on. Base tricks have been played me in the dark—I have met with nothing but mortification in the light—what have I done—"

"You should have taken your text before you began to preach," says Larkins, interrupting him; and the next moment a wet swab, thrown by some on 'em from a gloomy part of the deck, struck Mr. Moodie in the face, and made his nose bleed; but he did not seem to heed it, for snatching up the boot-jack which had been shied at the youngster, as I towld you afore, he dashed at Larkins, and with one blow laid him flat on his beam-ends. But he didn't remain so long, for starting up again, he struck Moodie, and being much bigger and stronger, he capsizes him in an instant. Well, this throws 'em all into confusion, and the matter began to get somut serious. One or two sides with Moodie, and takes his part, and the rest goes over to Larkins, talking very big words for such small mouths. At last, after some confab among 'em, it was agreed that the quarrel should be decided off-hand by a duel with ship's pistols, and a couple of brace were got out of the arm-chest. Now, thinks I to myself, this *is* a little bit too much of the monkey, so I beckons Mr. Quinton to me, and says I, "Them are wenturesome things to handle, Mr. Quinton, and I carn't lay idle here and see such weapons used, countryman again countryman, as ought only to be pointed at our enemies,—so, if the young genelmen don't carry them back to their proper stowage," says I, "why then I must report it to the First Leftenant."

"Oh, it's all fun," says Mr. Quinton, "there'll be no harm done,—only a few grains of powder in each pistol, to make a flash, and see whether Moodie can stand fire."

"But even then, Mr. Quinton, it isn't by no manner of means fair," says I, "for Mr. Larkins will know that there is never no shot in the pistol to hurt him, but Mr. Moodie will not know it. To make all square both on 'em should have been led to believe there was ball, and then they would have been equal."

"That's very true, Tom," says he, "but it can't be done now; and, as it's only a bit of harmless fun, why let 'em play it out."

"But I don't like to see game made of anything, Mr. Quinton," says I, somut positively, "'specially making game of them there instruments of death, and I shall insist upon its going no further, whether in fun or in earnest."

And so I walks aft towards the gun-room, where they had all gone into, but the door was fast, and afore I could force it open I hears the reports of two pistols, followed by loud roars of laughter, and, bursting in, found the place filled with smoke, which, howsomever, soon cleared off, and there stood Mr. Moodie, the very model of despair, one hand twisted in his curly locks, and the discharged pistol in the other hanging by his side. On the deck, throwing his limbs about as if they *didn't* belong to him, laid Mr. Larkins, whilst the rest were looking on,

and admiring how nat'rally he acted dying to deceive his opponent, who fancied the weapons had been loaded with ball.

"Well done, Larkins," shouts one, "He's regularly done for," sings out another, "My eyes, Moodie, but you're a good shot," says a third, and so they carried on, alcumternately speaking to Moodie and to Larkins; and I own, messmates, that I was astonished in my own mind to see how well the fallen Middy could counterfeit the last struggles, as one or two of his own party kneeled over him. At last he gave a convulsive spring, turned over on his face, and laid quite still.

"Come, come, young genelmen," says I, "avast at all this here gammoning consarn. Don't frighten yourself, Mr. Moodie, he's ownly shamming it, and even that's no great credit to him. Rouse up, Mr. Larkins, and show him as it's all nonsense,—you've gone quite far enough."

"Ah—yes," says several of his side, "it's of no use playing any longer, Larkins. Moodie stood fire nobly; and so let's have no more on it."

But the prostrate young man seemed determined to carry on the trick; for he laid without moving a limb.

"Come, come, Larkins," says his second, "you have acted your part most admirably, and frightened poor Moodie out of seven years' growth. It's a shame to carry the farce on any longer,—get up and shake hands with him."

"I shall be most happy to do so," says Moodie, advancing, and delighted at being tould that it was all gammon; for he had begun to grow a little frantic when he thought he had wounded, and perhaps killed him. "Yes, I shall be very happy," says he, laughing hecsterically, "very happy, indeed, if he will howld out his hand to me and be friends."

But still Larkins never moved nor showed any signs or symptoms of being reconciled. "This is rank folly," says his second, "come, rouse and bitt. Well, if you won't, you shall be treated like a dead man. Here, catch howld of his head, arms, and legs, some on you, and we'll lay him out on the mess-table. Bear a hand, reefers, d'ye hear?" He stooped down, turned the young man over,—there was a pool of black blood under where his breast had laid,—a ball had passed through his heart—he was a lifeless corpse.

As soon as the truth was known there was a wild cry among the Midshipmen, and upbraiding each other they rushed from the gun-room, so that only I and Mr. Moodie and the dead body remained. In a minute or so the Doctor's Mate came in; but, after feeling the pulse and examining the wound, he declared the cruise of life was up,—he was no longer in existence, and even his spirit had got beyond hail. As for poor Moodie, he sat himself on the gun-carriage, wringing his hands in agony, and bursting out into loud cries and lamentations. Down came the two Leftenants to inquire into the matter, and all the Midshipmen were summoned into the gun-room, to give evidence over the bleeding corpse of their old messmate. But no one could tell how the fatal affair had happened,—the seconds, who loaded the pistols, declared they had put in nothing more than a small quantity of powder; and no one had seen anything like a ball. What I knew of it I towld the Leftenants, from beginning to eend. Poor Moodie was placed

under confinement; but nobody believed that he had put in the ball hisself,—though its sartin that from the first he supposed that it was so loaded, and took the whole consarn quite seriously. It was a moloncholy sight, was young Larkins's funeral; for, though nobody could give him a good name, yet he had those qualities about him that made him missed more than a betterer man. All the ship's boats followed in procession, with their colours half-staff down, and his relatives and the Midshipmen tailed on after the coffin when they got ashore. But there was no heart so sad among 'em all as poor Moodie's, confined as he was in the after-cockpit, and upbraiding hisself as having committed murder. His mother almost doated upon him,—he was her firstborn, and had always been her pet; and mayhap it was a bit of pride on her part in telling him of the great families he was allied to, that did all the mischief by making him vain. But he was a clever lad, and had a power of larning at his fingers' eends. Well, his mother came aboard, and it was a sad meeting between the two, for everything they said to try and comfort one another did but make 'em more wretched. His father was not able to come, for he was confined ill in his hammock, hove down with a fever burning him up,—and this increased the poor lad's misery. As for Mr. Larkins's friends, nothing could console 'em, and they were dreadfully bitter against poor Moodie for having shot him, though he in a great measure brought it upon hisself. Mrs. Moodie promised to do all she could for her son again the day of trial; and so she did, for she got an owld relative, as was a digmuntary of the Church, to stand her friend, and he exarted himself to see as the young man should have fair play.

At last the day of trial came; the court-martial flag was hoisted in the owld Gladiator, and there was as fine a set of fellows collected together as members as ever any one would wish to see. Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton was President, and Sir Harry Neale, Lord Keith, Sir Richard Keats, and ever so many more Captains, who were afterwards all hands on 'em Admirals, were members,—so that the prisoner was sure of having justice sarved out to him. And his mother in her widow's dress,—for her husband had died,—was allowed to be aboard, and tried to cheer up his spirits, though she was sadly downhearted herself; but the officers behaved kindly to her, and she hoped all would go favourably for her son. Poor Mr. Moodie, whatsomever he might have felt, behaved like a trump when he got before the court,—and it's no pleasant sensation, messmates, I'm thinking, to stand in the presence of all them officers, with the provoo marshal at your side, carrying his cutlash over his shoulder, and every eye looking upon you, as if they'd look you through and through. Howsomever he stood it very well, though his lips quivered when the charge of murder was read out again him; but he rallied his courage, knocked off a tear that had trickled down to the tip of his nose, and said "Not guilty" in a voice as clear as my call, and that hasn't a flaw in it.

The witnesses were all examined, and every one on 'em spoke of the provocations that the prisoner had received, but none on 'em could say he was backward to fight,—on the contrary, they were forced to admit that he was uncommon eager for it, and believed the pistols were both loaded with ball. The whole story was correctly tould, and then they overhauled the question as to how the pistol came to have a shot in it.

Here they got to a dead fix,—not a soul could or would tell, and it was at last supposed that the pistol had been put away in the arm-chest undischarged, and the fact was not diskivered by the second, who merely put in some powder.

Two hours was granted Mr. Moodie to prepare his defence, and exacly at the last turn of the glass he was brought up again into the court; and talk about edecation,—my eyes, messmates, but his'n was a defence, indeed,—the words came as smoothly out of his mouth as if every one on 'em had been buttered; and when he spoke of his youth, and their taunting him about his poverty, and described the general treatment he had received where he had expected all kindness and good fellowship, there warn't hardly a dry eye in the cabin. He talked about the humble but happy home of his childhood,—the tenderness of his mother, and the care she had taken of him, and he placed alongside of these the insults and ill-usage he had suffered from Larkins. Hurried on by the 'petuosity of his feelings, and detarmined to show 'em that he was no coward, he was induced to accept the challenge, for he considered they were all in earnest; and, whatever might be the judgment of the court, he should never cease to regret the unhappy consequences of misguided rashness that had brought a fellow-countryman and a messmate to an untimely grave.

Here he finished, and placing his hands over his face he sobbed as if his heart was bursting. This was too much for the Admiral and Captains. Sir Richard Bickerton held down his head, and waved his hand for 'em to clear the court,—the other officers looked aft at the President, so as to hide their faces, and many a tar dashed the spray from his cheeks as he hurried out of the cabin. The prisoner was conducted below, and more than an hour passed away in the most painful suspense to both mother and son,—though, for the matter o' that, there warn't a soul belonging to the ship but felt great interest in the proceedings, and anxiously waited for the decision of the court. At length it was ordered to be opened, and every part was instantly filled,—it was close stowage, messmates, I can tell you. When Mr. Moodie was brought up, and placed on the larboard hand of the Judge-Advocate,—his face was flushed and agitated; but I'm blessed if I don't believe he was thinking more of his mother than he was of hisself. There was no need to order "Silence,"—there was scarcely a breath to be heard,—all was so still and solemn, as the President requested that all the young genelmen should be mustered in the cabin; and after some shoving and squeeging they all got berths.

"Prisoner," says the Admiral, "it now becomes my painful duty to pass upon you the judgment of the Court." At the word "painful," messmates, there was a heavy drawing of the breath by all who heard it, for it spoke at once what that judgment would be. "Prisoner," continues the Admiral, "you have been fairly and faithfully tried by the laws of your country, for wilfully and knowingly taking the life of a fellow creature, and that fellow creature a brother officer and a messmate. We, the members of this Court, have duly considered both the evidence and the defence, giving to each a patient and impartial 'vestigation; and though on the one hand it must be admitted that you received great provocation—that you were unaccustomed to the Service, and perhaps the dread of being thought a coward, operated on your

mind, yet we cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that you deliberately aimed at the deceased, confident of the deadly nature of the contest. There is no proof as to how the pistol came to be loaded with ball, for it has been shown that the duel which has ended so unhappily, was got up in sport; and here I would warn every young officer in the Service to avoid such conduct in future, for as in the present instance there's no telling how it may eend. You, prisoner, however, fully believed that the pistol was charged with ball, and fired it with deadly purpose at your opponent, by which his life was sacrificed. This, in the opinion of the Court, amounts to murder." There was a deep groan, messmates, from all hands; the Admiral stopped, looked round him, waved his hand for silence, and then went on. "It is truly distressing to see one so young placed in your perilous situation; we all deeply feel it, but there is a superior duty we are bound to discharge. The Court find you guilty of the crime laid to your charge, and the sentence is that you be hung."—Here the confusion burst out—there was sobbing and groaning, and cries of "Lord, have mercy upon him!" but it only lasted for an instant or two, the Admiral's voice commanding "silence," quickly restored order. As for poor Mr. Moodie, he stood like one stupified or stunned, and yet, I'm sure he was thinking of his mother. The President continued, "at the foreyard-arm of such ship, and at such time as the Lords of the Admiralty shall see fit to direct. But, prisoner," the listeners held their breath to catch the rest, "But, prisoner, though we can hold out no certain hopes of mercy, yet we conceive that sufficient has come before us to recommend your case most earnestly to the clemency of our Sovereign, in order that your life may be spared."

This was a sudden lull after the gale, messmates; and though many thought the sentence too hard, and others swore it was unjust—not in Court though, messmates, for there they were silent after the delivery—yet, mayhap, it was right according to law, and done more to keep others from playing such monkey-tricks by frightening on 'em a bit, than for any real intention to punish severely. At first, Mrs. Moodie forgot the sentence, under a hope that her son's life would be saved. They had, however, but few minutes for communication, for the boat was ready, and he was guarded back to his own ship, whilst she got alongside of the Admiral, and with all a mother's love implored his favour towards the young man. An uncle that had only lately come from Ingee, too, as well as the digmuntary of the Church, lent a helping hand, but for some days all was doubt.

One morning the boat came off with the letters from the Post Office, and a portly-looking genelman, in black, as took a passage in her, mounted the side, and walked aft on the quarter-deck to the Captain, who stood near the binnacle talking to the Purser. The genelman pulled off his hat to the Skipper, and made a grand salaam, all shipshape, and proper, and then he hands him a packet with a black seal as big as the truck at the mizen-royal masthead, and makes him another bow. The Captain takes the letter, looks at it from clew to earring, and then invites the genelman in black into his cabin; and "mayhaps," thinks I, "it's the death-warrant for the unfortnate prisoner, poor fellow," and I looks up quite doleful at the foreyard arm.

Well, messmates, just then the flag-ship's cutter pulls alongside, and

brings Mrs. Moodie, who runs up the 'commodation ladder as quick as a maintop man; and says I to myself, "It's all plain enough, she's come to pass a few more miserable hours with him, afore they parts company for ever;—its a hard case though," and my heart seemed to sink down like a dipsy lead. Well, aboard she comes, laughing and crying hecsterically; and the First Leftenant went to her at the gangway, where she was howlding on for support, and offers her his arm, but she could not stand, and so they brought her a chair and a glass of water, and, "Poor sowl," says I, "it must be a terrible blow to her, and she already a widow."

Well, messmates, as soon as she had recovered a bit, the Leftenant takes her arm under his own, and walks her into the Captain's cabin; and he hardly had time to leave her there, when alongside comes the Commissioner's barge, with an ould army officer in regimentals, with a slip of black crape round his arm, and another little cribbaged-face ould genelmen in black, with a shovel-cut skysel aloft, and a small bit of black silk, like a woman's apron, hanging down afore the flaps of his tights; and as he ascended the side, I heard one on 'em spoken to as "General —— somebody," I always forgets names, and the other was called "My Lord," in regard of his being a Bishop; and these turned out to be the uncle from Ingee, and the digmuntary of the Church, and the Captain comes out and salaams to 'em, and there was as much purliteness as would have sarved the whole Chatham division of Jollies for six months; and then away they all goes into the cabin together. By and bye poor Mr. Moodie was sent for, and he came up the ladder almost the ghost of his former self: he looked pale and thin, and ill, and "they won't have over-and-above much trouble in doing for him, poor young genelman," thinks I to myself; "it's pretty well up with him as it is."

As soon as he got on to the quarter-deck, the Leftenant luffs up to him. "Come, cheer up, Mr. Moodie," says he, rather more joyous than I thought was proper, considering the predickyment he was in; "there may be comfort in store for you yet," says he, "your mother—"

"What—what of my mother, Sir?" says the poor young genelman, clasping his hands, "for the love of heaven do not conceal any thing from me. What has happened to my mother?"

"Nothing—nothing, my good fellow," says the Leftenant, seemingly surprised at his eagerness, "I merely intended to tell you that she is now on board in the Captain's cabin—that's all."

"Is there indeed no other intelligence that you can communicate?" axed Moodie, as he fixed his large dark eyes on the other's face. "Am I—am I?"

"Oh, yes, yes," says the Leftenant, as if almost hove down with agitation. "You are indeed—"

"God's will be done," says the youngster; "oh, my poor mother! this will break her heart."

"What will break her heart, my lad?" axes the Leftenant, as he took the condemned youth by the hand; "oh, no—no, she was a little bit flustered at first, but she is all a-taunto now."

"All a-taunto!" repeats Moodie, as if horror-struck; "what! calmly satisfied when her son has to suffer death?"

"Suffer what?—suffer death?—no [illegible]ant;

"there's a free pardon come aboard;—there's your uncle the sojer, and t'other relation the Bishop, alongside of the Skipper. The old Earl of some place or t'other, and his son, are both dead, and you as the next heir have succeeded to the title and estates;—so give us your flipper, my Lord—eh!—what's all this?"

The sudden change from the prospect of death to the certainty of life and fortune, was too much for the youth: he turned as pale as a corpse, and fell all along the deck in a strong fit. In an instant I whips him up in my arms, and carries him into the cabin, where I laid him on the sofy, and then skulls off for the doctor, who soon brought him to; and, oh, if you had but seen him cling round his mother's neck as she held him to her heart;—if you had but seen how they all tried to smooth him down, for the course of his thoughts was a bit wildish at first, it would have done you all good. The Captain ordered him a glass of wine, and by-and-bye he gets more becalmed; and then they displained to him how every thing was, but still he reproached himself about young Larkins, and declared he should never cease to be sorry for what had taken place. After a time they all went ashore in the Commissioner's barge, and they called him "My Lord," and paid him every respect. The next day there was a hundred guineas sent off for the ship's company; and so instead of a hanging-match, messmates, there was nothing but jollification, for all hands fore and aft, partook of his Lordship's gift; and it was only a short time since as I met him near the Admiralty, and he gave me a guinea in token of old remembrances. He left the Sarvice though, and made all the reparation in his power to the friends of the unfortunate Mr. Larkins. There, messmates, is my yarn of the COCKPIT DUEL."

"And a good yarn, too, Tom," said the Quartermaster; "I was monstrously afraid they were going to make a jewel-block of him, and them relations had come to bid him good by."

"The old nobleman and his son seem to have died off very conveniently," said the Captain of the Foretop; "it was just in the nick of time."

"So it was, Bill; but they had been dead nearly two months before in Italy," responded the Boatswain's Mate, "only they didn't know it in England; and so in course when they were trying Mr. Moodie by court-martial, they were trying a peer of the realm, and they tell me one of them sort of quality can only be tried in the House of Lords. Howsomever, so it was, and there he is now, God bless him, with a beautiful lady for his wife, and lots of babbies, all happy and comfortable; though I am told that he shuts himself up all day long, and won't see nobody on every hangiversary of the duel, and not a soul is allowed to disturb him from morning to night, nor does he eat or drink anything all the while, except a bit of bread and a drink of water; so, messmates,—but there's eight bells, and I must call the next watch."

The next instant his pipe was sounding as shrill as a north-wester, and his voice, summoning the starboard-watch on deck, passed down the hatchway, like an electric shock, to the hammocks of the sleepers below, which immediately discharged their nautical sparks to relieve their shipmates upon deck.

JERSEY, GUERNSEY, AND THEIR NORMAN LAWS.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILKIE.

The isle is full of noises. — CALIBAN.

DIVIDED from our shores by the breadth of the Channel, and further separated by laws, customs, and language, these islands can hardly be said to form an integral part of the British dominions. Still less can they be classed with the colonies, except in one respect,—having Governors and Lieut.-Governors; for the latter reason I refrained from entering into much detail, when touching on them in the general description of our insular colonies, only noticing such fortresses and posts as were best calculated for the defence of the islands, united with other internal means. This I should have considered sufficient; but recent events having called attention to what is passing there, I hope that it will not be found intrusive if I venture a few remarks on the strange and anomalous condition of these islands; not only with immediate reference to Great Britain, but as forming a most extraordinary discrepancy with the laws and social polity of all the civilised nations of Europe. Whether in our transactions with foreign nations we have ever deserved the epithet applied to the country, "Perfidious Albion," I will not stop to inquire, but I may safely say, that with respect to our own possessions and settlements, England may with truth be called generous and indulgent Albion; for with an ultra liberality, entirely uncalled for, we have entirely lost sight of the homely but true adage, "What's mine's my own." In all the conquests made from our enemies we have granted them the privilege of living under the laws and religion of the country to which they previously belonged, without considering all the difficulties and dangers that might ensue from such an arrangement; these have gradually developed themselves in the progress of time, and their fruits have shown that the result has been discontent and revolt. Need I point out as proof Lower or Eastern Canada and the Cape of Good Hope? In the first of these the evil seems almost beyond remedy; what it will be in the second and more recent case remains to be proved. With an apparent recklessness of the evils of these ill-judged concessions, we have gone on granting the same terms to nearly all our colonial conquests, excepting India; and the natural consequences have followed. In our smaller insular possessions the evil has become more tangible, and of constant recurrence, to the inconvenience and annoyance of our own subjects; so much so that Government has been obliged to abridge these concessions, or limit their existence to a certain period of time, still hoping that the colonists themselves would see the benefit of all the subjects of the same crown living under identical laws: but this expectation has been vain, and, in order to make these colonies of any real use to the country, it has been necessary to cut off by degrees absurd privileges, and bring these settlements more within the pale of English laws and usages. There may be some excuse for the indulgence granted to distant colonies of recent conquest, that they should be for a time allowed to exercise the laws under which they had previously lived; but what shall "

regard to the islands on the coast of Normandy, within a few hours' sail of our shores, and as much *de jure* and *de facto* a portion of the British dominions as the Isle of Wight? Here we find, unaltered for centuries, a code of laws that have no existence in any other known part of the world; united with ill-defined and conflicting institutions, that seem framed for no other purpose but to create dissension and foster party disputes. These islands came under British dominion, strictly speaking, in the reign of Henry I., who wrested them from Robert, Duke of Normandy, and they have remained ever since without changing masters.

When Philip of France drove the English out of Normandy he would fain have annexed these islands to his conquest; but was defeated in his attempt by the courage and good conduct of the inhabitants. In reward for their valour King John granted them some civil institutions and privileges, which were then grafted on the Norman laws. Thus, in the present day, the laws and usages of these islands are an anachronism of rather more than six hundred years, and the longest period that has ever been known for the existence of a cherished absurdity. Many of these privileges were invaded or set aside by Henry II., but restored by Edward III. The legislative government in the two larger islands is nearly the same, and a description of that of Jersey may suffice. The states, as they are called, consist, exclusive of the Governor and Bailly, of thirty-six members; twelve jurats, who are judges and legislators for life; twelve rectors of parishes nominated by the Governor, except the Dean, legislators also for their lives; and twelve constables from as many parishes, elected by the people triennially*. The most romantic portion of this *corps legislatif* is the dozen judges, a baker's dozen, including the Bailly, who are elected by the people! all the heads of families paying parochial rates being entitled to vote. The beauty of these judges is, that they are not required to know anything of law, nor is there the least necessity for them to have any species of education; tradesmen, farmers, any body will do as a judge in Jersey. As they are elected for life they might laugh at the beards of their constituents; but they still preserve the recollection of the faction that placed them where they are. Justice in the Channel Islands is not, as generally represented, blind; but is kept wide awake by party spirit. Let us pause for a moment to imagine the existence of such a legislature in England; one-half of the Upper House legislators for life, being composed of clergymen, and the other moiety of potatoe-merchants transformed into judges: while the Commons, one-third of the whole, were produced by universal suffrage. How pleasant!

I have not been able to ascertain whether there is among these islands any *lex scripta*, or where they might refer in cases of doubt and difficulty; they could scarcely get a solution amongst English lawyers, and probably the archives of Normandy are smothered in some dust-hole in Paris. They appear, however, to possess one or two insular legists or commentators, to whom they look for information. I saw an amusing instance lately how little they trouble themselves about matters of reference. The *Procureur du Roi*, the *top-sawyer* of the

* In a pamphlet, lately published by Mr. Bowditch, he gives the numbers of the administrative states as thirty-two.

Guernsey lawyers, being called on for an opinion as to the legality of the measures pursued by General Napier, became suddenly overwhelmed with the responsibility, talked vaguely on different topics, and at length quoted one of these island authorities, which it afterwards appeared he had never read.

The election of jurats in Guernsey differs a little from what is practised in the sister island, as they are chosen by a restricted body of electors, and are taken from rather a better class of persons; but still the majority are equally ignorant of the laws they attempt to administer, and scarcely less imbued with prejudice.

In Jersey they have the institution of jury; but, with the rest of the legal frame-work, it must be of very doubtful utility. In Guernsey they are free from all such trammels. After the thief-taker has performed his part, the Royal Court undertakes all the rest; they examine the culprit as magistrates and commit him; then take up the character of grand jurors, and find the bill, and mixing up the functions of prosecutors, judges, and jurors, try the prisoner, and convict him; finally, in the separate shape of judges, they pass sentence on the prisoner,—against which there is no appeal except to the Queen in Council, and then only when he is recommended to mercy,—a sort of interference about which they are exceedingly jealous, as may be seen in the late transactions. To complete the beauty of these arrangements, there are the *Procureur*, already mentioned, who can stand for Attorney-General, and another functionary that may be called Solicitor-General.

There are also six Advocates nominated by the Bailly, not with the slightest reference to their abilities or knowledge of the law, but by the *sic volo, sic jubeo* of that august functionary, who is clearly the antithesis to the common appellation of an English bailiff that waits on the Sheriff.

In the civil law a man may be tapped on the shoulder for the smallest sum. They arrested in Jersey the Paymaster of the regiment I was in for a dozen of empty bottles in dispute*. If the bill now before the House of Lords passes into law, by which imprisonment for debt will not be allowed, it will add to the other contrasts with these islands, where a man may be sent to gaol for the value of a flat candlestick. Without speaking of banishment and outlawry, this rough sketch may suffice to give an idea how the laws are framed and administered; and it may be asked, can such a system of jurisprudence be supposed to assimilate in any degree with the advanced state of society in the nineteenth century.

It may be possibly urged that long habit has made the people of the islands familiar with their institutions, that they are the best judges of what suits themselves, and, although they do not believe their system to be perfect, it satisfies them. This mode of reasoning has already been adopted; but I should think its selfishness would appear palpable on the slightest consideration; for we would ask these islanders, have they no consideration for those who sojourn amongst them? There are many Eng-

* A Mrs. Atkins, the widow of an Englishman, was lately thrown into jail in Jersey for a debt of 55*l.*, due by her husband, to whose effects she had not administered, nor was she executrix. The reason was, that she had failed to give notice within forty days of not acting in his affairs—a regulation she could know noth of.

lish families residing there, from motives of health, pleasure, or economy. Why should they, when within the British dominions, be subjected to oppressive and, it may be said, cruel laws of which they had no previous experience, and against which they have no means of defence? We may take in proof one or two cases that have been lately brought forward in the Times, May 28th, and endeavour to impress on the minds of the people of this country the absurdity, injustice, and cruelty of these so-called Norman laws affecting a portion of their fellow subjects, and ask if they will allow them to continue in existence? The two cases are put hypothetically, to give them more force; but they are no less real; what has happened may be repeated again and again.

"A man may extort, or gain by bribe, an admission from another, of having committed adultery with his wife. This need not be sworn; no examination need follow; without any evidence on oath, or further investigation, the Mayor of St. Helier will grant his warrant for the apprehension of the supposed or unproved adulteress; and she will without further delay be committed to prison. It will scarcely be believed that while she is thus incarcerated on mere suspicion, this defenceless woman's house may be ransacked of all it contains by the myrmidons of justice, under the sanction of Jersey or Norman law."

Recollecting the tricks that have been played in England, and the many instances that have occurred of collusion, or of turning cases of this kind into a job, let us then imagine what would be the condition of the women of England were they subject to so brutal a course of legislation!

"Suppose this woman released from prison in default of evidence, and turned on the world without any reparation for the wrongs she has suffered. It may be that the malevolence which concocted one plot against her, will contrive another. Suppose her informed against for a felony; she will have no opportunity of being confronted with her accusers; their depositions will be unsworn; they will be in the Jersey language, of which she, being an Englishwoman, will not understand one syllable; and during the imprisonment previous to trial, she will be daily interrogated by the police! But this is not the worse part of it. When brought into court, she will be tried by a jury all natives of the island, whose oath allows them a wider construction of the evidence produced than would be permitted in England (in Guernsey there is no jury); and to crown all, the only evidence which could substantiate the innocence of the accused is, on the ground of relationship—inadmissable; while her counsel is the very functionary on whose warrant she was apprehended! Yet, under circumstances of this kind, tried upon documents written in a foreign language, which had never been interpreted to her, and deprived of the best evidence adducible in her behalf, *one Englishwoman has been*—and others may be—condemned and punished."

These cases are enough, I am sure, to call up the indignation of the British people, and make them demand loudly the abrogation of such monstrous attempts at legislation, only fit for the darkest ages. In the foregoing extracts allusion has been made to the exclusion of all evidence that might be adduced coming from a relative of the parties; to show the climax of this absurdity, it is only necessary to mention the well-known case of a Jersey man having committed a rape on his own niece; but because she was his *relation* she could not give evidence against him, and the villain was acquitted; thus proving that a man in

these islands may commit any sort of crime against the person, short of murder, without punishment, provided that the sufferer is a *relation*, and that there is no other evidence present!

A circumstance has lately taken place in Guernsey, which has excited much notice. A young man, an inhabitant of the island, of the name of Frederick Moullin, died there, when on the day appointed for the funeral, the 20th May, Dr. Hoskins received directions to make a *post-mortem* inspection of the corpse, and to ascertain by autopsy what were the causes of the death, a supposition being entertained that it had been occasioned by an overdose of *digitalis*. This proceeding has caused the greatest wonder amongst the Guernsey people, who are quite at a loss for the solution of the mystery, which has not yet been divulged. The probability is, that it arises from some defects in their own laws, which not having anything similar to the inquest of the coroner, and suspicion having arisen as to the causes of this young man's death, the Government has thought fit to take up the matter, and make that inquiry which otherwise would not have taken place; such interference will no doubt frequently take place, as long as any man is at the head of the insular government who will not shut his eyes to all the monstrous abuses perpetrated under the name of justice, and will every day render more pressing the necessity of introducing the common law of England, and clearing the fountain of justice from all the filth and impurity with which it is at present choked up. If the people of the islands submit to all the abuses of this *régime*, there can be neither reason nor right that British subjects should be subjected to their infliction.

So much for the British residents or visitors who make any stay in these islands. It remains now to say a few words with regard to the troops forming the garrisons of the different forts and castles. Before the British peasant or artisan becomes a soldier, he knows as much of the laws of his native country as will serve to keep him clear of infringing them, and the constant example before him of the punishment awaiting such breaches, keeps him on the alert to avoid the danger; when he puts on the red coat, there is another system of law still more stringent, with which he must become acquainted; it is his first lesson when he enlists, and it is repeated to him so often that he can have no excuse for forgetting what is sometimes imprinted on his memory in a way anything but pleasant.

When he goes abroad, either to our own colonies, to act in an enemy's country, or passes through the territory of a friendly state, he is at once under the fear, and at the same time protection, of martial law; but when he goes either to Jersey or Guernsey, he has a new code to study; not that there can be much difference in the offences for which soldiers are amenable, but here he finds himself, in case of offence, or suspicion of it, placed before a tribunal of which he had no previous idea. He had always imagined that in the administration of civil law, he would be judged by the voice of his peers or compeers, and in military law before an impartial tribunal, sworn to administer justice according to the Articles of War; but brought into presence of a *Royal* Court in one of these islands, he finds arrayed before him, in one body, his prosecutors, his jurors (in Guernsey), and his judges, without responsibility, and from whose fiat there is scarce an appeal;

while the proceedings are in a language the soldier does not understand. If the offence is committed by a soldier against an inhabitant, it is not unreasonable to imagine towards which side the bias runs; and, beside this, the complainant may be a person to whom some of these jurats owe their position on the judgment seat; thus, in place of a verdict of twelve of his own countrymen, or the opinion and sentence of his officers, with whom he is constantly familiar, and who he knows act towards him always much more in the light of advocates than prosecutors, the soldier finds himself arraigned before this triplex judicial monster, engendered between tyranny and absurdity, full of ignorance, prejudice, and partiality! If this system is injurious to the "strangers within their gates," it will not be difficult to prove that it is detrimental to themselves.

It has become an axiom, that in all free states the education and consequent knowledge of the people are the most certain pledges of their political and moral advancement. Now one of the very first privileges of the islanders, which they cherish with such fondness, is a direct bar to this progress. In all countries that respect their real political rights, and that desire to see the administration of the law pure, it is a maxim that the judges of the land, although holding their appointment from the Government, should receive such an income, free from interference, as shall render them in all respects perfectly independent; in the Channel Islands the judges are chosen by popular suffrage, are neither independent in their circumstances, in their official capacity, nor are they so in their sentiments and feelings, which naturally take the direction given by the party or faction which has secured their election. It would be needless to dwell on the absurdity of judges who know nothing of law, but it is somewhat difficult to understand why they may be ignorant of everything else, and yet make, in the estimation of the islanders, good judges. We might suppose a case, that a person, wishing to introduce some system of general education, were to address himself to one of these jurats who had thus practically proved the adage, "If ignorance is bliss, it's folly to be wise," and asked him to patronize his undertaking; his answer might be, "Education! what is the use of education? Here am I who never received any, and cannot write my name; yet I am one of the judges of the land. If my son can follow my steps, what is the use of filling his head with book-learning, which takes up so much time, and is of no value?" If ever there was an ingenious mode of putting a drag-chain on the "march of intellect," surely it is this; in place of allowing "the schoolmaster to be abroad," you lock him up in a dark cellar, and give him bread and water. Not only is ignorance no impediment to a man in administering law, but it does not stand in the way when the judge changes his character, and becomes a senator, forming a portion of that parliament, *sui generis*, that has been already described. Some objection has been made to having twelve of the clergy in this ancient specimen of a senate, and it has been urged that they would be more usefully employed in attending to their parochial duties; but perhaps at the time the species of parliament was first formed, although ignorance possessed the majority and was rather desirable, yet a little knowledge might possibly be of use; as learning existed only amongst the clergy, it would not be amiss to have one-

third of the insular legislature of the clerical order; and the islanders have thus adhered to the wisdom of their forefathers. With a seeming desire of doing every thing different from other States and people, the tithes that elsewhere are appropriated to the benefit of the clergy, are here bestowed on military men; the great tithes to a sinecure Governor, and a portion to the small, to the Lieut.-Governor; thus a part of this latter officer's salary consists of a certain number of geese, ducks, capons, eggs, and *two* hares! I don't see a tithe pig in the list—although a portion of the clergy are allowed the honour of being senators, it does not appear that they get anything for their trouble; so the gown and cassock, in the islands, cover a good deal of poverty.

It is understood that there are some men of talent among the barristers in both islands; but what a discouragement, to be selected to plead not with reference to their abilities, but the whim and caprice of the Bailly! at the same time it must be an annoyance amounting to disgust, to plead before such a set of *ignorantins* judges. I have not heard what are the emoluments or position of the medical profession, but I suspect their fees are on a small scale, and as I never heard of any physician of eminence who had emanated from these islands, it is not difficult to imagine that the faculty of medicine does not stand in the place it holds in other European societies.

From what has been said it will appear, that the "three black graces, law, physic, and divinity," do not hold out any attractions for the youth of the Channel Islands; the young men, therefore, who from their situation in life would wish to follow what are called the liberal professions, are forced to pay their addresses to Madame Bellona. The number of officers who have distinguished themselves in both services, in which they have gained honours, titles, and independence, clearly shews what the youth of Jersey and Guernsey might effect were other professions equally favourable to them, and held out prospects of honour or emolument. With the exception of the navy and army, and a few who have found their way into the service of the East India Company, it is very rare, indeed, to meet with the islanders in any profession that leads to eminence, and for this they are indebted, in a great measure, to their domestic system of government and laws, which seem framed and maintained for no other reasons than to perpetuate party spirit, and to hold up an example to the whole world how long an absurdity, supported by prejudice, can live and flourish in the midst of the civilization and progress of the rest of Europe. If there was any thing wanting to complete this strange frame-work of legislation, it has been found in appointing a Lieut.-Governor from England, who is generally a military man; unless he had been previously quartered in these islands, he goes there in complete ignorance of this anomalous government over which he is to preside, and having lived all his previous life under another system of laws, it is, at least, some time before he can reconcile himself to what is contrary to all foregone experience; this necessarily produces collisions between the Governors and the governed, in which the blame cannot be strictly said to be with either party, but arises from the defective nature of the institutions. Besides his general ignorance of the laws which he is expected to administer, the Lieut.-Governor may be supposed to know little or nothing of the party violence that insinuates itself

transaction of the lives of those over whose government he is to preside; he cannot be expected to imagine, that the greatest animosity, far exceeding what arises at a contested election in England, is produced by transforming a spirit merchant into a judge, and he knows nothing more, honest man, about the Laurel and the Rose, than having seen them growing together in the same garden on very amicable terms, little aware that they form the deadliest poison of one of these islands, a sort of moral upas tree. If we take it for granted, that every military man who arrives at this station has been accustomed, for a course of years, to have control and power over those with the command of whom he is intrusted, it is not difficult to imagine how much he must feel at a loss, when removed to a higher sphere of authority, he finds his former notions on that subject all at fault, he is thrown at once amongst laws and institutions that he never knew any thing of previously, and without any definite rules to guide him in the exercise of his functions. Dean Swift describes his wonderful wonder of wonders, as one "who had a seat in parliament, where he often rises, sometimes grumbles, but never speaks;" the Lieut.-Governor of Jersey or Guernsey can walk into his parliament, make a speech, but may not vote. In attempting to give a sketch of this legislative body, I forgot to mention a functionary with the title of *Vicomte*, with a salary from Government; what he does for it is probably best known to himself. The Lieut.-Governors, at their instalment in office, take an oath to defend the rights and privileges of the islands; under this oath the easy-going Governors shelter themselves, and leave the natives to their own devices; but the men who "can stand no nonsense," as soon they discover the absurdities they have sworn to protect, run restive, and endless have been the bickerings between the Lieut.-Governors and what the French call, the "constituted authorities." Amongst the variety of officers who have had this uneasy position, there was none, perhaps, that ever did so much good, or created so much mischief, as the late Sir John Doyle.

Before his time there was not a road in Guernsey over which an English four-wheeled carriage would roll; they were of that sort still existing in some parts of Jersey, *chemins creux*, not much wider than foot paths; hence some of the heaviest articles had to be brought by water from one part of the island to the other. Sir John undertook to make the whole island *navigable;* he set about widening and repairing the roads, and made them nearly as they exist at present, for which reason he was praised to the skies, and held up as the Coryphæus of Governors. Sir John was himself the very pink of politeness, which had previously gained him in the army the *sobriquet* of Popularity Jack; and in return for these compliments he told the Guernsey authorities, that they were the finest fellows in the world, and their institutions the *ne plus ultra* of human ingenuity. They believed him, and have ever since remained under the delusion.

In speaking of the defects and faults in the laws and institutions of these islands, I trust that what I have said will not be construed into any dislike or disrespect towards the inhabitants, of whom I know but little, and the instances are persons who no longer reside in the islands. From what I know, and have heard of them, they are excellent estimable people; I have no doubt either, that the actual inhab

the islands are quite as good, naturally, as their neighbours, and that any apparent defects arise solely from the nature of the laws and institutions under which they live; could we suppose these applied to the government of any large continental state, the result would, inevitably, be the grossest tyranny, united to discord and anarchy; the evils are diminished by the limitation of space and in proportion to it. In Jersey the whole island is split into factions, disputing about what is inexplicable to strangers. In Guernsey there are but some feeble signs of party spirit, and in the smaller islands it does not exist at all. Other resources serve as an antidote to the evil; unrestricted commerce and freedom from taxation; these are the real privileges of the island, the rest "is leather and prunella."

The tonnage of the vessels belonging to the two islands is about 30,000 tons, and they give employment to about 2500 seamen, independent of about 1000 more employed in the oyster fishery. They are expert and enterprising mariners, and are to be met with in all quarters and corners of the world. During the war their vessels were small, constructed for quick sailing, and always made their runs without convoy; whenever a colony or settlement was taken from the enemy, the first vessel that arrived from home was sure to be a Jersey or Guernsey man, and they often appeared during the operations, when they were hailed as the harbingers of plenty. The islands furnish little in the way of staple, except fruit, in which we may include (Hibernicè) potatoes; but these cutters and schooners were, beside, well stowed with hams, tongues, cheese, bottled porter, wine, brandy, and hollands, for which they found an immediate market at no small profit; with the proceeds they would try to ship some produce peculiar to the place and carry it off to another quarter of the world, there again exchange commodities, and thus be probably two or three years away from home; acting as much in the capacity of carriers as merchants. Smuggling was also another lucrative branch of trade; and before the construction of the London Docks, and the bonding system, the islands served as depôts for merchandize, to be carried over to England when required. The two latter sources have failed since the peace; but our foreign colonies still furnish excellent markets, as there they can undersell the foreign skippers, because being under the British flag, they are only subject to the lower rate of duty.

The evils I have endeavoured to display have never been denied, but only some arguments have been brought forward in palliation. Among these I have observed, of late, that each of the two islands endeavours to cast the blame on the other. The Jersey people boast of their jury in criminal cases different from Guernsey; and that island in return prides itself on choosing its jurats from a more select body of electors. Thus, do they both prove the defective nature of their institutions, for which there can be no other remedy but by assimilating them to those of England. The consideration then comes to "the ways and means" by which this object may be gained. The means are quite simple,—a vote of the British Parliament; but the way the details should be carried out, is not of so easy a nature. The islanders, who have been always free from taxation, for no proper reason that I can discover, would not much like to take their share of paying the interest on the some ds of millions in the national ledger, nor would they perhaps be

enchanted at being thrown into the Court of Chancery; but the introduction of the common law, with paid and independent judges, would be a decided advantage. Whether our municipal laws would suit, might be a matter of consideration; but the general practices in the English counties might be adopted with facility. Why not make these islands a county of themselves? it might with propriety be called Normandy, seeing that that ancient name of a province in France has been obliterated by dividing the country into departments. The tithes of corn, &c., &c., which now go in Jersey to a sinecure Governor, might with much greater advantage be applied to their legitimate purpose, to render the clergy respectable and independent; and in place of being an offset or appendage to the see of Winchester, it would be most desirable to let the people of the islands have a bishop of their own. The assimilation of weights and measures would be very desirable, and not difficult; the islanders have a very well-defined idea of the meaning of £. *s. d.*, and to the knowledge of measures of value, the others would soon follow. The first and most essential step in this progress, would be to render the English tongue vernacular, by making it the only language to be used in the law courts, whether the framework of those courts is altered or not, and to insist on its being the basis of all education. Taking it generally, there is perhaps no more difficult task than to make any people change their language; but in the Channel Islands it would be easier of accomplishment than elsewhere. One very strong inducement to the people to make this change is, that they have been talking for some centuries what they suppose to be French, but they will never speak it correctly, unless, as the sailors say, they take a fresh departure, and learn it grammatically. The species of *lingua Franca* they now use, is a vile jargon, not spoken in any other part of the world. I question if a Jersey peasant dropped on the Boulevard in Paris would not have a better chance of making himself understood in broken English, than in his native dialect; the only French, properly so called, is confined to the courts and law proceedings. Mr. Inglis, who has written the best and most impartial account of these islands, after allowing that the language of the people is a barbarous dialect, says, "but in fact, the *patois* of both islands, as it is spoken in the interior, is nearly the pure French of some centuries ago; and while the French has changed, the language of these Norman islands remains nearly as when Wace the Jersey poet, composed his Roman du Rou, in the year 1160."

I am sorry to differ from the writer in this conclusion, and with respect to the purity of the language used in Normandy at any time subsequent to the invasion of the adventurers, who gave the province its name. Their first inroads were in the ninth century, but they settled permanently in Normandy in the year 1002. We may take it for granted that these ancient buccaneers spoke some sort of language, Scandinavian or Norse; and that for some time at least after the invasion of a province then thinly peopled, they would use the only means they had of mutual communication, until it became gradually mixed up with the dialect of the country they had invaded. The probability then is, that the dialect of Normandy could never from that time have assimilated with the ancient *Gaulois*, the language of the court and people long after the reign of Henry II. The matter might easily

be tested by reading to one of these peasants, in case he could not read himself, a passage from Rabelais, or some other writer of the time, and try if he could understand it.

This is a mere speculation for the antiquary; the fact exists, that the people speak at present a dialect, barbarous from its antiquity and want of use among other nations; and if not banished, it should be superseded or overlaid by the language of the country that governs the islands. The means would be, as I said before, to make all the pleadings and proceedings of the courts be in English, with all proclamations, decrees, and official documents*,—to make it the basis of all education in the colleges and schools of every description, that is, in teaching the classics, and modern languages, they should be construed into English, to which the system of mutual instruction would give great aid; and it would not be amiss to put a tax on what are called the French newspapers, which in place of giving an account of what is passing in the rest of the world, and thus affording points of comparison favourable to improvement, confine themselves, for the most part, to what is passing in the island, with a history of party disputes and personal scandal, that serve only to keep alive animosities, and perpetuate ignorant prejudices.

The dispute between the Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey and the Royal Court has been, I understand, submitted to the highest council of the realm: it would therefore be premature and indelicate to make any speculations on that subject; but this I may be allowed to say, that let the decision be what it may, General W. Napier will deserve the highest credit for bringing the matter to a test, as it must naturally call the attention of the Parliament and people to the consideration of the whole question; and I have little doubt that the result will be satisfactory. The whole affair may be comprised in a nut-shell: the duties of all Governments, and the people under their control, are reciprocal; the people provide the means, and the Government applies them for the defence of the country, and support of its laws, liberties, and institutions.

Let us see how the account stands with the Channel Islands. They furnish no support to the State; the only thing they provide, is a salary for a sinecure Governor, which is paid out of the tithes that ought to belong to the clergy; we defend their islands, our flag affords them protection in every quarter of the world, and they are free from all taxation! Surely these would be enough to satisfy any people; yet they claim the farther privileges of taunting and *snubbing* the Lieut.-Governor, and subjecting our soldiers to arbitrary punishments. Unless we establish in these islands the English laws and language, and make the people at least provide for their own defence in men and materials, we had much better "cut the concern" altogether, and allow them to establish themselves as independent islands, after the fashion of Blefuscu and Brobdignag; it will be a clear average saving in our expenditure of nearly a million sterling. As they are of no value to us financially, neither are they of much utility in a military point of view, as I have shown in a former paper. In the different invasions of

* The proceedings of the courts in the island of St. Lucie were for a long period carried on in the French language; they have been lately altered to English.

France from the earliest times, we have not made these islands stepping-stones; the rapidity and height of the tides that ran up to St. Malo would endanger the safety of any armament, and the same objection would hold good were they in the hands of an enemy; they would add little to the means of invasion for the same reason.

"Julius Cæsar the Roman,
Who yielded to no man,"

whether he had a dislike to the Race of Alderney, or other cause, does not appear to have taken these islands in his way, either on his invasion of Britain or his return from thence; and although the largest of these *insulæ* had the honour of being named after him, probably by one of his Lieutenants, he never condescends himself to mention either of them. The value assigned to them in modern times, has been rather of a negative nature, that they would have been a great annoyance to us in the hands of an enemy, as a nest for privateers during the war. This is mere conjecture, that cannot be most likely ever verified, as the whole of this *petite guerre* on the sea will be altered by the introduction of steam-vessels, as these being able to get to sea at all times of the tide and with any wind, the multiplicity of ports will no longer be of any great consequence. The golden days of privateering are past; the fastest clippers of sailing craft cannot now be trusted on that service, while the expense of fitting out and arming steamers will be too heavy for the speculation of individuals, combined with the recollection that the fastest of these would probably have little chance in running with the best of our war-steamers, and the reflection into the bargain, that flying to their own ports would no longer insure them security.

To point out more fully to the English reader all the abuses in the civil and criminal law of these islands, would require a much larger space of time than the limits of this paper will allow; for some of the most flagrant instances I may refer to the publication alluded to of Mr. Bowditch, in the form of letters addressed to the Attorney-General of the Island of Jersey.

MY FIRST SMELL OF GUNPOWDER, OR THE CAPTURE OF ANHOLT.

BY THE OLD MAN-O'-WAR'S MAN.

If the birth of royalty is commonly announced by a royal salute, what shall be said of mine, who was ushered into the world amid the roar of broadside after broadside, and during all the bustle, the fury, and determined energy of one of the most splendid and decisive victories the annals of this great and glorious country can boast of? I had little share in it, it is true,—being snug enough at my mother's bosom in the cable-tier; but she never recovered the fright, poor soul! and, though every care and attention was paid to her the Doctor and the Officers could think of, she eluded them all, and bade them, and me, and this world good-bye, when they least expected it. I thus became everybody's body,—had a hundred, aye, hundreds, of fathers,—but the never

a mother could they find me but the gun-room Maltese Nanny-goat, and, truth to speak, she answered the duty passing well, as my living self can amply bear witness. Nothing, I've been told, ever gave the Doctor and the other gentlemen more satisfaction than the happy result of this novel expedient; and for the other little wants I was liable to, these were entrusted for supply to the wife of Quartermaster Fleming, the only woman at that time on board. With him and his wife, therefore, I was from that day in keeping; and as most of the gentlemen strictly stuck to their promise of considering me their *adopted*, I brought the honest couple, I may safely say, a mint of money to pay them for my bringing up, education, and all the rest on't. Tom Fleming, good soul! had his temper, such as it was, like us all,—and I cannot deny that I had mine, or that it was of a very desirable form and build,—yet, though thus extremely opposed to each other, everything went on pretty fair until I began to feel myself *somebody*, when little bits of tiny squalls first began to get up between us. These, however, soon grew so frequent, and so confoundedly serious,—and all about a little smart twig of a girl of mine,—that after the devil's own thundering row on the river one morning, we'd been busied hawking and doling out our pots of purl to the men-o'-war's men as slept on board the sheer-hulks, he and I at last parted company, wicked and sulky enough,—he to Redriff, to tell his dame, old Susan, what a precious spink of obedience she had brought up, (information for which, I'll be sworn, she did not thank him, seeing I was not only her darling pet, but I may safely say her spoilt child, in whom she could see no evil,) and I to smoky Westminster, where I directly, slap-dash, enlisted into the Royal Marines, and received seventeen Abraham Newlands, my boys, as my bounty. I was a stout active young fellow at that time; and, being tall of my age, I passed through all their rigmaroles with the utmost credit, and while the money lasted there was neither a want of frolic nor fun, all was right, and, in fact, there was not the like of me in the party. As soon, however, as the cash began to get scarce, my new admirers began to whistle another tune, and I was suddenly bundled off to Chatham direct, where they marched and countermarched, and twisted and twined me as much as there was any occasion for. That, also, I got through; but as their strictly immured and confined life in the barracks was not at all suited to a lad of my kidney, I embraced the very first opportunity that occurred to volunteer, and was very lucky, and, indeed, highly pleased with my good fortune, when I found myself, after a lively two days' march to Woolwich, quite snug, bag and baggage, on board of His Majesty's frigate Whisk, of 36 guns, Captain Morgan Maccaw, commander.

As our party boarded the frigate fresh from the hands of the carpenters and caulkers, who, ever prodigal of their pitchy liquid, had left the decks in a sad mess of rubbish of all descriptions, all hands were immediately ordered to rig in fatigue-clothing, and commence without delay to scrape and swab the cabins and garrison out. This was a filthy and disagreeable job to many; but to me and some few others, who knew it was imperative and soon over, it was an employment that was readily gone about and cheerfully submitted to. All hands on board being now at work, therefore, the frigate's roomy and spacious decks began to assume a more lively and animated appearance; for

though she had not a single gun on board, and all her ship's company, excepting ourselves, were as yet carefully stowed away in the Namur guard-ship at the Nore, still, in addition to our pretty strong party, there were upwards of a hundred collegemen on board, who, squandered over the decks, were very comfortably employed seizing blocks of all sizes, working mats, and manufacturing reef-ties, sennet, and nettles, amid much loquacity and a profusion of long yarns. They were rough dogs in those days, the lads of the College, and as they saw opportunity did not stick at a trifle. This, however, soon came to light, through their own covetousness; for they had succeeded so successfully in making the party widows of so many small articles, that at length their entire knapsacks began to find their way on shore. To muster and examine their bags in the evening, before going on shore, in order to restrain this besetting sin of theirs, of appropriating to themselves either their neighbours' or His Majesty's property, was soon found to be a necessary duty, and a person of vigilance and some nerve was therefore in request, to see them all at work and out of the ship at certain hours, which were regulated by the dockyard. As it was absolutely necessary, also, that this new official should possess the accomplishment of being master of both reading and writing, the small authorities of our party, after much deliberation, cast their eyes on me, to whom they were both familiar, thank God and old Tom Fleming! and I was accordingly, though I believe the youngest man in the party, and, comparatively speaking, a mere Johnny Raw, inducted into this very easy office. In truth, I leaped into this job with infinite satisfaction; for it not only relieved me from very dirty work, but opened a path to me of having more easy access to my superiors. I accordingly immediately busied myself in preparing an accurate muster-roll; and that very evening, after my dismission of the Greenwichmen to their pots or their repose, I already found myself a marked man among the *élite* of my party. This situation I retained, if not to others', yet very much to my own satisfaction, until the frigate was hauled up alongside the mast-ship, and her crew came on board.

The masts were just on board, and the frigate warped back to her old station, when she was joined by her ship's company from a Nore tender, the Purser, Doctor, and various other minor officers, led on by Mr. Richard Hardy, her First Lieutenant; who was no time on board before I was ordered to dismiss the collegemen, and, my occupation thus gone, to betake myself once more to work along with my comrades. After a few days, therefore, of almost unceasing bustle and hard work, matters began gradually to assume a more orderly and settled appearance; which was no sooner reported on shore than the Captain came directly on board. He was a portly ruddy-complexioned man, above forty years of age, rather below the middle size, and was plainly dressed on the present occasion in a plain blue surtout, fastened up to his throat à-la-Blucher, with a neat cloth cap of the same colour on his head, rounded with a broad splendid band of gold lace, from which hung pendant a very costly gold tassel. His First Lieutenant, again, was a stout muscular man, several years younger, measuring fully six feet in height, of exquisite proportions, and blessed with a fine open countenance, and a sharp, laughing, hazel eye, which seemed the very seat and centre of continual good humour. They had long been shipmates

together, had the most implicit confidence in each other, and came alike under that description of our gallant officers popularly known as *Fire-eaters*.

The decks having been previously cleared up and well scrubbed, the Captain was received by all hands, rigged in their best clothes, standing at divisions, and by the Marines under arms, headed by their proper officers. The moment he reached the capstan he wheeled about, and surveyed with an eager and discerning eye his ship's company, yards, and rigging with evident pleasure; when, warmly grasping his tall executive by the hand,—

"Upon my honour, Hardy," he said, "I must give you credit for amazing expedition, whatever more—why you have actually performed wonders, my good sir, in an almost no time. But, come, let us have a squint at your proceedings under hatches; for if they bear an equal proportion to those above-board, you certainly have brought matters to a conclusion very much to my complete satisfaction. We can then overhaul these fine fellows more at our leisure."

His First Lieutenant silently acquiescing, they both immediately disappeared, followed by the Master and all the warrant-officers.

After a minute scrutiny of all the store-rooms, and other details connected with the internal arrangement of his vessel, the Captain and his followers once more made their appearance from the fore-hatchway, and then moved slowly along the front of the extended lines of his ship's company, both on the main and spar decks, graciously recognising his old hands by some one kindly remark or other—a piece of condescension on his part which was well rewarded by a grim smile from many a stern and weather-beaten countenance. He at last came in front of our party, standing at "present arms," and after a pretty close survey of us all, he exclaimed, turning to our officer—

"A very fine party of stout young fellows, indeed, Nicholls, and much superior to your last. It is only a thousand pities that your very pretty soldiers should almost always turn out such miserable sailors—of no greater use in bad weather or a gale of wind than so many silly old women."

"And yet I have been pretty particular, too, on that very score," returned our officer, with a smile, "and can assure you, sir, that, with very few exceptions, the whole party have seen more or less of active service. Indeed, the young fellow that now stands in your front, drew his first breath on board a line-of-battle—"

This was enough; and on the Captain's uttering his wondering exclamation of "Indeed!" I was ordered to advance. I instantly obeyed, and felt the blood rushing to my face at the double-quick. Immediately I was subjected to a whole volley of questions from both the curious Captain and his second in command, of little consequence to repeat, or the answers they received. Suffice it to say, that both the gentlemen walked away exceedingly well pleased, seemingly, that they had such a well-known lion on board as *Joe of the Fleet*.

The scrutiny being now over, the hands were piped down, leaving the gentlemen soon in possession of the deck, with an ample opportunity of paying their individual respects to their Commander, whom some of them had only now seen for the first time—he thus holding what might not have been unaptly termed his first quarter-deck *levée*. The

Captain received the whole of their notes of compliment with a gaiety of heart highly flattering to the donors; and, in return, told them, as a matter of news, that expecting his sailing orders to be awaiting him on his return to Town, he intended to drop down with the tide on the following day. "I tell you this the more readily, gentlemen," concluded he, "because, as Hardy and I have agreed to give our fine fellows the remainder of the day to enjoy themselves, it will afford you all leisure to examine into the exact state of your sea-stock and other matters, and to see that they are good for three months at least. If all is already right in that respect, gentlemen, I have not the smallest objection that as many of you as Mr. Hardy can spare may make holiday of it too, and thus pay your friends a farewell visit. For my own part I find I must put an end of mine to you for the present, and hurry back to Town as fast as my cattle can carry me, having an appointment to meet at the Admiralty. I trust, however, gentlemen, to find you all at your posts to-morrow by high water, when we shall slip from our moorings and be off to sea. Meantime, good day to all—God bless you!" With this general salute, he walked over the side to the shrill music of the Boatswain's pipe, and getting into his gig, made way swiftly for the dockyard.

The Captain was no sooner gone, than several of the other officers followed his example, and the First Lieutenant put a finishing hand to the ceremonies of the morning by not only graciously granting a card of twenty-four hours' liberty on shore to a favoured few, but calling the Boatswain to him on the quarter-deck, he gave him the word, and withdrew to his cabin. What that word meant was speedily known by the smiling fellow's loudly piping a temporary suspension of all discipline in the cheering notes of *All hands to dance!* The summons was hailed with a general burst of applause from all hands, and had the almost instantaneous effect of transforming the usual quietness, decency, and even strict order of His Majesty's ship Whisk into the noisy, shouting, laughter-loving uproar, and even licentious misrule, of another Bartholomew Fair. There was a smile on every countenance, and the ready laugh was elicited with ease at the slightest attempt at a joke. It is well known, however, that Jack, when happy himself, and in possession of permission and opportunity, loves nothing more dearly than to let it be known to all the world; you may be sure, then, that no time was lost in publicly announcing to all around, that the frigate, for that day at least, was to be the very focus of frolic and fun. In a very few minutes, therefore, her rigging fore and aft was gaudily decorated with the flags of all nations, which, flaunting gaily in the sunshine, had the effect of speedily attracting the notice of the hawk-eyed Children of Israel, who at that time so numerously pitched their tents around the various dockyards of the kingdom, whose boats were speedily alongside, laden with a profusion of all sorts of gear, alike pleasing to the eye and the palate, quickly followed, as a matter of course, by not a few boat-loads of the merry-faced daughters of levity and dance, who, with cheeks rouged to roses, and rigged out in their most captivating dresses, were received in many instances at the gangway, as they screamingly leaped into the arms of their partners, with an embrace and a smack which sounded like the crack of a waggoner's whip.

Matters thus auspiciously set a-going, went on joyously and swim-

mingly until dinner was piped, which gave a momentary lull to the ever-succeeding squalls of merriment and peals of laughter which ever and anon had burst from the various parties who promenaded the upper and main decks; and in the important process of filling their stomachs, both ladies and gentlemen conducted themselves with an order, a decorum, and a comparative tranquillity, that was altogether edifying. This pleasing lull, however, proved very short in its duration; for the moment the pipe once more thrilled on the ear, and *Grog a-hoy!* was bellowed down the hatchways, that very moment was the signal which once more set all the merry muscles in motion, and all the tongues of male and female in accelerated action. The cheering song and its deafening chorus was once more to be heard going its cheering round; while the merry jest and the long, loud, hearty laughs were renewed, and resounded from all quarters. Even this was continued for a very brief period: for all the more active and younger spirits, speedily tired of the inactivity of a seat at the mess-table, once more betook themselves to the upper decks, where they could enjoy themselves in the frolic and the dance, leaving the sedate, the moderate, and more orderly of their comrades behind them, to enjoy themselves in spinning an old yarn, or to indulge in the unwonted luxury of a siesta.

I need hardly here remind you, mates, that as we, of the Marines, are ever looked on by the officers as the proper conservators of good order and discipline in the ship, it may be well said that we in general have neither part nor portion in these temporary but merry and short-lived carnivals. Like our shipmates, it is true, we partake of the material indulgences allowed, so far as eating and drinking goes; here, however, the matter ends, for our discipline, instead of being relaxed, is if possible more tensely screwed up and severely enforced than ever. Hence, we thus stand ever ready, when called on, to repress with a strong hand the earliest attempts at insubordination or riot the moment it shows itself. On such a day as this, therefore, as you may easily suppose, the whole garrison, as it is called, was on the *qui vive;* the sentries on the magazines and posts of peril were not only select but well armed; and while those of the upper decks and gangways were doubled, a strong and select band was placed at the disposal of the Master-at-arms, to aid him and his Corporals in the preservation of the public peace wherever it was in danger of being in the slightest outraged. For my own part, I got placed, to my heart's wish, at the cabin door, with nothing to pay attention to but the sand-glass, and proclaim the progress of time; I could thus see and hear everything that was going on without interfering with any one, and in fact enjoyed myself, I believe, more as a mere spectator than many of my shipmates who were the most prominent actors.

I had just sung out the order to strike the bell four of the afternoon watch, and the fun and jollity was at its utmost height, when Quartermaster Wilkins came suddenly bustling down the companion-ladder, and inquired of me where he would find the First Lieutenant. I immediately told him he was in the state cabin, where, indeed, he had been for hours.

"Ah, well," said he, "Jenkins, that's lucky, for I must see him directly. Here we have got alongside of us a party of them there confounded lobsters of the artillery; and who dost think they've brought along with them *a prisoner?*"

"Oh, how should I know, Wilkins?"

"Hang it! can't you guess then?" cried the Quartermaster, inclined to be talkative. "There were only six of 'em as got the four and twenty hours' liberty-card this morning, and you must have seen them all."

"Perhaps I did," returned I, "and still I cannot guess. You'll remember, mate, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the ship's company yet."

"Ah! very true, lad," returned Wilkins, "I didn't think of that there. But lud, lud, of all men in the hooker who would have ever thought of such a canny-going, quiet customer, as Dunky Bray, coming on board in such a mess. Ha, ha, ha!" roared the Quartermaster in an involuntary fit of laughter, "may I die, but after him a pig to be shaved. But avast! time's precious—announce me at once, Jenkins."

"Cheerfully, mate," returned I; so opening the cabin-door, I said, "Quartermaster Wilkins wishes to speak with your honour, if you please."

"Send him in, Jenkins," was the answer. So passing him inside, I closed the door.

What passed between them must have been very short if it was not sweet, for the First Lieutenant, in the next instant, came hurrying out and bolted on deck, followed by the laughing Quartermaster with as much agility as he was master of.

With a curiosity somewhat excited, I must confess, I stood eagerly listening under the skylights of the spar-deck, which were directly in front of my post, when I heard the First Lieutenant exclaim, as if from the gangway, "Come on board." This was accordingly done, and I could easily see a party of soldiers of the artillery, headed by a corporal, advance, with a seamen along with them as a prisoner, who, bare-headed and bleeding, his face completely disfigured with wounds and bruises, and his clothes torn and covered with mud, seemed evidently to have been completely ill-used, whatever he had been guilty of.

In answer to the officer's eager inquiry into the matter, the corporal of the party, assuming a most imposing attitude, thus commenced his story, not a word of which escaped me. "One of our men, sir, I understand, as happened to be at Greenwich this morning, fell in with this here lad in a public-house, in company with a young woman, an acquaintance of his'n, who is a servant at Woolwich. After taking their drops together friendly enough, my comrade got up and told the girl he would squire her home as far as her master's door, to which she agreed, but this here lad wouldn't permit her. High words ensued of course, your honour, and a fight would have taken place, had not the girl and the people of the house, wishing to keep peace, interfered and prevented it. Nay, they even promised to detain the lad there awhile, if my comrade would only leave the house; which he immediately did, and set out for the barracks, the girl going along with him. They had got no way on the road, however, before they espied this here lad a following them, loudly swearing vengeance against them both for leaving him. This made them both step out, sir; and at length, when they did reach Woolwich, in order to get rid of him, who was constantly bawling at the top of his voice a'ter them, my comrade per-ded the girl to go into one of our public-houses, well known as the

sign of the Gun and Bombshell. Into this house, however, they were immediately followed by this here sailor, who, bursting into a room where a good number of our chaps were enjoying themselves, swore rudely and furiously, that he'd lick them all round if they did not immediately surrender the girl to him. Bless you, sir, the girl was by this time safely at home, having made her escape by the back-door; but what of that? the riot was commenced, and how long it continued I cannot say; but belonging to the patrol to-day, I was called in to quell the riot, and clear the house of them. With the assistance of my party I did so, and sent off my comrades to their barracks in a twinkling, leaving no one behind but himself, who, I certainly must confess, seems to have been punished enough. After making a strict inquiry, however, into the matter from the people of the house and several people of the town who saw the whole affair, I began to suspect that this here lad was not the right sort of thing altogether, particular as they all agreed in telling me that they knew nothing of him, and he had had no drink there. I therefore first of all asked him what ship he belonged to, and sure enough I must say he hailed for this one, but told me he was on shore on liberty. That's ever the story, your honour—they're all on shore on liberty, always, sir; but I'm not just the lad that's so easily done; so I demanded a sight of his liberty-card. As I expected, sir, the never a card was in his possession; and as none of the people of the house, nor those present, had either seen it or a single copper of his money, I directly chalked him down both as a desperate man and a deserter; and as such, having brought him once more on board of you, I claim my reward in name of the party along with me."

"And how much do you receive for a deserter generally, Corporal?" asked the First Lieutenant drily.

"Oh! my good sir," replied the Corporal with a simper and a smile, "you are pleased to be facetious; the sum is as well-known as a penny loaf."

"It will be the easier named then," said the officer in the same tone; "for I must inform you, Master Corporal, I am but little acquainted with deserters."

"That may be the case, sir," returned the artillerist, "though I never heard officer say so before. Our regular sum, however, is three guineas, sir, besides any unavoidable expenses incurred when brought from a distance."

"Well, it is lucky for the poor devil you can't talk of distance at present, Corporal," said the indignant officer. Then once more fastening his keen eyes on the unfortunate who stood, hanging his bleeding head, in complete silence before him, he went on,—"But come, Bray, rouse up! for I must hear your way of the story, my cleanly well-behaved beauty! Tell me, and tell me truly, you drunken swab, how the deuce you contrived to get so speedily into all this marvellous business since you left me this morning?"

"This morning!" involuntarily exclaimed the military, in a tone of surprise and disappointment.

"No farther gone, I assure you, my lads," continued the officer coolly, "so any further thoughts on the three guineas, you know, is all in my eye. You've done a very charitable action, however, in bringing the

stupid fellow safely on board, so let that comfort you. I can tell you, for as precious a pickle as he's got himself in now, that that brute of a fellow went over this vessel's side, little more than six or seven hours ago, fresh and hearty, and as clean as hands or good clothes could make him, with a liberty-card from me, which don't expire until to-morrow morning. So far he told you the truth. See him now; so shamefully filthy, so completely useless, as hardly to be worthy lifting out of the mud at the end of a broomstick. Oh, it is disgraceful behaviour! Come, sir, rouse yourself up directly, and tell me how all this has happened you."

The poor fellow thus importuned from such a quarter, lifted up his humbled head, but it was only to mutter, in a hoarse husky voice, the humble petition that his honour would, for the love of God, be pleased to order him a panikin of water.

"It is more than you deserve, you swab!" was the officer's consolatory return, at the same time giving the Quartermaster a signal which sent him to the tank in a twinkling. The welcome element was greedily devoured, but not before he had made a profound obeisance to his officer by way of returning him thanks; then hemming and hawking once or twice by way of clearing his obstructed throat, he at length burst out with—

"Long life to your honour! but that's the best freshener I've had this blessed day; and, mayhap, had I been content to have stuck to the like's on't, I might by this time have been snugly seated in the chimney-corner at home, enjoying a spell of a yarn with old mother and sisters before I leave them. But, avast with all that there—for it was never to be, seemingly. Howsumdever, your honour, as I says to myself, says I, whatever you do, never say die, my boy—for you knows grieving's a folly, says I—so, bah!—it's gone—so even let it go, and the devil go with it."

"Good God!" exclaimed the officer, "the fellow's either drunk or mad! Silence, you silly fool! I want no nonsense of that kind. Tell me, directly, how you come to be in such a mess."

"I'll tell your honour all about it in a brace of shakes," went on poor Bray, thus interrupted, and twisted his battered muzzle into sundry comical distortions; "for I'm not drunk—far from it, your honour—but sadly bumjeed—confused—and knocked about.—Hem—hem—Well, your honour must know that I'd got up as far as Greenwich all well and hearty—for, so help me Bob, I had tasted nothing but merely a tiffin of grog, which I had with my pals, the boat's crew, before starting. Well, being at Greenwich, your honour, there was I stuck up admiring of the old College and the old chaps, too, as were lolling about its walls at their leisure, and thinking with myself, Rat it, thinks I, if I'm in luck now, but I'll may be have a chance myself before I die of sporting a three-decker on that stylish finely paved deck of your'n as well as the best on ye yet, my old blades! when that very moment who should I clap my eyes on but my old pal Susan Stukely—old Stukely, the Deptford costermonger's daughter, your honour—her as I have known since I were a mere pickaninny, not much taller than the monkey's tail of one of our after-carronades—Bless your honour! we were not only neighbours' childer, but playmates, school-mates, and all the rest on't. So as I hadn't seen Sue for many a long

day—and she's grown a regular slapper now, almost as tall as myself, your honour—and as I was in possession of the rhino, d'ye see, why it was no more than natural in a fellow like me to grapple with her directly, and have her into a grog-shop, just to have a sup for old acquaintance' sake. Well, your honour, there we were seated laughing and chaffing over old stories happy enough, and, for myself, I can say, I were getting as merry a fellow as ever the devil shook a cudgel over, when who should join company with us but a sodger chap—one of your gunner kidney, your honour—and down he sets himself free and easy —quite at home—and begins a prating like winky to my pretty beauty. This, I confess, I didn't like at all, your honour—so I first of all began to get a little of summat both savage and sulky, for I were cruel vexed —then I began to swear away like a young 'un, 'cause I couldn't help it—and at last, as the blues came stronger on me, says I to the sodger, says I, if you don't directly shut your potato-trap, mate, cut your stick and sheer off, I'll directly oblige you to walk the plank out of this crib, and find the street in the best way you can, says I. Whew! your honour, the sodger was as saucy a blade as myself, and not only returned me a Rowley for my Oliver, but more than that had the audacious impudence to show fight, and that, too, in the presence of my fancy lass. This was a clincher in a moment—and I am certain your honour would have despised me, as for sartin I would ha' done myself, had I not instantly sprung to my heels, and laid the saucy hound a sprawling on the floor. Well, a nice regular set-to would for sartin have taken place, had not my pretty Susan and the people of the house shoved in their oars and prevented it. Now I can't say how it happened afterwards d'ye see, there was such a thundering lillibulero, and I were so mortal angry, but while I were busy paying and wrangling with the landlord for the stuff we had had, and the riot we had occasioned, doesn't away bolt the clever devil Sue out of doors, so that when I at last got to the street, and ran myself out of wind down the road, what does I see, thinks your honour, but Sue and the sodger marching towards Woolwich, arm-in-arm, as light-heeled and merry as Darby and Joan. D—n me, your honour—I crave pardon for swearing—if my blood was up before, it was boiling now; I forgot home, mother, and sisters,—every thing lovely and kindly vanished from my bosom on a sudden, like another Cape Flyaway,—so directly after them I made sail, though they stretched out so well that I didn't get alongside of the sodger until he got snugly moored in that crib of his'n they call the Gun and Bombshell. It was then I did go into it with spirit, your honour. But what could a poor fellow do against a whole roomful of 'em? I got no fair play, for they were all on me together; and not only quilted me like a sack, but I verily believe would have squeezed the wind out of me for good, and for ever, had not their patrol been luckily called in and cleared the house on 'em. At all events, your honour, I hope you won't be very angry at me, since I confess I've by far got the worse on't—a blessed good thrashing, my clothes torn in splinters, my rings torn from my ears and fingers, and every copper I had in the world fairly skinned out of me."

"What dost say, Bray?" cried the attentive officer; "have you been robbed? Come, out with it, you silly fool; but see that you tell me truth."

"I can say nothing farther than this, your honour, that when I went into that grog-shop of theirs, the Gun and Bombshell, I'm sartain I had both my rings and money; and when, after a bit I came to myself —for I were almost pounded to cocoa amongst 'em—I discovered, to my sorrow, that the never a ring nor a rap was I possessed of."

"Indeed! why, this is something serious, Master Corporal," said the gentleman, indignantly. "Now, tell me seriously, Bray, how much money were you in possession of when you left me this morning?"

"A Spanish doubloon, your honour, which I have long kept for the occasion, and which I changed this morning to give the yawlers a parting glass. Dan Spenser and all the boat's crew saw me."

"They did?—I'll soon see as to the truth of that. Boatswain's Mate!" sung out the First Lieutenant, "send Spenser and his yawlers aft to me directly."

"Ay, ay, Sir!" answered the bulky fellow; and Spenser and his pals were in immediate attendance.

They all confirmed the unfortunate Bray's story, Spenser even asserting that he saw him stow away three Abrams carefully, and wrap the silver in his liberty-ticket—an assertion which sufficiently accounted for its absence in the officer's opinion, whilst it strengthened his belief in the robbery. He stood a few moments musing in silence, then ordered the Master-at-arms to be called.

"Sullivan," said he, addressing the official, "go you directly on shore with the Corporal here, and see if you can make anything of this intricate business, for this stupid fellow has not only been cruelly beaten, but most scandalously robbed of both his rings and money. Go to that public-house he calls the Gun and Bombshell, make all the inquiries you can; and if you can fix guilt on one or any of them, get a warrant, and clap them in prison. I'm determined to investigate this business thoroughly. Stop a moment, I shall give you a note to the officer on guard, in case you have occasion to go to the barracks."

This was quickly done; and the military party, heartily sick of their untoward visit, most gladly took their seats in the boat, when the Lieutenant called out from the gangway, "Harkee, Sullivan, you have my orders to take any aid you may find necessary; and if you are successful in your search, I will cheerfully cover your expenses." Then returning to the deck, he ordered poor Bray off to the head to get himself washed and cleaned, when possibly, he said, the Doctor would condescend to examine him.

It was well for the military that they were all clear of the ship before the crest-fallen Duncan Bray was turned loose at liberty to go forward and mingle with his sympathising messmates and companions; for, after a careful examination of Duncan's earthly tabernacle, their wrath was excessive. As it was, they cleaned and comforted him all they could; and the Doctor's-Mate having done his part of the duty, Duncan was carefully consigned to his hammock, and left to his silent and no doubt repentant meditations.

Did all this put a bar on the merriment, or suspend the frolic and gaiety of the carnival?—Hardly for five minutes. The novelty of a military visit excited the curiosity of some, and an inspection of Bray's mutilations roused the momentary anger and indignation of more; but the one had no sooner shoved off, and the other been conveyed to his

hammock, than the rolling of the merry feet on the sounding deck, the hearty laugh, and the feminine scream of delight, soon convinced the most sceptical that every thing disagreeable was already forgotten.

At long and last the sun went down, and so did the flags and topgallant-yards, and thus put a conclusion to this rollicking and noisy day. The hammocks speedily followed, and was too good a hint to many, not to send them gladly and expeditiously below. All had now left the decks except a few of the younger invincibles, who scorned to give in while they could muster another set. Even these, however, gradually stole away, the upper-decks grew silent and deserted; and a few hours afterwards, the silver moon, soaring gloriously in a clear blue sky, while she shed her modest gleaming rays on the solitary sentinels as they slowly paced the spacious gangways of the frigate, seemed to look down, and say, "Good night!—All's well!"

At an early hour on the following morning, all hands were roused up for the purpose of giving the entire decks an unusually careful scrubbing, and getting everything in readiness for proceeding to sea; and at the usual time for crossing topgallant-yards, and unfurling the flag to the morning sun, Blue Peter was run up to the mainmast-head, the fore-topsail dropt, and a gun fired. The breakfast was then piped, bustled through, and got over; and all hands, according to previous orders, made themselves ready to fall into divisions the moment the Captain's gig was reported to be on its way from the dockyard.

The bells were still ringing to recal the carpenters and other workmen from their morning repast, when the signal-man on the look-out sung out to the Quartermaster, "The gig has shoved off!" which not only hurried all the officers on deck in a trice, but was the signal for the Boatswain to pipe divisions. The order was instantly and promptly obeyed; so that when the Captain ascended to the gangway, the first thing he saw, was his goodly ship's company paraded before him, all on the alert and ready for action.

"Good morning, Hardy!—good morning to you all, gentlemen!" he began, as he made his way to the capstan, with his heavy gold-laced hat in his hand; "hope you've had pleasant adieus, and are now ready, without any heavy regrets, to encounter the roughs of the Service. Upon my honour, Hardy, I must say we have an imposing appearance, whatever else may be in us. Are you all ready, and the pilot on board?"

"Everything is ready, Sir, to your heart's wish, I hope," answered the First Lieutenant; "but I have rather an ugly business to trouble you with, which befel one of our poor fellows yesterday, and which for our own honour, I would wish to see properly investigated."

"With all my heart, my good Sir," returned the Captain; "you know my best services are always at your command. But what is it?"

The First Lieutenant explained, in a conversation apart for a few minutes; but the conference was suddenly broken up, by the Captain's turning suddenly away, while he exclaimed,

"You may depend upon it, my good Sir, such a proceeding would be all in my eye!—a piece of business, indeed, we have neither time nor opportunity ever to accomplish. However, so it pleases you, I have not the smallest objection to hear Sullivan's account of his progress"

The Master-at-arms was accordingly speedily hurried in

sence, when in reply to the Captain's various interrogatories, the following brief detail was elicited :—

"In compliance with my orders, Sir, I proceeded to the Gun and Bombshell; but after the most patient and minute inquiries, I could learn nothing worth the repeating, every one agreeing that Bray was the commencer of the whole riot—that he was a complete stranger to them, and that they had neither seen him eat, drink, nor spend a copper in the house. I then went to the barracks, Sir, and having told my business, I duly delivered Mr. Hardy's note to the officer on guard. That gentleman, the moment he read it, shook his head, and said, that nothing would have given him more pleasure than to have complied with the wishes of the writer, had he not been demanding what it was not in his power to grant; for whatever authority he might possess on his post, or inside the barracks, he had none earthly beyond the gates. His men, he said, had liberty to go out and intermingle with the townspeople, and for their behaviour there they were accountable to the civil authorities alone, he having no control over them. But that if I had their warrant with me, and a regular constable to execute it, for the apprehension of any delinquent then in the barracks, he had not the smallest objection to aid me in its immediate execution. This at once brought me up all standing, Sir, seeing that I had neither one nor 'tother; so after bethinking myself a bit, at long and last—I—I——"

"Came away as wise as you went," hastily broke in the smiling Captain, "isn't that the conclusion, Sullivan? Well, well, my good fellow, console yourself that you are not the only one, of scores, who has been compelled to sheer off from these gates equally well satisfied—the very Scylla and Charybdis of both our poor fellows' wages and prize-money to boot. The fact is, Hardy, the madcap voluntarily rushed into Lob's pond, and if he was punished in being forced to pay for his whistle a *leetle* smartly, he must just pocket the affront in the best manner he can—there is nothing else for it. We can only hope it will make him more wary in playing with edged tools in future. But, to have done with that, I am now going below to lay aside some little things I have about me, see the decks clear, and every one ready to jump to his station, for I am impatient to be off in the execution of my duty; but, eh!—avast, avast!" exclaimed he, suddenly halting in a listening attitude, as a merry feminine giggle saluted his ears from the main hatchway; "before we begin to talk of duty, or indeed of any thing deserving the name of proper discipline, in heaven's name let us be rid of the women. See the creatures ashore as soon as you can, Hardy, and I will join you again directly."

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN AND ITS HISTORIANS.

BY MAJOR BASIL JACKSON, H.P., ROYAL STAFF CORPS.

THE writer of the notes on the Waterloo Campaign, which have appeared recently in the United Service Magazine, forbore to make any observations on the statements and opinions respecting it in Mr. Alison's celebrated history of Europe, though differing from that gentleman, *toto cœlo*, upon many points; from conceiving that he, like several other writers, had fallen into mistaken views owing to defective information; and trusting that Capt. Siborne's complete and impartial history, together with such light as has glanced from other quarters, would effectually remove all the false impressions that still remain relative to the measures of the Allied Commanders.

An article in the Quarterly Review, for September, 1842, and a memorandum in the same periodical for May, 1843, from the pen of Sir Francis Head, most ably combat the peculiar opinions of the eloquent historian in question; showing that the ephemeral success which attended Bonaparte's first operations can in no way be ascribed to any neglect of due watchfulness by his adversaries, but ought to be regarded rather as a necessary consequence of his taking the initiative vigorously and in great force.

As it appears, from the new edition of the "History of Europe," recently published, that, notwithstanding the powerful cannonade of the "Quarterly," and the spirited charges of Sir Francis Head, its author still holds his ground, unshaken as were the Highlanders at *Mont St. Jean*, the remarks that have before appeared in the two last Numbers of the United Service Magazine, with the following notes as addenda, must be viewed as a flank movement, like Bülow's at Waterloo, made in conjunction with Capt. Siborne's more important front attack, *à la* Wellington. Together they may hope to carry his indefensible position, which is wholly unsupported by any good military opinion. And, *àpropos* to this observation, let it be borne in mind that, although General de Jomini, who is unquestionably the first of military writers, remarks upon the operations of the Waterloo campaign, in his "*Précis de l'Art de la Guerre*," (new edition,) he does not, in the remotest degree, reflect on the conduct of the Allied Generals. On the contrary, he says that the position of their armies on the Belgian frontier, fulfilled all the requisite conditions.

By the observations already hazarded upon the Waterloo Campaign, it has been sought to prove that whatever danger the Allied Armies were exposed to in consequence of being separated, arose entirely from the too great extension of Marshal Blücher's cantonments, and not from any injudicious distribution of the Anglo-Allied army, or error on the part of its commander, in not concentrating it when the horizon towards France became overcast, and threatened a coming storm. The evil of defending a country by means of two armies having different bases of operation, and perhaps in some respects different views and interests, has also been adverted to. On the occasion in question there can be little doubt that if the Duke of

Wellington had been generalissimo over both armies, the several Prussian corps at least would have been otherwise distributed. We find, from a letter written by the Duke to Sir Henry Hardinge, on the 11th May, that he considered his colleague's sojourn at Liège to have continued too long; and we may be allowed to surmise that he equally disapproved of Bülow's corps remaining at so great a distance from the theatre of expected operations.

It must not, however, be overlooked, that there was a wide difference between the circumstances under which the Duke was acting, and those that influenced the Prussian commander. The former was at the head of an army partly composed of Netherlands' troops, and partly of British and Hanoverians, who, for more than a year had been employed at the charge of the Netherlands' Government, to defend the country from without, as well as to protect the civil and military organization of a kingdom newly formed out of discordant elements. He was therefore not only bound in honour, but it was his first duty to guard the Belgic soil, whilst preparing, in common with the rest of the Allies, to carry out the measures which had been resolved upon at Vienna against the usurper of the French throne. Hence the defensive system of fortifying and garrisoning Mons, Tournay, Ath, Oudenarde, Ypres, &c., in order to prevent any partial inroad of the enemy, as also to secure the line of communication with Ostend, from whence supplies of every kind were continually arriving for the army.

But Marshal Blücher was not in an equal degree bound to defend Belgium; and if he concurred in the Duke of Wellington's views on that point, it was from coinciding with him in opinion, that its possession by Bonaparte would be attended with a great moral effect in his favour; besides being alive to the truth, that Belgium must ever be the advanced position of Germany against France. Had the French obtained possession of Brussels through any want of proper defensive precautions on the part of the Duke, it would have been a subject for just reproach, that city being the capital of the Sovereign whose kingdom and military force were entrusted to his care: but Blücher was untrammelled by such a consideration, and only regarded it as a place from which it was important to keep Bonaparte.

We gather from the Duke of Wellington's correspondence, that his defensive plan was to fight a battle, if necessary, for the preservation of the Netherlands, and if worsted to retire on Maestricht, into which fortress he took the precaution to throw a provision of ammunition. A careful consideration of the position occupied by the advanced portion of his army, which was cantoned upon three high roads converging towards Brussels, will satisfy any unprejudiced person that it was judiciously disposed for general defence, and that the concentration of its several divisions in front of the forest of Soignies could not be prevented by an irruption of the French, however sudden, or coming from a quarter however unexpected.

But every thing that occured on the French side of the frontier immediately before hostilities began—such as the destruction of bridges on the Sambre, the breaking up and barricading of roads, together with the multiplying and strengthening of posts, seemed to indicate an intention to remain on the defensive. These proceedings, and the assembling, in the first instance, of large bodies of troops about Valenciennes and Maubeuge, were calculated to deceive the British

General as to Bonaparte's real purpose. And if, under cover of his fortresses, and a vigilant guarding of the whole line of frontier, the enemy's army was concentrated in front of Charleroi without the knowledge of the Allies, it may be called a "surprise;" but has nothing in it at all surprising when we reflect on the advantages under which the concentration was accomplished.

The remarks upon the disposition of the Prussian army that appear in the paper on the Waterloo campaign, must be understood as having reference to the desideratum of the two armies being disposed with a view to lending each other mutual support, and the defence of Belgium. But if, as we have seen, the Duke of Wellington felt it as a paramount duty to shield Belgium, and especially to protect Brussels, Marshal Blücher's measures were also controlled by considerations of a different nature. Besides maintaining his communication with the Rhine, he had to cover the territory, recently acquired by Prussia, between that river and the Meuse, and to keep posts of observation at Dinant and other points in the vicinity of places where the French were known to be in considerable force. Moreover there had been, previous to his taking command of the Prussian army, a strenuous opposition by the King of the Netherlands to the entry of the Prussians into his kingdom; occasioned probably, by the dislike which the inhabitants entertained towards them; although political motives of a less justifiable nature were assigned by persons at the time for the King's conduct*.

How far the circumstances of the period would have justified Marshal Blücher in occupying more of the Netherlands' territory than its Sovereign chose to authorise, until constrained so to do by the exigencies of warfare, must be left for the learned in international law to determine.

The author of the "History of Europe" is of opinion that the Allied Generals ought to have concentrated their armies at Wavre and Waterloo before the commencement of hostilities: but if the Prussians had been, like the Anglo-Allied army, cantoned with reference to the defence of Belgium, there would have been no need for the two armies to have scampered off to those or any other points, before an attack was actually made, like a flock of sheep, which instinctively concentrate at the first bow-wow they hear on the other side of the hedge, without waiting to see whether Rover is going to jump over it or not.

But if such concentration was, in the historian's opinion, called for after the 9th June, it would have been equally proper on the 6th, when the Duke of Wellington received information that the enemy was about to attack; and even on the 9th May, when he wrote to Sir Henry Hardinge, stating that there appeared no doubt of the enemy's forces being collected at Maubeuge and Valenciennes,—that the communica-

* In the Memoir of Sir Hudson Lowe, which has appeared in the United Service Magazine, mention is made of the King's opposition to the entry of Kleist's troops into Belgium, and Sir Hudson's spirited conduct on the occasion. The secret journey to Paris of one of the King's Aides-de-camp, coupled with the strenuous desire shewn to prevent the Prussians from crossing the Meuse, about the same time, awakened a suspicion that some intercourse was going on between the King and Bonaparte. Afterwards, at St. Helena, Captain de Gors, the Aide-de-camp of the French Commissioner, learned from the Count de Montholon, that a communication had actually taken place between those personages, and that Napoleon had made tempting overtures to King William.

tion had been put an end to the day before,—and that Bonaparte was said to be at Condé. Nay, such concentration was, by the same rule, required as early as the 30th April, when reports were received of the Imperial Guard having moved from Paris towards Beauvais, and that Bonaparte was about to visit the northern frontier. On receiving which intelligence, although the Duke did not deem it necessary to make any change in the disposition of his troops, yet he issued a secret memorandum for the guidance of the Prince of Orange, the Earl of Uxbridge, Lord Hill, and the Quartermaster-General, (Sir Hudson Lowe,) relative to their concentration; which provided against an attack, whether made between the Lys and the Scheldt, between the Sambre and the Scheldt, or by both lines.

But the advocates for concentration at points so far in the rear as Waterloo and Wavre, before hostilities began, do not perceive that it would have necessitated an entire withdrawing of the Allied posts from the frontier, and the abandonment to their own resources of the towns of Tournay, Mons, Ath, Oudenarde, and the places in West Flanders, which had been temporarily fortified; together with an exposure of the line of communication between the Anglo-Allied army and Ostend, by which reinforcements and supplies continued to arrive even after the campaign opened. Further, by retiring from the frontier all means of gaining intelligence as to what was passing on the French side would have been given up; so that while the Prussians were tranquilly puffing their meerschaums on the banks of the Dyle, and the Duke's polyglot force was "chewing the cud of sweet and bitter fancy" in the glades of the forest of Soignies, awaiting the appearance of Napoleon, that man of enterprise might have got possession of the above-named towns,—which, being garrisoned by raw troops, would probably have hung out the white flag at the first summons,—overrun West Flanders, and stopped the supplies from Ostend. Or he might have combined a movement of his own army with that of Suchet from Lyons, and appeared upon the Rhine with 200,000 men, fluttering the Emperors of Russia and Austria at Heidelberg, before intelligence of his march could have penetrated to the Allied Generals in front of Brussels.

No sound military man could be found to assent to the historian's notion of concentrating the armies as he recommends. Whilst the French were collecting in strength near the Belgic frontier, it behoved the Allies to have numerous posts, as far advanced as possible; and these could only be maintained by cantoning troops in force within a convenient distance of them.

There is a paragraph introduced at page 880, vol. x., of the second edition of the "History of Europe," which shows that its author has been misinformed on some material points relating to the distribution of the Anglo-Allied army at the opening of the campaign; and it is therefore necessary for me to state that the "whole British cavalry" was not "on the extreme right on the banks of the Scheldt between the army and the sea," but at Ninove and Grammont on the Dender, where it was well placed*. That the only cavalry between the Scheldt and the Lys was the 2nd Hussars of the German Legion, which regiment was so stationed, not for the purpose of "benefitting from the rich pasture

* The writer of these remarks had reason to know precisely how the cavalry was disposed, and he may also mention that he rode to Ninove on the night of the 15th June, with orders from the Duke of Wellington respecting it, which were delivered

which the meadows afforded," but to keep a look-out over West Flanders. And lastly, that if "a considerable part of the British army was at Brussels," there was no situation more appropriate for the reserve to be posted.

Before closing these remarks, it is requisite to say a few words in reference to the incredible story of the Duke of Wellington's relying upon Fouché for intelligence of Bonaparte's military intentions.

It was to be expected that the passage in the Duke's letter to General Dumouriez, which was first quoted in contradiction of the tale by the Quarterly Review for September, 1842, would have been deemed by all persons as sufficient to set the matter at rest; but, on the contrary, it is again spread before us in the new edition of Mr. Alison's History, supported by the testimony of Sir Walter Scott, as given in his "Paul's Letters," where it is stated as having been heard by Sir Walter from good authority; who, however, saw reason afterwards to doubt his good authority, and consider the story as "a thing devised by the enemy," since it is omitted in his "Life of Napoleon."

Nobody in France has ever considered Fouché's Memoirs as more to be relied on than any of the numerous supposititious histories, which rapidly succeed each other from the French press, and are read, talked of, and forgotten in the course of a single week. Finding, however, that the story in question was still credited in North Britain, the writer of these notes applied to an eminent French literary gentleman for his opinion as to the value of Fouché's Memoirs, when his reply was as follows—"On ne fait aucun cas, *historiquement parlant*, des Mémoires dont vous me parlez. Il en est de ce livre comme des *Mémoires de la Marquise de Crequi* (par M. de Courchamp) des Mémoires de Louis XVIII., par le Duc de * * *, &c."

But, unless it can be shown that the Duke of Wellington neglected any proper military precaution during the portentous period that preceded Napoleon's attack, it cannot signify one single jot whether the story be true or false. From the Duke's correspondence it is manifest that he had little faith in any senders of intelligence at the period in question; for in a letter to Earl Bathurst of the 22nd May, 1815, he writes—"There is a good deal of *Charlatanism* in what is called procuring intelligence, as there is in everything else. I do not know how Mr. —— has discovered that my channels of intelligence are of doubtful fidelity. I should find it difficult to point out what channels of intelligence I have; but probably Mr. —— knows."

To imagine the Duke, of all men, capable of being in the remotest degree influenced by any intelligence emanating from the enemy's camp, is to give him little credit for the great sagacity and knowledge of mankind which have characterised all his public actions, whether civil or military; and historians may rest assured, that had he ever trusted for the safety of his army and the success of his military operations to intelligence expected from spies and traitors, he never would have risen to be the consummate General, as well as wise statesman, that all acknowledge in his person.

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to the present Earl Cathcart, then Assistant Quartermaster-General to the whole of the cavalry, which lay cantoned in villages within a reasonable distance of Ninove and Grammont.

MILITARY SCRAPS.

FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF AN OFFICER.

NORMAN CROSS PRISON.

IN the year 1808, there were 5930 French prisoners confined at Norman Cross. The prison was divided into four parts, each part enclosed by a palisade, and a strong palisade surrounded the whole. A block-house, with swivels, was built in the centre, and a guard-house and a 6-pounder at each of the four gates.

The prison, with its yards, &c,, covered forty-two acres of ground, and five guards and one picquet mounted every day. There were 231 men daily on duty.

Exclusive of the sentries from the block-house guard, there was a regular chain of them round the prison. These men marched a few paces on each side of their posts till they met those adjoining, and then returned, each sentry calling aloud the number of his post, ("No. 64—*All's well*,") which passed in succession round the prison, and then recommenced with No. 1 post.

The officers frequently visited the sentries; patroles from each guard were constantly marching round the prison, besides the usual rounds of the Field Officers, &c., and the visits of the General Officer (Williams) at unexpected hours during the night. The sentries were not allowed to cover their ears with their caps during the night; yet, with all these precautions and the vigilance used, the prisoners frequently made their escape.

It appeared on examination of several of them, when re-taken, that during the day they contrived to loosen one of the palisades, and then waited for a dark and stormy night to get out of the prison-house in which they were locked up for the night (built of wood only), to get into the yard, passed through the palisade, and lying flat on the ground, crawled along till they were close to the line of sentries; there they waited till the two sentries at that part met, and turned their backs on each other; they then rolled over their foot-path, and waited till the sentries again separated, when they rolled a few paces farther on, and thus patiently and by slow degrees made their escape.

The guards always mounted with their arms loaded, and when coming off duty next day, marched to the parade ground, where Quartermasters attended, and received the powder drawn out of their muskets. They had directions to fire at every man attempting to make his escape.

The prisoners were a most ingenious and industrious set of men for seamen, but spent all they earned in gambling. In a very short time they deprived the poor people for many miles round the prison of employment, particularly the makers of straw-plait. If a watch or a pair of trowsers wanted mending, or a piece of cloth to be dyed, they were sent into the prison. There were workmen of all descriptions, and the most beautiful pieces of mechanism were executed by them. The trade of that part of the country was so much injured by the prisoners, that the General commanding received directions to search the

prisons frequently, and to take from the prisoners all manufactured or unmanufactured articles which rivalled ours, and which were afterwards sold by auction. This was a very disagreeable duty for both officers and men forming the garrison. When the articles were ready, the prisoners usually buried or otherwise secreted them till an opportunity offered of disposing of them. It appeared to me a very unfair proceeding to these unfortunate men, as an immense quantity of pipe straw and other materials were clandestinely conveyed to them which must have passed our sentries, and became the property of the prisoners by purchase; yet everything was seized. The persons who sold them the straw, and the soldiers who allowed it to pass, were more culpable. I never could find out how it was procured or passed to the interior of the prison.

The coercion absolutely necessary to keep these men in order made the Superintendent, Capt. Preston, R.N., and others very obnoxious to them. One prisoner (a petty officer, I believe) stabbed a turnkey, mistaking him in the evening for Capt. P., for which he was tried and hanged close to the block-house guard while I was there.

It was a very insecure place to confine such a large body of men in, which made it absolutely necessary to keep the garrison under the most strict and rigorous discipline. After we left the place a brick wall was built round it, which made the prison more secure, and the duty not so severe. It was the confinement on board the prison-*ships* that the French prisoners complained of so much. At Bourdeaux, in 1814, a French bookseller showed me a pamphlet suppressed by order of the French Government, though written by its desire. It contained false and exaggerated statements of cruelty on our part towards French prisoners, written for the express purpose of exasperating the people against us; but finding that it deterred seamen from entering their service, and made the conscripts desert, they were obliged to suppress the work.

I thought the prisoners fairly treated with regard to food,—it was contracted for, as usual, but they were allowed to examine and reject any part of it previously to its being cooked, if found damaged or otherwise unwholesome.

Table d'Avitaillement pour les Prisonniers de Guerre en Santé.

Sunday.....	1½ lb. bread.....	One Quart of Soup.
Monday.....	½ lb. fresh beef.....	
Tuesday.....	½ lb. cabbages or turnips...	
Thursday.....	1 oz. Scotch barley.....	
Saturday.....	¼ oz. onions.....	
	¾ oz. of salt.....	
Wednesday.....	1½ lb. bread, 1 lb. herrings, 1 lb. potatoes.	
Friday.....	1½ lb. bread, 1 lb. salt fish, 1 lb. potatoes.	

The Seat of War.

This country may be truly called a happy one, since it has not been for many years the *seat of war*. The fluctuations of trade in manufacturing countries are frequently the cause of great distress to portions of the community, but the ravages of war affect a whole kingdom; no sacrifice, not dishonourable, can be too great to keep the enemy at a distance, and even the presence of a large body of friendly troops is at all times a great evil, as the Duke of Wellington's and other Orders

will prove. See those dated Vizeu, Feb. 28, 1810; Leyrea, Oct. 3, 1810; Cortaxo, Dec. 12, 1810; Orgonel, March 20, 1811. I have marched through a number of Portuguese towns without a single inhabitant in them; several of them were abandoned by the recommendation of our Commander-in-Chief, on the approach of the enemy.

When the French evacuated Cortaxo, and made a stand at Santarem, the British troops immediately marched into the former town. The inhabitants, who had fled from it on the arrival of the French, came down to occupy their houses on hearing of their departure. What misery and distress followed! Every room and shed was filled with troops; there was neither food nor shelter for these poor people. A subscription was raised for them, in which the Officers of the Guards took a very active part, and food bought, but their sufferings were very great.

The number of Portuguese peasants, old and young, murdered by the French soldiers created such a revengeful spirit, and a desire to retaliate, when the Portuguese troops entered France, that it gave Lord Wellington not a little trouble to repress it. In our pursuit of Ney's corps through Portugal we saw numerous instances; and such was the fear of the French prisoners of being escorted by Portuguese troops, that they invariably implored to be guarded by British soldiers.

At Villa Porco, which was deserted by the inhabitants, our servants, before cooking our dinners, searched every part of the house we occupied, to see what it would afford to add to our mess, (a common practice,) and not a room, locker, or cupboard left unexamined. We had been in the house several hours when a Portuguese woman threw back a door behind which she had been all that time concealed, and in a position of great constraint, gave a dreadful shriek, ran out of the house, and off to the mouutains. This poor creature, equally afraid of British and French troops, must have come down from the mountains after the departure of the latter, and had not time to leave the house before we entered it.

On our arrival at Alfayate we found that village with very few doors and window-shutters remaining in it, and we concluded the enemy had burnt them; but on walking out to an elevated position, at a little distance from the village, we found all the missing doors and window-shutters. They had removed them to form huts at their bivouac at that place, considering it the best military position.

At one village, after a day's march in pursuit of the enemy, we walked into the little yard of a house and sat down upon some billets of wood in the shade to rest ourselves, and having accidentally dropped a Portuguese coin, I stooped to look for it, and found it lying close to a slender finger of a human body buried in that spot. Accustomed as military men are to the sight of mutilated and dead bodies in every stage of putrefaction, yet there was something in this discovery which affected us all, as we thought it probably the body of the unfortunate mistress of the house, or her daughter, another innocent victim in addition to the number we had already seen.

The French soldiers spared none of the churches or images considered sacred by all good catholics. They made stables of the former, and burnt the latter whenever wood was wanted. At Golega I entered a house which they had just been obliged to fly from, and I found the

remains of four beautifully carved figures of Saints burning under a pot.

Their barbarous conduct in Portugal will long be remembered by the inhabitants. The towns and villages in that country which suffered most by being occupied by British troops were those on the line of march by which detachments joined the army. Being composed of men of different regiments, and not under the command of their own officers best acquainted with their characters, they were not always under the same command and control. I was much shocked to see the state of the little village of Pinhanços, which, when we marched through it in pursuit of the enemy, had sustained but little damage, but the next time I saw it it was in a complete state of delapidation, though the inhabitants had returned to it, and not an enemy's soldier had been there.

In some towns in France, where the inhabitants were misled by false reports of our character, and left their houses on our approach without taking a single article with them but what they had upon their backs, it required great and unceasing exertion of the British officers to keep the troops from the wine cellars, and from unnecessarily destroying property, if they were fatigued by a long march and without a sufficient supply of food and fuel or long delay in the issue of provisions. Whatever loss of property may have been sustained no lives were unnecessarily or wantonly taken by British soldiers. They suffered many privations and sincerely prayed that they might soon overtake the enemy. In the division I belonged to, in the south of France, there were sixty barefooted men marched every day under charge of an officer, each man carrying his knapsack containing his kit—a musket and bayonet, a blanket and great coat, a canteen for water, a haversack containing what provisions he had, (sometimes three days' rations were issued at one time,) his cartouch box containing sixty rounds of ball cartridges, a tin and cover, and sometimes a cooking kettle and bill-hook,—this was a severe trial for them in an enemy's country. Soldiers look well on parade in England, and from their apparently healthy state appear fit for any duty; but two or three campaigns in a foreign country put their strength to the proof; many have constitutional diseases which do not appear till they are tried in this way, others sink under the load they have to carry with long marches and bad food. Of a regiment composed of a thousand men, and supposing none killed or wounded, two or three campaigns will only leave about five hundred men present, but these men will be fit for any duty; as a proof of this I can mention one instance. A regiment joined our division in the Peninsula from England, and on the first long march one hundred of the men composing it dropped down and were left on the road, while at the roll call after the march we had not a man missing. That kind of life which soldiers lead in England is not calculated to make them bear much fatigue or change of food. They should march out more frequently in full marching order, or daily have some laborious employment. In the Memoirs of Marshal Ney are the following just remarks:—

"One of the greatest difficulties in war is to accustom the soldier to the fatigues of marching. The other powers of Europe will attain, with difficulty, in this respect, the degree of perfection which the French soldier

possesses. His sobriety and physical constitution are the real causes of the marked superiority he has acquired over the Austrians in that particular.

"Rapidity of march, or rather an able combination of marches, almost invariably determine the fate of war. Colonels of infantry, therefore, should be indefatigable in their endeavours to train their soldiers, progressively, to ordinary and forced marches; to attain that object, so essential in war, it is indispensable to oblige the soldier to carry his knapsack on his back."

It is stated, in Napier's valuable History, that in marching to Toulouse, the Allies took seven days to march what Soult had done in four: this tardiness the French mention as a sign of timidity and indecision; but it should be recollected that we made no forced contributions of provisions from the inhabitants, and could only move as we obtained supplies by purchase. Dr. Marshal states, that—

"During the last three years and five months of the Peninsular War, the period when the greatest activity prevailed, the mean strength of the British Army amounted to 61,511 men, and the sick to 13,815, being 22½ per cent. The mean ratio of inefficiency from wounds did not exceed ½ per cent.

Foreign Troops.

In the year 1810, there was a small British force stationed at La Isla, near Cadiz, and near it was quartered a Spanish division, amounting at least to three times the number of the British troops. The reader will scarcely give credit to the fact communicated to me by an officer of the Commissariat, that the cost of conveyance alone of the provisions from Cadiz to La Isla (about seven miles) for the British troops, amounted to more than the value of the provisions, and their conveyance from the same place, for the Spanish soldiers, of three times the number of the former. This Spanish army was composed of the débris of Romana's corps, and had marched from the north to the south of Spain by a circuitous route, with scarcely any other sustenance than bread and vinegar, and badly clothed. I never heard a murmur or a grumble from these men when I have been on piquet near them. I have seen a party of Spanish soldiers, consisting of a Corporal and about ten men, each with a piece of black bread, and a spoon in his hand, standing in a circle round a mess of soup, composed of salt-fish and beans, &c. The Corporal first stepped forward, and dipped his spoon into the mess, then fell back into his place, and was followed by the others in succession, laughing and enjoying their food, this being their usual way of eating it. What these men are capable of effecting when properly officered, the Guerilla parties, Defence of Saragosa, and other places, have proved. I have the highest opinion of Spanish soldiers, and the following extract from Colonel Flinter's work, will show that I am not singular in my estimation of them:—

"The Spanish soldier, temperate, hardy, patient, and obedient to command, undergoes fatigue, hunger, and privations, without a murmur. He possesses, in an eminent degree, those innate qualities which, with discipline, would render him the best soldier in the world, as has been proved both in ancient and modern times. The intrepid General Picton, who fell gloriously at Waterloo, was often heard to say, that with a corps of 20,000 Spaniards, without baggage, he would, in time ofwar, and in the face of any enemy, traverse Europe from one extremity to the other."

Foreign soldiers will march over the same ground as the British troops, supported upon one half their cost. If "the art of war lies in the legs," according to Marshal Saxe's and Marshal Ney's maxim, this is of great importance, particularly if there is little money in the treasury.

An officer on the Staff of the Prince of Hesse, commanding the Danish and other small contingents of the Army of Occupation in France, dined at our mess near Valenciennes, in 1817 or 1818, I forget which: he mentioned to us, that he had belonged to a division of the French army on the disastrous retreat from Moscow, and that it consisted of several thousand infantry, with some cavalry, which was closely followed by a few Cossack soldiers; they never could see more than a dozen, yet the instant the division halted for the night, the Cossacks were seen in rear of them. Detachment after detachment was sent out to capture them, but they always galloped off, and returned again when the troops sent in quest of them returned to their bivouac. The half-starved and fatigued Frenchmen were obliged to order out a very strong force with every party sent to procure provisions, wood, water, forage, &c., and double the usual number of guarde and piquets were mounted at night.

He assured us, that they lost more men than they would have done in a general action. Be that as it may, he said the Cossacks killed and plundered all the small parties and stragglers, and escaped every ambush laid for them; by what means they supported themselves in a country so completely exhausted, astonished even the French, who seized upon every thing eatable they could meet with, leaving nothing for those who followed in their tract. The instant the rear-guard halted, and the officers looked around them with their glasses, they were sure to see on their flanks, or in the rear, one or two Cossacks peeping from behind a tree, or from behind a bank, ready to pounce upon any individual leaving the guard for a moment.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DISPATCHES AND GENERAL ORDERS OF FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

(Continued from page 285.)

CHARGES OF CAVALRY—(*Continued*).

Quadrazaes, September 29, 1811; *to Lord Liverpool.*

El Bodon. On the morning of the 25th, the enemy sent a reconnaissance of cavalry towards the Lower Azava, consisting of about 14 squadrons of the cavalry of the Imperial Guard. They drove in our posts on the right of the Azava; but having passed that river, the Lanciers de Berg were charged by two squadrons of the 16th, and one of the 14th Light Dragoons, and driven back. They attempted to rally and to return, but were fired upon by the light infantry of the 61st regiment, which had been posted in the wood on their flank, by Lieut.-General Graham; and Major-General Anson pursued across the Azava, and afterwards resumed his posts on the right of that
it.-General Graham was highly pleased with the conduct of

Major-General Anson's brigade; and Major-General Anson particularly mentions Lieut.-Colonel Hervey and Capt. Brotherton, of the 14th, and Capt Hay and Major Cocks, of the 16th.

But the enemy's attention was principally directed during this day, to the position of the third division in the hills between Fuente Guinaldo and Pastores. About 8 in the morning they moved a column consisting of between 30 and 40 squadrons of cavalry, and 14 battalions of infantry, and 12 pieces of cannon, from Ciudad Rodrigo, in such a direction, that it was doubtful whether they would attempt to ascend the hills by La Encina, or by the direct road of El Bodon towards Fuente Guinaldo; and I was not certain by what road they would make their attack, till they actually commenced it upon the last. As soon as I saw the direction of their march, I had reinforced the 2nd battalion 5th regiment, which occupied the post on the hill over which the road passes to Guinaldo, by the 77th regiment, and the 21st Portuguese regiment, under the command of Major-General the Hon. C. Colville, and Major-General V. Alten's brigade of cavalry, of which only 3 squadrons remained which had not been detached, drawn from El Bodon; and I ordered there a brigade from the 4th division from Fuente Guinaldo, and afterwards from El Bodon the remainder of the 3rd division, with the exception of those at Pastores, which were too distant. In the meantime, however, the small body of troops in this post maintained the attack of the enemy's cavalry and artillery. One regiment of French dragoons succeeded in taking two pieces of cannon which had been posted on a rising ground on the right of our troops; but they were charged by the 2nd battalion 5th regiment, under the command of Major Ridge, and the guns were immediately retaken.

While this operation was going on on the flank, an attack was made on the front by another regiment, which was repulsed in a similar manner by the 77th regt.; and the 3 squadrons of Major-General V. Alten's brigade charged repeatedly different bodies of the enemy which ascended the hill on the left of the two regiments of British infantry, the Portuguese regiment being posted in the rear of their right.

At length, the division of the enemy's infantry, which had marched with the cavalry from Ciudad Rodrigo, were brought up to the attack on the road of Fuente Guinaldo, and seeing that they would arrive and be engaged before the troops could arrive either from Guinaldo or El Bodon, I determined to withdraw our post and to retire with the whole on Fuente Guinaldo. The 2nd battalion, 5th regt., and the 77th regt., were formed into one square, and the 21st Portuguese regt. into another, supported by Major-General Alten's small body of cavalry and the Portuguese artillery.

The enemy's cavalry immediately rushed forward and obliged our cavalry to retire to the support of the Portuguese regiment; and the 5th and 77th regts. were charged on three faces of the square by the French cavalry; but they halted and repulsed the attack with the utmost steadiness and gallantry. We then continued the retreat, and joined the remainder of the 3rd division, also formed in squares, on their march to Fuente Guinaldo; and the whole retired together in the utmost order, and the enemy never made another attempt to charge any of them, but were satisfied with firing upon them with their artillery, and with following them .....

I cannot conclude this report of the occurrences of the last week, without expressing to your Lordship my admiration of the conduct of the troops engaged in the affairs of the 25th inst. The conduct of the 2nd batt. 5th regt., commanded by Major Ridge, in particular affords a memorable example of what the steadiness and discipline of the troops, and their confidence in their officers, can effect in the most difficult and trying situations. The conduct of the 77th regt., under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Bromhead, was equally good; and I have never seen a more determined attack than was made by the whole of the enemy's cavalry, with every advantage of the assistance of a superior artillery, and repulsed by these two weak battalions.

I must not omit also to report the good conduct on the same occasion, of the 21st Portuguese regt., under the command of Col. Bacellar, and of Major Arentschildt's artillery. The Portuguese infantry were not actually engaged, but were repeatedly threatened, and they showed the utmost steadiness and discipline, both in the mode in which they prepared to receive the enemy, and in all the movements of a retreat made over six miles of plain, in front of a superior cavalry and artillery. The Portuguese artillerymen attached to the guns which were for a moment in the enemy's possession, were cut down at their guns.

The infantry upon this occasion were under the command of Major-Gen. the Hon. C. Colville, Lieut.-Gen. Picton having remained with the troops at El Bodon; and the conduct of Major-Gen. Colville was beyond all praise.

Your Lordship will have observed, by the details of the action which I have given you, how much reason I had to be satisfied with the conduct of the 1st Hussars and 11th Light Dragoons of Major-General Alten's brigade. There were not more than three squadrons of the two regiments on the ground, this brigade having for some time furnished the cavalry for the outposts of the army, and they charged the enemy's cavalry repeatedly; and notwithstanding the superiority of the latter, the post would have been maintained if I had not preferred to abandon it, to risking the loss of these brave men by continuing the unequal contest under additional disadvantages, in consequence of the immediate entry of 14 battalions of infantry into the action, before the support which I had ordered up could arrive. Major-General Alten, Lieut.-Colonels Cuming and Arentschildt, and the officers of those regiments, particularly distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

Richoso. General Order, October 2, 1811.

3. The Commander of the Forces is desirous of drawing the attention of the Army to the conduct of the 2nd battalion 5th and 77th Regts., and the 21st Portuguese regt., and Major Arentschildt's Portuguese artillery, under the command of Major-General the Hon. C. Colville, and of the 11th Light Dragoons, and 1st Hussars, under Major-General Alten, in the affair with the enemy on the 26th ult. These troops were attacked by between 30 and 40 squadrons of cavalry, with six pieces of cannon, supported by a division consisting of 14 battalions of infantry with cannon.

4. The Portuguese artillerymen were cut down at their guns before they quitted them; but the 2nd battalion 5th regt. attacked the cavalry which had taken the guns, and retook them. At the same time the 77th regt. were attacked in front by another body of cavalry, upon which body they advanced and repulsed them.

5. While these actions were performed, Major-General Alten's brigade, of which there were only three squadrons on the ground, were engaged on the left with numbers infinitely superior to themselves. These squadrons charged repeatedly, supporting each other, and took above twenty prisoners; and notwithstanding the immense superiority of the enemy, the post would have been maintained, if the Commander of the Forces had not ordered the troops to withdraw from it, seeing that the action would become still more unequal, as the enemy's infantry were likely to be engaged in it before the reinforcement ordered to the support of the post could arrive.

6. The troops then retired with the same determined spirit, and in the same good order with which they had maintained their post; the 2nd battalion 5th regt. and 77th in one square, and the 21st Portuguese regt. in another, supported by Major-General Alten's cavalry, and the Portuguese artillery. The enemy's cavalry charged three faces of the square of the British infantry, but were beaten off; and finding, from their repeated fruitless efforts, that these brave troops were not to be broken, they were contented with following them at a distance, and with firing upon them with their artillery, till the troops joined the remainder of the 3rd division, and were afterwards supported by a brigade of the 4th divisi n. Although the 21st

Portuguese regt. were not actually charged by the cavalry, their steadiness and determination were conspicuous; and the Commander of the Forces observed with pleasure the order and regularity with which they performed all their movements, and the confidence they showed in their officers.

7. The Commander of the Forces has been particular in stating the details of this action in the General Order, as, in his opinion, it affords a memorable example of what can be effected by steadiness, discipline, and confidence. It is impossible that any troops can, at any time, be exposed to the attack of numbers relatively greater than those which attacked the troops under Major-General Colville and Major-General Alten, on the 25th September, and the Commander of the Forces recommends the conduct of those troops to the particular attention of the officers and soldiers of the Army, as an example to be followed in all circumstances.

8. The Commander of the Forces considers Major-General V. Alten and Major-General Colville, and the commanding officers of the regiments under their command respectively, viz,, Lieut.-Colonel Cuming, Lieut.-Colonel Arentschildt, Lieut.-Colonel Bromhead, Major Ridge, and Colonel Bacellar, of the 21st Portuguese regt., and the officers and soldiers under their command, to be entitled to his particular thanks; and he assures them that he has not failed to report his sense of their conduct in the action of the 25th September, to those by whom he trusts it will be duly appreciated and recollected.

9. The Commander of the Forces requests that the General Officers commanding divisions and brigades, and the officers commanding regiments, &c., &c.

Freneda, November 6, 1811; *to Lieut.-Colonel Torrens.*

I hear that measures are in contemplation to alter the clothing, caps, &c., of the army. There is no subject of which I understand so little, and abstractedly speaking, I think it indifferent how a soldier is clothed, provided it is in a uniform manner, and that he is forced to keep himself clean and smart as a soldier ought to be. But there is one thing I deprecate, and that is, any imitation of the French in any manner. It is impossible to form an idea of the inconveniences and injury which result from having any thing like them, either on horseback or on foot. Capt. Lutyens and his piquet were taken in June, because the 3rd Hussars had the same caps as the "chasseurs à cheval," and some of their Hussars; and I was near being taken on the 25th Sept., from the same cause. At a distance, or in an action, colours are nothing; the profile and shape of the man's cap, and his general appearance, are what guide us; and why should we make our people look like the French? A cock-tailed horse is a good mark for a dragoon, if you can get a side view of him; but there is no such mark as the English helmet, and as far as I can judge, it is the best cover a dragoon can have for his head. I mention this, because in all probability you may have something to say to these alterations, and I only beg that *we* may be as different as possible from the French in every thing. The narrow-top caps of our infantry, as opposed to their broad-top caps, are a great advantage to those who are to look at long lines of posts opposed to each other.

Merida, October 30, 1811; *Lieut.-General Hill to Lord Wellington.*

Whilst the enemy was thus occupied on his right, Major-General Howard's column continued moving round his left, and our cavalry advancing and crossing the head of the column, cut off the enemy's cavalry from his infantry, charging it repeatedly, and putting it to the rout. The 13th Light Dragoons at the same time took possession of the enemy's artillery; one of the charges made by two squadrons of the 2nd Hussars, and one of the 9th Light Dragoons, was particularly gallant, the latter commanded by Capt. Gore, and the whole under Major Busche, of the Hussars. I ought previously to have mentioned that the British cavalry having, through the darkness of the night, and the badness of the roads, been somewhat delayed,

the Spanish cavalry under the Conde de Penne Villemur, was, on this occasion, the first to form upon the plain, and engage the enemy, until the British was enabled to come up.

Merida, Jan. 5, 1812; *Lieut.-Colonel Abercromby to Lieut.-General Hill.*

No language of mine can do sufficient justice to the gallantry of Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, as well as that of Lieut. Hutchinson, and the other officers and men comprising the squadron of Portuguese cavalry.

Santa Marta, April 12, 1812; *Lieut.-General Graham to Lord Wellington.* (*Llerena.*)

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the inclosed report of Lieut.-Gen. Sir S. Cotton, giving the detail of a very brilliant and successful attack against the enemy's rear-guard. It must be unnecessary for me to call your Lordship's attention to the distinguished ability with which the Lieut.-General planned and conducted this enterprise, so admirably seconded by the gallantry and judgment of Major-General Le Marchant, and Colonel the Hon. F. Ponsonby, as well as by the great exertion of the officers and men of the two brigades employed on this service.

Salamanca, June 18, 1812; *to Lord Liverpool.* (*Maguilla.*)

I inclose a letter from Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill, and its inclosures, being two, from Major General Slade, giving an account of an affair which he had with the enemy on the 11th inst., in which, owing to the eagerness and impetuosity of the soldiers, considerable loss was sustained. Your Lordship is aware that misfortunes of this kind have happened more than once in this country from the same cause; and I have frequently been present on occasions when the same conduct in the cavalry was likely to be attended by the same unfortunate results. Notwithstanding that this misfortune has occurred upon this occasion to a brigade consisting of two of the best and most experienced regiments we have, I have concurred with Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill in thinking it is necessary to make a formal inquiry into the causes which occasioned the disorder and the consequent losses in the attack made by Major-General Slade on the enemy, on the 11th inst.

Llera, June 11, 1812. *Major-General Slade to Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill.*

I am sorry to say that our loss was severe, as the enemy brought up a support, and my troops being too eager in pursuit, we were obliged to relinquish a great number of the prisoners which we had taken, and to fall back to this place.....

June 12, 1812.

I feel it my duty to state, in addition to what I had the honour to communicate to you before, that our misfortunes arose from too great eagerness and zeal in the pursuit, after having broke the enemy's first line, each regiment vying with each other who should most distinguish itself, which gave him an opportunity of bringing up fresh troops, and of charging us at a time when we were in confusion.

June 18, 1812; *to Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill.*

I have never been more annoyed than by General Slade's affair, and I entirely concur with you in the necessity of inquiring into it. It is occasioned entirely by the trick our officers of cavalry have acquired, of galloping at every thing, and their galloping back as fast as they gallop on the enemy. They never consider their situation, never think of manœuvring before an enemy—so little—that one would think they cannot manœuvre excepting on Wimbledon Common; and when they use their arm, as it ought to be used—viz., offensively, they never keep nor provide for a reserve.

All cavalry should charge in two lines, of which one should be in reserve. If obliged to charge in one line, at least one-third should be ordered before-

hand to pull up, and form in second line, as soon as the charge should be given, and the enemy has been broken and has retired. The Royal and the 3rd Dragoon Guards were the best regiments in the cavalry in this country; and it annoys me particularly that the misfortune has happened to them. I do not wonder at the French boasting of it. It is the greatest blow they have struck.

Salamanca, June 25, 1812; *to Lord Liverpool.*

Between the 20th and 22nd, I had a favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy, of which, however, I did not think it proper to avail myself, for the following reasons :—

1. It was probable that he had advanced with an intention to attack us; and in the position which we occupied, I considered it advantageous to be attacked, and that the action would be attended by less loss on our side.

2. The operations against the forts of Salamanca took up the attention of some of our troops; and although I believe the superiority of numbers in the field was on our side, the superiority was not so great as to render an action decisive of the result of the campaign in which we should sustain great loss.

3. In case of failure, the passage of the Tormes would have been difficult, the enemy continuing in possession of the forts, and commanding the bridge of Salamanca.

Flores de Avila, July 24, 1812; *to Earl Bathurst.*

Salamanca. The cavalry under Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, made a most gallant and successful charge against a body of the enemy's infantry, which they overthrew and cut to pieces. In this charge, Major-General Le Marchant was killed, and I have to regret the loss of a most able officer.

We renewed the pursuit at break of day in the morning with the same troops, and Major-General Bock's and Major-General Anson's brigade of cavalry, which joined during the night; and having crossed the Tormes, we came up with the enemy's rear of cavalry and infantry near La Serna. They were immediately attacked by the two brigades of dragoons, and the cavalry fled, leaving the infantry to their fate. I have never witnessed a more gallant charge than was made on the enemy's infantry by the heavy brigade, K.G.L., under Major-General Bock, which was completely successful, and the whole body of infantry, consisting of three battalions of the enemy's 1st division were made prisoners. The pursuit was afterwards continued as far as Peñaranda last night, and our troops are still following the flying enemy.

Flores de Avila, July 24, 1812; *to Earl Bathurst.*

Salamanca. No cavalry could act better than ours did in the action; and I must say for Sir S. Cotton, that I do not know where we should find an officer that would command our cavalry in this country half so well as he does.

Zafra, July 27, 1812; *Lieut.-General Hill to Earl of Wellington. Los Santos, July* 26, 1812; *Lieut.-General Sir W. Erskine to Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill. Villa Franca, July* 25; *Major-General Long to Lieut.-General Sir W. Erskine.*

Nothing could exceed the steadiness of the 9th and 13th Dragoons, the activity of the artillery, and the precision of their fire, or the good countenance and gallantry displayed by those portions of the Portuguese troops, and of my own brigade, that had the opportunity of closing with and engaging the enemy.

Madrid, August 13, 1812; *to Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton.*

We had a devil of an affair on the evening of the 11th. The French, 200 cavalry, moved upon the Portuguese cavalry. D'Urban ordered them to charge the advanced squadrons, which charge they did not execute as they

ought, and they ran off, leaving our guns (Macdonald's troop). They ran in upon the German cavalry, half-a-mile or more in their rear, when they were brought up; but they would not charge on the left of the Germans. These charged and stopped the enemy; but Colonel de Jonquières was taken, and we have lost a good many of these fine fellows. There are 20 killed, and about as many wounded and prisoners. We likewise lost 3 guns of Macdonald's troop in the Portuguese flight, but the French left them behind.

Valladolid, September 7, 1812; *to Earl Bathurst.*

Upon referring to my despatch to your Lordship of the 24th July, as printed in the London Gazette of the 16th August, I observe that although I reported my sense of the conduct of the German brigade, under Major-General Bock, on the 23rd July, I omitted to include the name of the Major-General in the enumeration which the despatch contains of officers who had opportunities of distinguishing themselves. I beg to take this opportunity of rectifying this omission, and of assuring your Lordship that the Major-General distinguished himself in the operations which led to the charge made by the gallant troops under his command, as he has upon every occasion which has offered since he has been under my command.

From my personal observations, and the reports which I have received since the action of the 22nd July, I am afraid that I have omitted the names of many other officers who had opportunities of distinguishing themselves; and in a case in which all did their duty in a manner so honourable to themselves and to their country, the limits of a despatch do not permit the mention of the names of all who have drawn the notice of their superiors by their conduct. I might, however, correct the omission of which I have been guilty in the case of Lieut.-Colonel Arentschildt and the 1st Hussars of the Legion, who were highly distinguished by their conduct throughout the whole of the day of the 22nd July; and likewise that of Lieut.-Colonel Elley, A.A.G., who attended Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton throughout the action, was wounded by a bayonet in the charge made by General Le Marchant's brigade, and had two horses killed under him.

Cabezon, October 26, 1812; *to Earl Bathurst.*

Retreat from Burgos. The enemy had on the 13th moved forward a considerable body of infantry and six squadrons of cavalry from Briviesca, to reconnoitre our outpost at Monasterio. They attacked the piquet at the bridge in front of the town, but were repulsed by the fire of a detachment of the infantry of the Brunswick Legion. In this affair Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. F. Ponsonby, who commanded at Monasterio, was wounded, but not severely, and I hope I shall soon again have the benefit of his assistance.

On the 22nd the enemy followed our movement with their whole army. Our rear-guard consisted of the two light battalions, K.G.L., under Colonel Halkett and Major-General Anson's brigade of cavalry, and Major-General Bock's brigade was halted at the Venta del Pozo, to give them support; the whole under the command of Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, ... Major-General Anson's brigade charged twice with great success, in front of Celada del Camino, and the enemy were detained above three hours by the troops under Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, in the passage of the Hormaza, in front of that village. The rear-guard continued to fall back in the best order, till the guerillas on the left having been driven in, they rode towards the flank of the rear-guard of Major-General Anson's brigade, and four or five squadrons of the enemy mixed with them. They were mistaken for Spaniards, and they fell upon the flank and rear of our troops. We sustained some loss; and Lieut.-Colonel Pelly, 16th Light Dragoons, having had his horse shot, was taken prisoner.

The delay occasioned by this misfortune enabled the enemy to bring up a very superior body of cavalry, which was charged by Major-General

Bock's and Major-General Anson's brigades, near the Venta del Pozo, but unsuccessfully, and our rear-guard was hard pressed. The enemy made three charges on the two light battalions, K.G.L., formed in squares, but were always repulsed with considerable loss by the steadiness of these two battalions. They suffered no loss; and I cannot sufficiently applaud their conduct, and that of Colonel Halkett, who commanded them.

The exertions and conduct of Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, and of the officers and Staff attached to him, throughout this day, were highly meritorious; and although the charge made by the cavalry was not successful, I had the satisfaction of observing great steadiness in their movements. Major Bull's troop of horse-artillery, under Major Downman and Captain Ramsay, distinguished themselves.

Cabezon, Oct. 28, 1812; *to Earl Bathurst.*

The cavalry of the army of the North is certainly with the army of Portugal, and they have at least 5000 good cavalry. I do not think that I am sufficiently strong to contend with this army thus reinforced. I have here only four weak divisions of British and Portuguese troops, and three very weak brigades of cavalry.

Ruedu, Nov. 1, 1812; *to Sir H. Wellesley, K.B.*

It may be depended upon that order and discipline alone can insure any solid success against the enemy with whom we are engaged.

Carvajales, May 31, 1813; *to Earl Bathurst.*

The enemy, under the command of General Villatte, evacuated the town (Salamanca) on our approach, but they waited longer than they ought on the high ground in the neighbourhood, and afforded an opportunity for the cavalry, under General Fane and General V. Alten, the former of which crossed the Tormes at the ford of Sta. Marta, and the latter at the bridge, to do them a good deal of injury in their retreat. Many were killed and wounded, and we took about 200 prisoners, 7 tumbrils of ammunition, some baggage, &c.

Toro, June 2, 1803; *to Lieut.-General Sir T. Graham.*

The 10th have had a very handsome affair this morning with the enemy's cavalry, between this and Morales. Their loss is small; but they must have destroyed the enemy's 16th Dragoons, of whom they took about 200 prisoners.

Colonel Grant to General Marquis of Wellington.

The 10th Royal Hussars were immediately brought forward, under the orders of Major Robarts, who attacked the advanced squadrons of the enemy in the most gallant manner. Their front line made a determined resistance, but was instantly overpowered by the irresistible impetuosity of the 10th Hussars, which being now supported by the 18th, (the 15th being in reserve,) reached their second line, and drove it with loss to the heights, two miles in front of Morales, a position which the enemy occupied with a large force of cavalry and infantry, and where the remains of their shattered squadrons took shelter under cover of their guns.

Villadiego, June 13, 1813; *to Earl Bathurst.*

These movements dislodged the enemy from their position immediately. The cavalry of our left and centre were entirely in the rear of the enemy, who were obliged to retire across the Arlanzan by the high-road towards Burgos. Although pressed by our cavalry, and suffering considerable loss by the fire of Major Gardiner's troop of horse-artillery, and obliged to make their movements at an accelerated pace, that they might not give time to our infantry to come up, they made it in admirable order; but they lost one gun and some prisoners, taken by a squadron of the 14th Light Dragoons, commanded by Capt. Milles, and a detachment of the 3rd Dragoons, which charged their rear.

Salvatierra, June 22, 1813; *to Earl Bathurst.*

Vitoria. The nature of the country did not allow of the cavalry being generally engaged, but the General Officers commanding the several brigades kept the troops under their command respectively close to the infantry to support them, and they were most active in the pursuit of the enemy after they had driven them through Vitoria.

S. Sever, March 1, 1814; *to Earl Bathurst.*

Orthez. Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton took advantage of the only opportunity which offered to charge with Major-General Lord E. Somerset's brigade in the neighbourhood of Sault de Noveilles, where the enemy had been driven from the high road by Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill. The 7th Hussars distinguished themselves upon this occasion, and made many prisoners.....

..... The charge made by the 7th Hussars, under Lord E. Somerset, was highly meritorious.

Tarbes, March 20, 1814; *to Earl Bathurst.*

In all the partial affairs of the cavalry ours have shown their superiority; and two squadrons of the 14th Light Dragoons, on the 14th, and one squadron of the 15th, on the 16th, conducted themselves most gallantly, and took a great number of prisoners. The 4th Portuguese Dragoons, under Colonel Campbell, likewise conducted themselves remarkably well in a charge on the 13th.

Samatan, March 25; *to Earl Bathurst.*

I inclose Major-General Fane's report to Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill of this affair, which is highly creditable to the 13th Light Dragoons.

Borde, March 22, 1814; *Major-General Fane to Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill, K.B.*

Having advanced as ordered, I came up with the enemy's rear-guard about one league from St. Gaudens. It was supported by four or five squadrons of dragoons, formed upon the height in front of the town. With two squadrons of the 13th Light Dragoons, supported by part of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, I drove in their advance, and their support having remained too long in front of St. Gaudens, the 13th Dragoons were enabled to come up with it. They charged the enemy's squadrons with the greatest gallantry, and drove them through the town. The enemy having again formed beyond the town, they were again attacked, and pursued more than two miles. A number of the enemy have been killed, and 102 men, and about the same number of horses, taken. Capt. M'Alister, who led the advance, much distinguished himself, and nothing could exceed the bravery and good conduct of the whole regiment. My loss has been trifling; I hope not more than 4 or 5 wounded.

Toulouse, April 12, 1814; *to Earl Bathurst.*

We immediately moved forward to the neighbourhood of the town, and the 18th Hussars, under the immediate command of Colonel Vivian, had an opportunity of making a most gallant attack upon a superior body of the enemy's cavalry, which they drove through the village of Croix d'Orade, and took about 100 prisoners, and gave us possession of an important bridge over the river Ers, by which it was necessary to pass to attack the enemy's position. Colonel Vivian was unfortunately wounded upon this occasion; and I am afraid that I shall lose the benefit of his assistance for some time.

..... The ground not having admitted of the operations of the cavalry, they had no opportunity of charging.

Waterloo, June 19, 1815; *to Earl Bathurst.*

Quatre Bras, June 16. The enemy immediately attacked us with a body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and

lery. He made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner.....

Genappe, June 17.

..... Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, except by following with a large body of cavalry, brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge. This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life Guards, upon their debouché from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion His Lordship has declared himself satisfied with that regiment.

Waterloo, June 18.

..... This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it.....

..... The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry; but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful; and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord Edward Somerset's brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, the Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves; as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about 7 in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and the infantry, supported by the fire of the artillery to force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Frischermont, upon Planchenoit and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect; and as Marshal Prince Blücher had joined in person, with a corps of his army, to the left of our line, by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole of the infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. This attack succeeded on every point, &c.

London, Aug. 4, 1816; *to Lieut.-General Lord Combermere, G.C.B.*

I wish very much that you would turn your attention to the order of the formation of the cavalry. My opinion is, that the order of the files of the cavalry is too loose. We must adhere to the regulation, which I believe allows of a more loose formation than the cavalry of other services; but we must adhere to it strictly, and not allow our order to become more extended than it is. Then all our movements are too quick for those of large bodies of cavalry; and the consequence of this system, and of the looseness of our files, is, that in all great movements of our cavalry, they get into confusion. The horses are jaded before the moment of exertion arrives, and it becomes impossible for any man to produce the great effect with the cavalry of which it is capable.

Our horse, although I believe it the best in the world, becomes unmanageable in proportion as his rate of going is increased; and this is another reason for shortening the pace in all movements, excepting the last and decisive charge. I wish you would turn your mind to these subjects.

1st. To keep as close order as the regulation will permit.

2nd. To draw the attention of the Generals and Commanding Officers to the regularity, the closeness, and the exactness of all the movements, and the preservation of strict order in all their parts, rather than to their celerity.

3rd. To prevent the repetition of commands by those not authorised by the regulation to give them when in line or squadron.

4th. To keep the charge, as well as all other movements, at the pace with which, at least, the middling goers, if not the slowest, can keep up.

5th. To notice particularly all officers or soldiers whose horses break the ranks or general line, without order, whether in a charge or any other movement.

London, November 7, 1823; *to Major-General the Hon. F. Ponsonby.*

I have received in due course your letter of the 1st instant. I had already heard from Lord William (Russell) on the same subject, and had written to him a few lines containing nearly the substance of your observations, in which I entirely concur. In reply, however, he has observed very naturally, "I command a regiment of Hussars, and they ought to be trained in a particular manner, and perform the particular service of Hussars;" meaning light duties of all descriptions. He then observes, that "if this is not the case, the only difference between those which he commands and others consists in the dress," of which he very reasonably complains. I think this is one of the mistakes of our Service. We have a cavalry by no means proportionate to our own small army, but certainly not so to the part that small army enables us to play in war. What do we do then? Instead of having it all cavalry of the best description, as with our men, horses, and equipment we ought, we form five descriptions of cavalry; that is to say, as many descriptions, as far as dress and armament go, as any other army whatever possesses; and the consequence is, that we have nothing perfect.

My opinion is, that our cavalry ought to be the best, that is to say, cavalry of the line, because, in point of fact, when the time comes, they must be so employed, be they dressed and armed how they may. This cavalry would do the duties of the outposts, when necessary, very well; witness the Royals and Heavy Dragoons in the Peninsula, and, on the other hand, the 1st Hussars, 7th, 12th, and 15th, in Line; and we ought to trust to the foreign cavalry with the army for the ordinary outpost duty, when the employment of our own excellent cavalry on such service should not be necessary. However, I admit that this is a question of dress, equipment, and armament, more than of principle, considering the manner in which we employ our cavalry, which, however important on account of the effect which dress has upon the minds and actions of those who wear it, is trifling in the general scale.

I quite agree with you as to pace. It is impossible to preserve order, and go quick in large bodies. It is equally so to traverse the spaces which the manœuvre of large bodies requires should be traversed, and keep the horse in a state to do any thing, if the pace is not slow. But the great object of all in the cavalry, and particularly in that of the line, is *order;* and I have told Lord Wm. Russell, that no officer or man should ever be allowed to move at any pace other than that ordered, or out of his place in the ranks. This is the most essential point to be attended to in the training of a regiment.

I entirely agree with you respecting the supports. I have frequently reflected upon the system adopted in my reviews in France, and I am certain that it is right, and ought to be adopted in every regimental practice, in order that the officers might thoroughly understand the principle and object of such a system. Unfortunately I have not got a copy of my memorandum upon this subject, but I am certain it is right. All for compactness. I believe our files are more than sufficiently loose, but this is a matter of general regulation, with which we cannot interfere. Steadiness may be acquired by adhering with strictness to the rule respecting paces.

The officers of the cavalry do not, certainly, possess the same knowledge of their service as those of the infantry do. This deficiency is to be attributed possibly to two causes;—1st, That to understand it well, with all its details, is much more difficult. 2ndly, That their minds have never been fairly brought to the contemplation of the true principles on which the cavalry service should be conducted. Let them once understand that the undue celerity of the movements, that dust and confusion go for nothing, and are injurious to their prescribed utility and regulation, and they will very soon be as good and as useful in their line of service as the officers of infantry are in theirs.

(The Charges of Infantry in our next.)

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

FRANCE.

It is now established as a settled rule, that the number of "Marshals of France" shall not, in time of peace, exceed six; but that it may, in time of war, be increased to twelve: in peace these twelve to be reduced to half that number, by not filling up any vacancies until it has been so diminished. The eight marshals at present on the list consist of the Duke of Dalmatia, appointed in 1804, and the Duke of Reggio, appointed in 1809; Molitor, under the Government of the Restoration, 1823; and since Louis Philippe's accession, Gérard, in 1830; Grouchy, in 1831; Valée, in 1837; Sebastiani, in 1840; and Bugeaud, in 1843.

The old custom of giving the names of Princes to French regiments is among the revivals gradually introducing into the army, and a beginning has been made by designating the 1st Regt. of Dragoons as "The Orleans Dragoons," the 1st Regt of Hulans as "The Hulans of Nemours," and the 1st Regt. of Hussars as "The Hussars of Chartres."

The whole of the "Corps de Garde" in Paris are so constructed, that, in the event of any hostile demonstrations on the part of the people, they admit of being instantly converted into so many forts. The loop-holes and other faculties of defence, with which they are provided, are masked by a thin wall, which can be readily removed. A party of five and twenty or thirty men is sufficient in general for the garrisoning of one of those guard-houses; but more would be required for the masked fort on the square of the Bastille, close to the July Column. This column having become a notorious rallying point on every occasion of an *émeute*, the Corps de Garde house has been erected on a footing calculated to afford its garrison the means of commanding not only the whole open area round it, but the adjacent quarter of the city. This fortified blockhouse is decorated with external blinds, which give it the appearance more of a private mansion than a military station. Behind this mask of green, however, cannon are mounted, their mouths pointing in the direction of the street and suburb of Saint Antoine, the neighbouring Boulevard, and several other streets, which open upon the square. By this ingenious contrivance, the French Government, in any case of serious outbreak, will be as effectually supported within the walls of the capital, as it will be by the formidable "Zwingers," which will keep the rebels in check from without them.

In consequence of the difficulty which has been found in giving the soldier a steady hand, when he has to fix the cap to percussion locks, M. Bessière has endeavoured to reduce the operation to a certainty, and laid his invention before the Artillery Board. He unites the cap, by means of a piece of cork, with the cartridge; thus prepared, the soldier takes it in hand, places the cap on the cylinder, and breaks it away from the cork by gentle pressure against the cartridge, and then loads his piece in the usual way. The merits of the invention were put to the test, under direction from the Minister of War, by two battalions of the 12th Regt. of Infantry, who were supplied both with the common and the new cartridges; and the latter appeared to answer the purpose admirably. The battalion, to whom the new one was given out, had discharged their pieces and shouldered arms, before the other had fired. There is another advantage in this invention; it can be applied without requiring any alteration at all to be made in the present percussion musket. The new cartridge too does not cost more than the old one; the expense of the cork not exceeding 2½*d.* for a thousand cartridges.

SWEDEN.

The number of steam-vessels, belonging either to the Government or to

private adventurers, at the close of last year, was fifty-three of the larger class and about twenty of small burthen; they were all constructed in Sweden, and six of them are of iron. Five are employed on the post-office service. There are but few which exceed one hundred horse power, the majority ranging between forty and eighty. The greater proportion of them are employed in maintaining a regular communication between Stockholm and the towns which are situated on the sea-coast; the extension which was given to this admirable medium of intercourse last year was so complete, as to leave scarcely any further opening for it. Upwards of fifty cities and market-towns now possess a direct communication with the capital either daily, or once, twice, and three times in the week. Independently of pleasure excursions, which are numerous, the arrivals of steam-boats at Stockholm are eleven every day. Four iron boats were were built last year, and extensive additions will, owing to the unprecedented depreciation in the value of iron, most probably be made to them in the course of the present season.

TURKEY.

The Turkish Government have introduced several improvements in the Army Medical Department. Three young Turks, on whom, after they had left the Medical School at Galata Serai, the degree of Doctors of Medicine had been conferred, have been posted with the rank of Colonels in the corps serving in Roumelia, Asia Minor, and Syria. Others of their medical brethren have received promotion to the grade of Majors, and have been appointed, most of them, as Physicians-in-Chief in the army hospitals at Constantinople. The Porte is in hopes, through the precedent afforded by the conferring of these distinctions, to rouse a spirit of emulation among the other native pupils in the medical school, and give them some assurance of the reward which the future has in store for them. The school in question has so many young natives in training, that a very few years will suffice, it is expected, to render the employment of any great number of Europeans on the Medical Staff unnecessary. In spite of this unfavourable prospect, scarcely a week passes without the arrival of medical men from other parts of Europe at Constantinople, in quest of appointments and practice.

TUNIS.

The army in the Bey's service consists at this moment of five regiments of Infantry, each of them 3000 strong; one regiment of Cavalry, 1100; and a regiment of Artillery, of 3000. When he first took the reins of government, his whole force did not exceed 4000 men; it now amounts to 19,100, and has been remodelled and trained by French officers.

THE BRAZILS.

The Imperial Army is fixed, in time of peace, at a complement of 12,000 effectives, and in time of war, or other contingency, at 16,000, besides 1200 for the reserve: the length of service is eight years, excepting in the case of voluntary enlistment, when the term is reduced to six years. The number of Marines, under ordinary circumstances, is fixed for the present at 2500 men, and it may be raised on any emergency to 4000. The Marine Artillery is always to be maintained at the full complement which the service may require. The corps of Imperial Sailors has been increased to 12 companies, of 106 effectives each, independently of 200 apprentices, between the ages of ten and seventeen, who are afterwards to be posted to ships of war.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE PRINCIPAL PORTS AND STATIONS.

Portsmouth, June 20th.

MR. EDITOR,—Orders arrived on the 30th May for St. Vincent to complete her provisions and stores for three months, fill up her complement, and put to sea, cruising in the Chops of the Channel until further directions are sent out. The flag of Admiral Sir Charles Rowley was hoisted on board the Excellent during the absence of St. Vincent.

Rear-Admiral Sir G. H. Seymour, G.C.H., and his Secretary, Mr. Kent, arrived on the 25th May, and no other ship being in the harbour able to fire the requisite salute, his flag, blue at the mizen, was hoisted on board the Excellent, and continued until the 27th. The Collingwood was inspected by Sir George, and he has got leave until the ship is at Spithead. Rattlesnake has been paid off.

The Fanny yacht and Echo steamer returned on the 1st inst. from Southampton, at which port the King of Saxony was landed; previous to going on shore, His Majesty personally thanked Lieut. Prevost for his attention, and presented him with a handsome gold ring set with diamonds, the Master of the Fanny with a gold watch, and thirty sovereigns to the crews of the two vessels.

Malabar was paid off on the 5th; some of her Marines and boys were sent to Devonport in the tenders. Pearl arrived on the 5th (she had previously put into Falmouth for provisions); she had a small freight of about 40,000 dollars from Rio, and having landed them here, proceeded to Chatham, and has been there paid off. She had a tedious passage to England, being upwards of seventy days from the Pacific, and sixty from Bahia.

Prince George transport arrived on the 6th from Bermuda, after a forty days' passage; she had naval and military invalids on board, and 140 convicts; the latter were removed to the hulks here. The Prince George left the Illustrious, Wasp, Ringdove, and Albatross at Bermuda; these three brigs were fitting for the Coast of Africa, and when the Admiral had seen them off, he intended to proceed in the flag-ship for Halifax. The troops and shipping, and all in the island, were entirely recovered from yellow fever.

Arrow arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, and Ascension, and has been paid off.

Silvia having been detained for a short time, in consequence of a large quantity of tobacco being seized in her, has been released, and the pilot and a sailor, who were taken out of her, have been discharged by the Borough Magistrates; she has taken on board the supernumeraries and packages for the East Indies, and gone with them to Plymouth.

Cornwall transport arrived on the 10th from Hong-Kong, with a great number of military invalids, and a few naval. The people suffered much from dysentery during the voyage, and a number died; she has been sent to Chatham. Cygnet arrived on the 6th, from Sheerness: she proceeded on the 17th direct to the Coast of Africa. Her late Master, Mr. M. S. S. Burney (1841), has been tried by court-martial for incompetency, it having been stated that he had endangered the brig during her passage from Sheerness, once off Beachy Head, and again off the Owers. The court-martial was held on board the Victory, and the sentence was his being placed at the bottom of the list of Masters, thus saving his half-pay. Prometheus embarked seven tons of silver and copper money, for conveyance, on Government account, to Sierra Leone and St. Helena, and sailed on the 17th. Teviot, West India Mail-steamer, having been on shore at Bermuda, has been allowed to be docked here, to ascertain if she has experienced any damage; she will return to Southampton forthwith.

Firefly came on the 16th to have her crew paid and take chronometers; she went away the next day to Milford, and from thence is to resume her

survey of the Irish coast. Bonetta schooner, on her way to the Mediterranean, to resume her surveying duties, is at Spithead to be paid, &c.; she will sail on the 22nd, and take out the supernumeraries and packages which have been accumulating for the last five months. Wanderer arrived the 19th from China and India; she is to disembark her Chinese money in the dockyard; and an Officer from the Treasury is ordered down to take charge of it, and convey the same to London. The brig will probably be paid off here. Apollo anchored at St. Helens on the 18th; she was telegraphed to proceed to Sheerness, and has gone on accordingly, without landing the 68th Regiment, which she has brought from Quebec.

Queen is to be paid off here, and orders are down for the dockyard to take her in hand, and fit her for a flag, and to have a crew of 620 men; this of course intends her for a harbour-flag, and strengthens the report that St. Vincent is to be the succeeding flag-ship in the Mediterranean.

Water-Witch has been brought up from Cowes, and she and the Pantaloon are in the same dock, to be got ready for immediate commission. Flying Fish, Osprey, and Daring have had their guns put on board, and are in all respects ready for commission; but nothing is to be done until the Queen arrives from Lisbon. Sydenham is in dock to have her masts altered; she is to have two only, instead of three, and to be fitted for packet service. Nautilus has been sent out to cruise.

Ships in Port—St. Vincent and Bonetta.—At Spithead: Victory, Excellent, Victoria and Albert yacht, Collingwood, Wanderer, Sydenham, Prince George transport, in Harbour.

Plymouth, June 20, 1844.

Mr. Editor,—May 24. Sailed, Nautilus, 10, Lieut.-Commander Tringham, with provisions and water for vessels homeward bound, and detained at the entrance of the Channel by the long prevailing easterly winds.—25th. Arrived, Lively, tender, from Portsmouth, with stores for the dockyard. —26th. Arrived, Lightning, steamer, from Cork, with Rear-Admiral Bowles' luggage, coaled, and sailed to the eastward the 28th. Arrived, the Portsmouth, yacht, from Portsmouth; she made an attempt to sail on her return, but was forced to return by strong easterly wind.—27th. America, 50, Capt. Hon. John Gordon, was towed into the Sound this day.

30th. A court-martial assembled on board the San Josef, for the trial of Mr. C. D. A. Newman, Assistant-Surgeon of the Lucifer, steamer, on a charge preferred against him of drawing a bill on Government without being signed by the proper signing officers; the court consisted of the following officers:—President, Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Pym, K.C.B.; Capts. F. W. Burgoyne, San Josef; Hon. John Gordon, America; A. Milne, Caledonia; Commander Samuel Wriford, San Josef; George Eastlake, Esq., Deputy Judge-Advocate. The court having examined witnesses for and against the prisoner, sentenced him to be dismissed from H.M.'s steamer Lucifer.

Arrived Devon, tender, from Holyhead and Pembroke, with stores. Sailed, Netley, tender, with provisions and water for the homeward-bound vessels detained in the Channel by contrary winds.

31st. Arrived, Indus, 78, Capt. Sir James Stirling, from the Mediterranean: her crew were inspected by Admiral Sir David Milne, on the 4th instant.

Sailed, the Lucifer, st.-v., Com. G. A. Frazer, for Cork: she has taken provisions and water for the homeward bound.

June 1st. The Hamoaze, tender, was undocked, having been coppered. The crew of the America, 50, Capt. Hon. John Gordon, were paid wages in advance on 3rd inst.; she had previously been inspected by Admiral Sir D. Milne, who expressed himself highly pleased at the superior order and discipline of her crew; she sailed the 5th for South America. The light on the Breakwater was exhibited for the first time this ev

brilliant appearance. The St. Vincent, 120, Capt. R. F. Rowley, appeared in the offing, made her number, and proceeded down Channel with provisions for the homeward bound; the wind having since shifted, a number of vessels have passed up Channel.—2nd. Sailed the Prince Frederick (Dutch transport,) for Rotterdam. Sailed the Camel, tender, to the eastward with stores. 5th. Arrived Nautilus, 10, from the westward, having supplied several of the homeward bound with provisions.

Mr. Bell, draughtsman in the office of Capt. Brandreth, R.E., Director-General of Public Works, has arrived here to assist Mr. Townsend in the superintendence of the new steam factory at Morris-town, Devonport.

June 8th. Sailed Echo, st.-v., for Portsmouth, from which place she brought a number of seamen, paid off from the Malabar; also Hamoaze tender for Haulbowline, with stores for the squadron at Cork.—9th. Sailed Emerald tender for Portsmouth, having disembarked the Marines belonging to this division, lately paid off from the Malabar.—11th. Arrived Jason and Rinn, Dutch frigates, under the command of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands; the remainder of the squadron parted company in a fog off Dover. As soon as the Rin and Jason entered the Sound royal salutes were fired by the Caledonia, flag-ship, and the Citadel at Plymouth, which were returned by the Dutch ships. The Port Admiral, Sir David Milne, visited the Prince soon after the ships were moored, and was received with a salute on going on board and on his return. H.R.H. landed at Mount Wise the following day, under a royal salute from the saluting battery; the whole of the forces in garrison were drawn up on the parade before Government House to receive him; after partaking of some refreshment, he visited and inspected the Caledonia, and was much pleased with the high discipline of her crew; in the evening he dined with the Port Admiral. H.R.H. subsequently visited the dockyard and the other Government establishments, with all of which he expressed himself highly satisfied at the order and regularity in which everything was conducted.—13th. Arrived the Snelheid brig and Dolphin schooner, the remainder of the Dutch squadron, also the Centurion, 80, lately launched at Pembroke. The Indus, 80, Capt. Sir James Stirling, was paid off this day.

The Delight, 10-gun brig, offered at the last sale at Somerset House, and bought in, is to be fitted as a watch-ship for the service of the Custom House, and is to be stationed in the river Tees.

The Board of Admiralty have issued an order, that the seamen of the different guard ships, when employed in fitting ships, inspecting moorings, &c., are to be allowed 3*d*. per diem, in addition to their pay.

June 16th. Apollo troop-ship, 8, Com. W. Maclean, appeared in the offing, made her number, and proceeded up Channel, with the 68th Regt. on board, from Quebec.—17th. Sailed the Brunswick steamer for Portsmouth, with the Marines belonging to that division discharged from the Indus, and a number of seamen paid off from the said ship last week. Arrived the Falmouth tender from Portsmouth, with stores.—18th. Arrived Cygnet, 6, Com. H. Layton, from Portsmouth; Adventure, N.T., from Pembroke, with stores.—19th. Sailed Devon tender, for Falmouth, with troops. Arrived Fox, 42, Capt. Sir H. M. Blackwood, from Ireland; as soon as she has had a refit she is to proceed to China; fifteen second-class boys from the San Josef are to be sent on board her, to be distributed on board different ships on that station. Sailed the Jason, Rinn, Snelheid, Dolphin, (Dutch squadron), under the command of H.R.H. Prince Frederick; the usual salutes took place on their departure; they stood to the westward, with a fine breeze at N.—20th. The Resistance, 42, troop-ship, Com. G. E. Patey, from Quebec, passed up Channel for Spithead.

In the Sound.—Caledonia, Cygnet.—In Barnpool, Fox (refitting).—In Harbour, San Josef, Confiance steam-tug.

REVIEWS AND CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Life of Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser. By R. M. Hunt, Esq., 1844.

Contrasted with the Life of Keppel, recently published, the book before us might be deemed a Rowland for an Oliver. No feeling of the kind, however, is shown by the author, who appears to have been actuated by a regard for truth, and has therefore proved that the medal lately placed before the public, has its reverse as well as obverse; and so ably has he acquitted himself, that the two publications will inevitably stand side by side in every nautical, biographical, and historical library. By examining the documents in both books, the reader will be able to form a correct opinion upon the most disagreeable controversy that ever disturbed the naval world.

It is unhappily too well known, that Admiral Keppel was an out-and-out Whig, and Vice-Admiral Palliser a thorough-paced Tory. The former being rich and highly connected, was, in a manner, forced upon the Ministry: the latter, without family or political weight, was closely connected with the Administration by his merit and services. Both were regarded as officers of great bravery and skill. Unfortunately for the country, both of them were in a great measure driven from the Service, and their abilities lost to the nation, by a skulking libeller, who has never dared to avow himself. Under the mask of a feigned signature, this fellow intended to gall the Government by imputing Keppel's want of success to the misconduct of Sir Hugh Palliser. Such was the match which set fire to the train:

"What mighty contests spring from trivial things."

We are not going to inflict the reader by here obtruding this disagreeable business any further, but we strongly recommend every officer of intelligence to make himself master of the various *pros* and *cons* of that singular *questio vexata*, which actually agitated all England. It is also the less necessary for us to revive the trials, because we have already expressed our decided opinion upon the matter, in our Number for June, 1842.

Many men of sound judgment, however, saw the true state of the case, and deplored its consequences. The "Seaman" who wrote the biting letters to Admiral Pigott, also addressed the Earl of Sandwich, and said, "My Lord, many are now ashamed of the late popular delusion, and future generations will read the account of our Keppel-frenzy, with a mixture of wonder and unbelief. That an Admiral, who had twice turned his stern to an inferior fleet of the enemy's ships, was honoured with public demonstrations of joy in various parts of the kingdom,—with honorary rewards from several public bodies, and with the almost unanimous thanks of both Houses of Parliament, will hardly be credited by our remote successors; and so far as the account shall gain credit, it must excite their astonishment." A wit of the day also lashed the gallant Corporation of London, for their forwardness in lauding Keppel at the expense of Palliser; and the epigram upon their bestowing the freedom of the city upon him in a heart-of-oak box, while that given to Rodney was in a gold one, might have found insertion in Mr. Hunt's book. It runs—

"Each favourite's defective part,
Satiric cits, you've told;
For cautious Keppel wanted *heart*,
And gallant Rodney *gold*."

REMARKS ON THE POSITION OF BARRACKS IN THE WEST INDIES, AS AFFECTING THE HEALTH OF EUROPEANS; ON THE HEALTH AND MANAGEMENT OF EUROPEAN SOLDIERS SERVING IN THE TROPICS; AND THE ADVANTAGES OF AN INCREASE OF THE WEST INDIA CORPS CONSIDERED. BY CHARLES W. SHORT, LATE CAPTAIN AND LIEUTENANT-COLONEL COLDSTREAM-GUARDS.

"We are not a reading Service," has often been said of our Army, and we fear not without justice. That we are on the high road to be a writing Service, there is reason to hope, when we watch the press of the day, from the mighty work of Napier down to the humblest little effort that has issued from Hong-Kong. But Doctor Johnson has told us that—"the greatest part of a writer's time is spent in reading, in order to write; a man will turn over half a library to make one book." We may therefore conclude, that as we have ocular proof of our becoming a writing Service, we are also in a fair way to become a reading one. Be this as it may, any thing that treats of the health of our gallant soldiers, is alike important to the idler, and to the reader, if he be an officer.

The most careless consumer of military time, talents, and health, in knocking about everlastingly two white balls and a red one, and dropping them into pockets, ought to spare half an hour in running over the above unpretending little pamphlet of Colonel Short's, which should be on every mess-room table, as there is nothing like a pressure from without, to overcome bigoted prejudice against all change, however just and humane, merely because it *is* change; and even when bayonets are fixed, and where discipline prevails, the small still voice of opinion will be heard, and will not be without effect. Colonel Short commences his remarks by observing,—

"The day is happily gone by, when a regiment ordered to these colonies wasted its best energies, while it renewed its ranks three times over during a service of twenty years, &c., &c., &c. The novelty of a change of quarters, and new scenery, with the certitude of a removal at the termination of three or four years, to Canada, cheer the monotony of a soldier's life, and operates beneficially on his *morale*."

The day is indeed happily passed; and though certain Highland, Light Infantry, and Fusilier gentlemen did smuggle themselves into North America, and fought hard to be there fixed for another half score years, they have at last been persuaded, by a man who knows no subterfuge, to leave skating, sleighing, and pic-nicking with young ladies in Fredericton, Montreal, Kingston, and Toronto, for bathing, burying, and perspiring, in Barbadoes, Trinidad, and Demerara; and it is hoped the rotation plan of Lord Howick, so just and humane to the soldier, will never be allowed to become a dead letter.

A better day is dawning for our soldiers; formerly, as Colonel Short observes, "A general hospital was provided for the sick, a cemetery for the dead," and it was considered all was done that was necessary. Still there is more, much more to be accomplished in the work of humanity. But one stall in the Augean stable is cleansed.

Colonel Short's plan is to substitute African for European troops, as far as possible, having reserves of white troops in the Port Royal Mountains, Jamaica, the high lands of St. Vincent, Gun-hill, Barba-

does, &c., where the men would be preserved in health, and would be manifestly tenfold as efficient, when required. As for the word *acclimatized*, (invented by home-bred soldiers to keep their less fortunate brethren in arms, withering beneath a burning sun,) it is happily become obsolete.

Colonel Short gives us a slight sketch of the barracks and their position in each particular island, and evidently speaks from personal inspection. Under the head of Barbadoes, we have a description of the lofty and well-ventilated barracks at St. Ann's, and then he asks, "Whence comes it that fever occasionally does its worst in this favoured island?" And he attributes it to the dull monotony of garrison duty, the outskirts of a town, with every species of temptation at hand; and he contrasts this with the health and happiness he witnessed in the camp of the 60th Rifles in Port Royal Mountains, Jamaica; and he proceeds to draw the conclusion,—

"This example alone would prove the position which it is wished to establish, namely, that in a lofty inland position, whether in camp or huts, and away from the temptations of the town, European soldiers do enjoy good health, and stand a far better chance of escaping those awful epidemics which occasionally make such fearful havoc in their ranks."

The following will produce a smile from the experienced reader:—

"Amusement, recreation, regularity, freedom from the cross-belts, &c., &c.,—these are the acquirements so much needed in our tropical colonial dependencies by the soldiery; and that commanding officer who can put battalion field-days in abeyance, (for, with all respect be it spoken, there are some few whose zeal would induce them to get up a drill on that plain of 'ever-burning sulphur unconsumed,' where, according to Milton, a certain defeated General once mustered his troops,) will find the benefit both to himself and men in cheerfulness, health, and effectiveness, when the hour of need arrives."

This will apply to all parts of the world. A regiment must, of course, be drilled occasionally, but not harassed with drill. How frequently we see commanding officers drilling, not to instruct their men, but to teach themselves the well-got-up lesson for the half-yearly inspection. It requires nerve to drill a battalion, as much as it requires nerve to ride a horse; he who has a head to plan, and a quick eye to detect where the blunder is committed, and has confidence in himself, will make no difference in the drill from one year's end to the other, and the week before an inspection will be the same as the week after. But we know that all battalions are not thus favoured, or, we may say there are few thus favoured. As the half-yearly inspection comes round, the same monotonous old lesson must be learnt, column will march past in close column on this company, close column on that company; parades are increased, drills are lengthened, the barracks white-washed, the floors scrubbed, the eternal fuss about the hair, the Serjeant-Major (a great man on these occasions,) ever and anon detects a concealed lock, which is immediately clipped, whiskers are shaved, all is *got up*, if we may so express ourselves, for the occasion, even to the little boys and girls of the regimental school being well charged with three or four long words of five syllables each to spell before the General. The men are sulky, the officers grumble amongst themselves; but at last the important day arrives, and the prospect of a little rest

imparts a certain portion of cheerfulness to all save the chief man concerned. The battalion is drawn up an hour before the time, nervousness is at its height, insanity seems at hand. "Guard turn out!" and the great man makes his appearance, and finds all in apple-pie order. But let us ask, is it possible a General Officer can form a correct judgment of the capabilities of a commanding officer, the efficiency of his regiment, or the cleanliness of their barracks, from this got-up lesson, these walls whitewashed for the day? At such an inspection the least able commanding officer will come off with the greatest praise. No; let a General Officer ride into barracks unexpectedly, order out the battalion, and see it drilled; or let him say when the got-up lesson is over, "Now, Sir, you will be pleased to form your battalion on such and such a height, you will imagine the enemy in such a position, and you will do such and such a manœuvre."

If this kind of preparation and persecution is harassing, and causes desertion in England, what must be the evils of it on the burning savanna of St. Ann's? "The wheel of a close column at five o'clock P.M.," with the fierce rays of the sun still darting in the face, all but realises the conceptions of the poet,—the poor soldier will feel he has come to a place, and into a regiment,—

> "Where peace
> And rest can never dwell; hope never comes
> That comes to all; but torture without end
> Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
> With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed."

Then, in the name of common humanity, let us follow the advice of Colonel Short, and take up our knapsacks and depart from the swamp and miasma of Demerara and Berbice, (the white man's grave,) and leave these regions to Blacky, who revels there in health; let us withdraw from the low land of Barbadoes, and bid farewell to the land-crab and cemetery, and shake the dust of these chalky roads from our feet; let us retire to our fastnesses in the hills, like the feudal lords of old, and when rebellion is at hand we will pour down upon the plain, "by double column of subdivisions from the centre," with regulation coal-scuttles on our heads, and half-a-foot of peak protruding both from front and rear; and strong in limb and rude in health, we will soon crush the insurrection or repel the invasion. But little drill will be required to keep the battalion efficient, as a man never leaves the depôt who is not a well-trained soldier: and, as for the lesson at the half-yearly inspection, he who has neither head nor memory must fall back upon the tact and ready wit of that useful personage, his Serjeant Major; or if he is not conveniently near, he must follow the example of the Militia Colonel and appeal to the bugler who is always in attendance—

"Where ware I leet, drum-boy?"

"Why, your honour has a dubbed the rigiment."

We may be asked by some false economist, who, in his parsimony, will deem brick and mortar of greater value than man's liver and life, who is too short-sighted to see that the enormous sums required to raise men and transport them to feed the fever pot, far exceed in magnitude any temporary expense that may be necessary to carry through Colonel

Short's excellent and humane plan of encampment on the hills; we may be asked by such an one, "What will be done with the splendid barracks of Barbadoes?" We will answer him in the words of a profuse nobleman, now living in exile, who, in the very pith and marrow of an election speech, being hailed by a voice from the crowd with, "What is become of Wanstead House?" (the fairy dwelling of his ruined bride,) coolly turned to his querist and replied, "Pulled down." One can fancy, in future years, a wanderer hanging about St. Ann's, and meeting with the ghost of a departed Barrack Master.

"What is become of the splendid, lofty, and well ventilated brick barracks?"

"Alas, sir," will sigh the phantom; "it is *pulled down*, it is a heap of *barrack damages*."

We will give a few more extracts from Colonel Short which have more particularly attracted our attention.

Berbice and Demerara.—"But why, it may be asked, should any *white* troops be quartered in these colonies at all? Tranquillity is not likely to be disturbed, and in the event of any commotion, notice could be sent to Barbadoes by means of the royal mail steamers, and support furnished within a week to the black troops. Occupation for the mind is every thing in these climes, but what occupation can there be for a soldier in these dead levels of ditch and cane?"

Jamaica.—"The garden and its productions may follow, and there seems no reason why *mess allotments* of ground should not be marked out on the surrounding slopes, as a means at once of furnishing recreation and wholesome vegetables for the men. * * * Never embark or disembark troops at mid-day, after having worked the men all the forenoon in packing or unpacking, or discharging heavy baggage into boats!"

The writer once witnessed a whole day consumed in landing and conveying the baggage of a commanding officer to his quarters, in an island in the West Indies; and not a trunk was permitted to be touched until the lion had been served with his share; and he will never forget the awful quantity of household goods that were displayed before the relieved and the relieving battalion; the magnitude of some of the chests was something astonishing, and it was painful to see the men of this corps labouring under cases as big as half a bungalow, laden with kitchen utensils and other family affairs. There really ought to be a conscience in these matters, at home as well as abroad, and boxes ought to be clipped to a reasonable size. Only the regulated weight of baggage should be permitted to be moved, but the lion and his jackal should be restrained as well as the other animals, or rules are of no use. Let family baggage be conveyed by private means, and not imposed on the public.

The second part of the pamphlet is entirely on the health and management of European soldiers serving in the tropics. It concludes with a hint that is well worthy the consideration of the Clothing Board.

"There is one more point connected with the West India regiments, and that is, dress—might not this be improved, or made more suitable to the climate, and, perhaps, to the feelings of the men, Africans?"

It does seem absurd to strangle the African in a leather stock

and all the tightness of the German school, in that warm and relaxing climate, causing his prominent lips to be still more protuberant, he whose limits have been heretofore—

> " . . . . free as Nature first made man, &c., &c., &c.
> And wild in woods the noble savage ran."

In the third part Colonel Short discusses the advantages of an increase of the West India corps. We admire his plan of limiting the service. Might we not do so with Europeans as well as Africans? We should certainly have a better class of men. To embark *for life* on an unknown sea of stern discipline and implicit obedience appals many a promising aspirant for the ranks.

" . . . . It becomes a question whether the present *unlimited* service (the great obstacle to keeping the West India regiments complete, which is now so difficult, and a handle in the missionary's mouth against the recruiting Serjeant's persuasions) might not most prudently be restricted to *seven* years, granting the discharged men the option of returning to the Coast of Africa, or remaining in the colony where they may be quartered at the termination of their service."

In conclusion, let us once more recommend Colonel Short's remarks to the consideration of all who are interested in the health and happiness of our soldiers serving in the West Indies, and the Army generally, more particularly to those who have the power to carry beneficial suggestions into effect.

FREDERICK THE GREAT, HIS COURT AND TIMES. EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY THOMAS CAMPBELL, ESQ., AUTHOR OF THE PLEASURES OF HOPE, &c. 2 VOLS.

We hail with much satisfaction this revised and condensed edition of one of the most entertaining and instructive works for the library of every soldier. There is not a page throughout the two compact volumes which will not bear many times reading.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The communications of "Captain M." (Gibraltar) should be, of course, original and exclusive, and without reference to other publications and matters that would be incomprehensible to the readers of our pages.

With reference to Notes on the Army, No. 12, pp. 356 and 357, since the calculations were made of the Officers who have retired on full-pay, there have been two added to the list, viz., one Captain, 24th Regt., one Captain and Brevet-Major, 81st Regt.—22nd June, 1844.

The East India Register will furnish "A Constant Reader" with every information in regard to Cadetships in the East India Company's Service.

EDITOR'S PORTFOLIO;

OR,

NAVAL AND MILITARY REGISTER.

During the past month the Court and the Metropolis have been extraordinarily gay, owing to the presence of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Saxony. His Imperial Majesty, who made but a brief visit, won golden opinions from all parties, and on leaving the country, was most munificent in his gifts to every one who attended him or came under his immediate observation. The Emperor also presented 500*l.* towards the completion of the Nelson monument, and a like sum to the funds for the Wellington Testimonial. We do not suppose that any Sovereign ever visited this country who was so lavish in distributing in all quarters the most costly presents.

We have occasionally noticed the proceedings against Mr. O'Connell and his associates; but the many delays and obstacles that were thrown in the way, rendered the task of following them as tedious to us as we have little doubt it would be to most of our readers; but this reflection naturally arose, that if the accused, or traversers as they are called, had placed any reliance on the legality of their actions, they would have at once entered on the merits of their case, and not have attempted to get rid of it by a side wind. Notwithstanding all the quirks and evasions that were practised, a conviction was at last obtained; every one knows the liberality of time that was allowed to intervene before passing sentence, and the postponement to a second term. At last, we arrive at this event, which, for reasons we cannot comprehend, was invested with great solemnity, even so far, that the judge who pronounced it was affected to tears; a circumstance that appears rather inexplicable at this side of the water, where we have been accustomed to see heavier penalties inflicted for much lighter political offences, and it seems more to be wondered at when we consider the nature of the punishment. The amount of fines inflicted on the principal and other parties comes not out of their pockets, and they may well afford to laugh at the infliction; this reflection should have made the other portion of the penalty heavier,—but, on the contrary, it has been lighter by one-half than in many instances of seditious proceedings of a far less aggravated character. And what has been the nature of the imprisonment? Not the usual incarceration in a common jail, but in a penitentiary, where the best apartments within the walls have been given up to the use of the convicts; where they are at least as well and as comfortably lodged as in their own houses, with grounds for exercise and gardens for recreation; where in short they may indulge in all the comforts and luxuries that money can procure in a large capital; their

friends and relations have free access; they hold levees and give entertainments. Yet these people, so lightly, we may say so generously, treated, are denominated martyrs. And these are the persons whose avowed object was the dismemberment of the Empire by Repeal of the Union; for there surely cannot be such a blockhead in existence as to imagine, in the present state of relationship between the two countries, the Repeal of the Union would not be immediately followed by a total separation, and proclamation of the Independence of Ireland. This result is so well known that many of the most zealous advocates for Repeal do not deny it. The hope was that the trial of O'Connell and his associates would have opened the eyes of every one to the real motives concealed by peaceful expressions; but this has not been the case, and, beside those that are wilfully blind, there are many others that still have full confidence in the practicability of the scheme. We have heard lately from Ireland, stating that many thousands cherish this hope with a sort of quiet and dogged resolution, and in this temper they are supported by the great body of the Roman Catholic priesthood, who have put themselves forward in the most prominent and even ostentatious way to support the views of the deluded peasantry, and strip them of the last farthing in support of a cause, of the merits of which they are entirely ignorant. This conduct of the priesthood can scarcely be wondered at, as their ambition is undoubtedly that their church should be the dominant one, which at present, under the existing order of things, is next to impossible. To gain this object they would not hesitate to encounter all risks, even of a civil war; and in so doing they are, as Falstaff says, "fulfilling their vocations." We hope, however, when another grant is called for Maynooth, the conduct of the priests on the late occasion will not be forgotten: if they can find funds to pamper a demagogue and his partisans, they surely can find means to educate their own novices.

HALF-YEARLY PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS AT SANDHURST.

THE usual half-yearly public examinations at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, took place on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of May, on which occasion additional interest was given to the proceedings by the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, who honoured the institution by presiding at the Collegiate Board. His Royal Highness was received, on the morning of the 16th, by the battalion of Gentlemen Cadets under arms, and by a royal salute of twenty-one guns from the flag-staff redoubt, which was repeated on the departure of His Royal Highness. The other Commissioners present (besides Major-General Sir George Scovell, K.C.B., the Governor, and Colonel Thomas W. Taylor, C.B., the Lieutenant-Governor,) were General Sir William H. Clinton, G.C.B., Lieut.-General Sir John Gardiner, K.C.B., and Major-General George Brown, C.B. & K.H., the Deputy Adjutant-General. Among the spectators were Sir George B. Robinson, Bart., Major Basil Jackson, Major H. Straith, &c., &c., &c.

On the 16th and 17th of May the usual classes of Gentlemen Cadets were brought forward for examination. In the mathematics, Gentlemen Cadets George A. Robinson, Alfred C. Cure, Bryan Thornhill, and Edmund Y. Peel, were examined in analytical geometry of three dimensions, the integral calculus, and statics. In analytical geometry of two dimensions, and the differential calculus, Gentlemen Cadets Michael M'Creagh, Arthur E. Johnson, Francis Kennedy, James S. Richards, Francis Dawson, and

Warner W. Carden. In plane and solid geometry, trigonometry, and mensuration of planes and solids, Gentlemen Cadets Arthur W. Cameron, Charles D. R. Colthurst, Charles F. T. Daniell, Thomas H. Goad, Edward S. Powys, Francis W. T. Caulfeild, James Daubeny, Benjamin Rising, Archibald Robertson, Stewart A. Kershaw, and James M. Buchanan. And, finally, in the six books of Euclid, Gentlemen Cadets Hector Monro, Henry J. Maclean, George A. Tranchell, Charles H. Slessor, William E. F. O'Brien, Edward B. Hart, Charles W. Aylmer, William K. M'Leod, Harry R. S. Trelawny, Samuel G. Carter, Charles J. O. Swaffield, Arthur De V. Viscount Malden, Richard G. A. Luard, John P. Traherne, William H. Wilson, Albert E. Rowley, John F. Flamank, George Morgan, Barclay Thomas, William C. Rose, Christopher E. Blackett, Edmund J. Gardiner, William Creagh, and Charles J. Ewen.

In the fortification department there were, as usual, a number of drawings of fortresses, &c., voluntarily performed beyond the required course of study; among which were plans of a fortified barrack in advance of the works at Flushing, and of the crown-work of Lodi, constructed at Alessandria by Chasseloup de Laubat, by Gentlemen Cadets Lloyd and Kennedy. The latter drawing showed the improved tenaille with masked casemates in the flanks, which that engineer adopted at Alessandria, and which is to be seen among the recent additions made to the Vauban model at the College. The military drawing of the institution sustained its high character, and many good drawings were laid for inspection on the Board-room table, especially one of St. Helena, accompanied by drawings of Plantation House and Mr. Doveton's house in that island, by Gentleman Cadet John M. M. Hewett.

In the course of the examinations of the 16th of May the Commissioners proceeded to the margin of the lake, to witness the formation of the usual pontoon-bridge by the classes of Gentlemen Cadets in the fortification department. This bridge, composed of a mixture of casks and Blanshard's pontoons, being rowed down the lake by the Gentlemen Cadets, was completed by them in less than eight minutes. The Gentlemen Cadets immediately afterwards dismantled the bridge, and broke into divisions of rafts, all in the short space of three minutes. In the mean time His Royal Highness and the Commissioners embarked in one of the Gentlemen Cadet's boats, manned by four of the under-officers, and proceeded up the lake to see the effect of an experiment by Major Adams, the Professor of Fortification, for the purpose of blowing in the barrier-gate of a redoubt, surrounded by a wet ditch. The redoubt was represented by a thick turf wall on the border of a river, supposed to be the wet ditch, and there was an entrance by a barrier-gate (3½ inches thick) in the middle of the face. The redoubt was supposed to be attacked on several points, one of which was to be the gate. It was proposed to blow in the gate from the couterscarp-side of the ditch, by suspending 30 pounds of powder in a bag against the gate, from the end of a pole long enough to extend across the ditch, which was in this experiment 48 feet wide. To facilitate the operation, the pole was firmly lashed at one extremity to the axletree of a gun-limber, used as a moveable fulcrum, and was counterpoised by another pole, also lashed to the axletree, but extending in the opposite direction. The bag of powder was to be ignited by a powder-hose, or *saucisson*, 52 feet long, and containing 5¾lb. powder, the hose being supported along the side of the pole on cleats of wood. Everything being prepared as described, eight or ten men pressed with their weight the counterpoise lever (thus raising the powder attached to the further end of the other pole), ran the whole apparatus up to the counterscarp, lowered the powder against the centre of the gate (by raising the counterpoise), and set fire to the hose. Although the pressure of the crowd around the spot shortly before the experiment had rendered the hose useless, by interrupting the communication, yet, a piece of quick-match being promptly substituted, the explosion to[illegible] [illegible]wn the

barrier with great violence, throwing many of the fragments to a distance of 120 yards.

At the same time there had been prepared for the instruction of the Gentlemen Cadets several infantry bridges, thrown over other parts of the water, and composed of spars, of a gun-limber and ladders, and such other ready expedients as might be employed on service. The fortification classes were also exercised as usual, in making gabions and fascines, and tracing and porfiling field-works for the inspection of the Commissioners.

In the course of the second day, the members of the Board visited the Riding School, where a class of Gentlemen Cadets were put through all the manœuvres of the school.

The prizes of the term were awarded as follows :—

GENERAL MERIT AND GOOD CONDUCT.—Gentleman Cadet Bryan Thornhill.

MATHEMATICS.—*Senior Class.* Gentleman Cadet Bryan Thornhill. *Junior Classes.* Gentlemen Cadets William Fleming and Jasper Hall.

FORTIFICATION.—*Senior Class.* Gentleman Cadet James S. Richards. *Junior Class.* Gentleman Cadet Henry J. Maclean.

MILITARY SURVEYING.—Gentleman Cadet John M. M. Hewett.

MILITARY DRAWING.—*Pen-drawing.* Gentleman Cadet Francis W. T. Caulfeild. *Brush-drawing.* Gentleman Cadet Francis Kennedy.

LANDSCAPE DRAWING.—Gentlemen Cadets Jasper Hall and John M. M. Hewett.

FRENCH.—*Senior Class.* Gentleman Cadet John H. King. *Junior Classes.* Gentlemen Cadets Jasper Hall and Thomas W. Cator.

GERMAN.—Gentleman Cadet Charles J. Ewen.

LATIN.—*Senior Class.* Gentleman Cadet William H. Wilson. *Junior Class.* Gentleman Cadet Henry C. Wise.

HISTORY.—Gentleman Cadet James Gubbins.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.—Gentleman Cadet Arthur W. Conolly.

At the close of the second day's examination, the following Gentlemen Cadets were declared to have completed their qualifications for commissions, and were accordingly recommended by the Commissioners to His Grace the Commander-in-Chief, in the order of their acquirements and merit, to receive Ensigncies in the Line, without purchase:—

1. Bryan Thornhill
2. Charles D. R. Colthurst
3. John H. King
4. George P. E. Morrison
5. Charles E. Preston
6. John F. Cust
7. Michael McCreagh
8. George A. Robinson
9. William Meynell
10. Benjamin Rising
11. Arthur E. Johnson
12. Stewart A. Kershaw
13. Francis Dawson
14. Francis Kennedy
15. Edward S. Powys
16. Alfred C. Cure

The first twelve on the list having, moreover, each passed examinations beyond the required course for commissions, were rewarded with honorary certificates of approbation. But the number of Gentlemen Cadets brought forward for public examination on this occasion, in the different branches of the College course of instruction, was,—in mathematics, 45; in fortification, including the actual construction in the field of saps, mines, intrenchments, gabions, fascines, &c., 25; in military surveying, 11; in the Latin, French, and German languages, 34; and in general history, ancient and modern, 7: making a total of 122 examinations.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, and the General Officers composing the Board, assembled for the third time on Saturday morning, the 18th of May, when those officers of the senior department, whose terms of residence at the Institution had expired, were presented for the purpose of being examined concerning their progress in the sciences connected with the higher departments of the military service. The time which could be

allowed for the examination in pure and mixed mathematics being unavoidably very limited, the demonstrations of a few trigonometrical theorems and some investigations of formulæ relating to astronomy and geodesy by analytical processes, which were proposed by Major-General Brown, were all that could be exhibited; but the manner in which these were performed, gave satisfactory evidence that, in the courses of study pursued by the officers, no useful subject had been neglected.

Capt. E. W. C. Wright, 91st Regt., described in detail the operations employed in conducting a trigonometrical survey, and in determining the lengths of meridional arcs: he explained the methods of reducing the measured portions of the base to a spherical surface, and of verifying the observed angles of the primary triangles, together with the nature of the observations required in finding the azimuthal bearings and the latitudes of the stations: demonstrations were also given of propositions relating to the secondary triangles in such surveys. The same officer deduced the properties of the different mechanical powers from the theories of parallel and concurring forces, and explained the effects of general precession and nutation on the apparent places of celestial bodies: he investigated the quadrature of spaces between an hyperbole and its asymptotes, and proved the constancy of the subtangents to a logarithmic curve.

Lieut. R. G. Wale, 33rd Regt., exhibited a proposition relating to the secondary triangles in a geodetical survey, explaining with it the practical operations, and demonstrating the trigonometrical theorems on which it depended: he gave a solution of the problem for determing the hour at any station from an observed altitude of the sun or a star, and detailed the processes employed in making all the necessary reductions. The same officer investigated also a general formula, expressing the value of any diameter of an ellipse.

The answers given in writing at the examination before Major-General Sir G. Scovell, the Governor of the Institution, a few days previously, by Capt. Wright, contained, together with the solutions of propositions in plane geometry, investigations on the subature of solids, and on subjects in the first volume of Dr. Gregory's Mechanics.

In the examinations relating to permanent and temporary fortifications the officers gave answers extemporaneously to questions proposed on those two divisions of the art. These questions elicited explanations of the principles involved in the construction of the works with a view to a prolonged defence; descriptions of the more important systems which have been constructed or recommended for fortifying towns or military positions, including some account of the works recently executed on the Continent; and indications of the particular defects which, in the successive methods, it was proposed to correct. The difficult subject of defilading works from commanding heights was explained: and occasional references were given to historical notices concerning the employment of field fortifications for the defence of military positions. The attack and defence of places fortified according to the methods of Vauban and Cormontaingne, including the operations of mining, and the employment of mines both by the besiegers and defenders, were also described in considerable detail.

The examination within the walls of the College was followed by an inspection on the ground of the magistral lines of the field-works, one of them a star-fort, which in the course of the morning had been traced by the officers to whom the duty was assigned; these officers set up, at a salient and re-entering angle of each work, two sets of profile poles exhibiting, in their true dimensions, sections of the supposed parapets. The nature and uses of the redoubts with some practical details relating to their formation were stated by the officers to His Royal Highness, who was pleased to express his approbation of the work.

In the department of military surveying, &c., we were happy to notice the very superior acquirements displayed by (Lieutenant

Wale. These officers exhibited a joint survey and sketch of great beauty, undertaken to carry on to the northward the chain of the ancient Cotswold camp, commenced by Captain Carden, 60th Regt., and party in 1840, and temporarily concluded by Captain Huband, 8th Hussars, and Lieutenant Kearney, 69th Regt., in May, 1843. Captain Wright began the survey at the great camp on Cleeve Cloud Hill, near Cheltenham. It appears, as far as can be judged from its dilapidated state, to have been defended to the eastward by two banks and a ditch: while the greater part of the remaining enceinte was sufficiently guarded by the steep escarpment of the hill, which is nearly the highest point of the Cotswold. It is visible, either by signal, or directly from the camp at Leckhampton Churchdown, and perhaps Kinsbury; and is succeeded immediately to the northward by Nottingham Hill camp, which is a very large work, but so much obliterated that little than its site can be traced. Lieutenant Wale concluded by connecting Nottingham camp with that on Oxenton Hill, and including a small work at Dixton, which seems to have guarded the opening in the hills between Nottingham and Oxenton, which latter is nearly isolated from the main range of the Cotswold.

Captain Wright carried on an extra work, a survey of nearly forty square miles to the north-east of the termination of the joint plan, giving the whole of the remainder of the Cotswold Hills, to their termination near Chipping Camden; south-west of which stands the fine camp of Broadway, almost entirely defended by the nature of the ground, which is exceedingly bold and precipitate, and to which ample justice was done, as well as to all other parts of his sketch, by this excellent draughtsman; who must, however, divide the meed of praise with Lieutenant Wale, whose extra survey and sketch of the picturesque range "the Lickey Hills," near Bromsgrove, south of Birmingham, elicited universal approbation. These two officers exhibited between them more 110 square miles of country, and will not readily be surpassed, if equalled; although there are several officers of great promise as surveyors and draughtsmen among the junior classes of officers, whose display was very creditable in quality and beyond the average in quantity. We hope soon to notice some of them more particularly.

At the conclusion of the public examinations, Lieutenant R. G. Wale, 33rd Regt., was presented with the usual certificate provided for those officers who have completed the ordinary course of studies: to which was added a notice of high qualifications in military surveying. To Capt. E. W. C. Wright, 91st Regt., it was observed that, as he "had not only acquitted himself satisfactorily in the prescribed course of studies, but had also extended his acquirements, beyond the limits of that course, into the higher branches of mathematical science, the Board had directed that their sense of his superior merits should be recorded on his certificate, by a special addition to the usual form." A notice of his high qualifications in military surveying was also added to his certificate.

THE VAUBAN MODEL.—The original model exhibits three fronts of fortification, with ravelins and a covered way, according to the first system, on a scale of one inch to nine yards, or twenty-seven feet English. On one of the fronts the straight flanks are capable of being removed, and their places supplied by concave flanks with orillons. A work serving as a cavalier is adapted to one of the bastions.

At the commencement of the present year (1844), the Governor ordered that one of the fronts should be altered so as to exhibit the different kinds of revetments occasionally constructed for the purposes of military architecture, the manner of casemating ramparts for troops and artillery, and a complete system of countermines. In consequence of which order, models

of such works were added under the superintendence, and from the working plans, of Professor Narrien, of which the following is a description :—

The Right Demi-Bastion.—A descent by steps in the interior leads to a main gallery of countermines, which extends along the capital of the bastion, quite up to the flanked angle, and from this proceed at right angles to it, two galleries which lead to an escarp gallery behind the revetment of the face; this is below the level of the main ditch, and an ascent from it by a small rampe at the shoulder of the bastion leads to the interior of a line of vertical counterarches which, as a specimen of that kind of work, are to strengthen the revetment of the flank. The revetment of both flank and face are of the usual kind, and similar to that of the curtain, its escarp having a slope equal to one-sixth of its height; and the revetment of the face is strengthened by simple counterforts.

The rampart along the face of the bastion is occupied above the terreplein (the latter being on the level of the ground) by a double row of casemates, with vaulted roofs: the row nearest to the interior of the bastion is entered by doors in a wall supporting the terrepleins of the rampart on the interior side, and the rooms may serve for troops. From each of the casemates there is access by a door-way to a vaulted corridor, which runs parallel to the escarp, and from this there are entrances by door-ways to the several casemates which are contiguous to the revetment. These casemates are intended to contain artillery, and port-holes are cut in the revetment below the level of the crest of the glacis: these casemates form a powerful battery for the defence of the covered-way, or for a fire (the guns for this purpose being duly elevated), on the surface of the glacis. The partition walls between all these casemates are loop-holed, so that in the event of a breach being made in the face of the bastion, the assailing troops may be opposed, while mounting, by a flanking fire of musketry.

As a variety in the manner of forming casemated works, the rampart of this face, at a part near the shoulder, contains a quadrangular area covered by a groined vaulting which springs from the four walls, and rests on square piers in the interior. The revetment in front of this vaulted area is pierced for artillery, which in this situation may be employed to fire along the ditch of the ravelin, or against any crowning lodgments of the besiegers at the salients of that work. Above all the casemates is the usual terreplein and parapet with embrazures for artillery, and at the flanked angle of the bastion is a barbette battery. Embrazures are cut in the parapet of the flank, as usual, for the defence of the main ditch.

The parapets of the face can be removed when required, to show the plan of the casemates; and in two places the parapet and revetment of the face are cut transversely, in order to show different sections of the casemates, the revetment and the escarp gallery of countermines.

The Left Demi-Bastion.—This is countermined similarly to the right demi-bastion: a main gallery runs along the capital, and there is a descent to it by steps near the gorge: a longitudinal section of the descent and of the gallery itself, is seen on the profile of the table, together with the entrances into the two cross galleries, which, as well as the main gallery, lead to the gallery of the escarp. The latter runs behind the revetment of the face of the bastion, and through the lower part of the counterforts, with its floor below the level of the bottom of the main ditch. The revetment of this face is of the usual kind, with an exterior slope of one-sixth; and a part of it, which may be removed at pleasure, allows a section of the wall and gallery to be seen, with a small listener. The removal of this part of the wall allows also the entrance into a gallery of communication to be seen: this crosses the main ditch below the level of the latter, and leads into the opposite counterscarp gallery. On the profile of the table may be seen a longitudinal section of a like gallery, crossing the main ditch and leading to the counterscarp gallery by a corridor behind the steps at the rounding opposite the flanked angle of the bastion.

The wall at the flank of this demi-bastion offers a specimen of what is called a leaning revetment with counterarches.

The rampart of the face is casemated under part of its terreplein, the entrances being towards the interior of the bastion: these casements are merely intended for troops or stores, but it is to be understood that the revetment may be pierced for guns, if thought necessary. The parapet is capable of being removed, so that both the plan and a section of the casemates may be seen.

The Tenaille.—This work is constructed with flanks, each of which contains a masked battery of the kind executed by Chasseloup at Alessandria: the central part is a long straight curtain, and the faces, which are short, are solid and without parapet. In the rear part of each flank, are three vaulted chambers, each to contain one gun, and having its terreplein fifteen feet above the bottom of the ditch. A port-hole is cut in its front wall; and before this wall, yet separated from it by a quadrangular area without a roof, is the mask, which consists of three piers of masonry, each having a front of a conical form, and all connected together by a mass of masonry, in which are cut vaulted apertures opposite the port-holes before-mentioned; the apertures are so directed, that the guns may fire through them at angles of depression towards the bottom of the main ditch, thus flanking the breach supposed to be made in the collateral bastion, while it is impossible for the besiegers to dismount the guns even by his counter-battery at the salients of that bastion. On a level with the chambers containing the artillery, and on the side nearest to the curtain of the tenaille and enceinte, are vaulted chambers or casemates for troops or stores, access being obtained to them and to the casemates containing the guns by steps leading from the ditch between the tenaille and the nearest flank of the bastion. The vaults in the tenaille are shell-proof, and the covering, supposed to be of earth, is raised high enough to mask the revetment of the flank of the bastion; the guns on the rampart of this flank may, however, fire over the flank of the tenaille; and thus a double tier of guns may be used in opposing the passage of the besiegers across the main ditch. The casemates of the tenaille, at the part nearest to the curtain angle of the enceinte, project towards the latter, and the wall, whose face looks up the ditch between the extremity of each flank of the tenaille and the flank of the nearest bastion, is pierced with loop-holes for the purpose of impeding with musketry any attempt of the besiegers' troops, at the time of an assault, to pass from the main ditch to the rear of the tenaille. The roofs of the casemates can be removed for the purpose of showing the plan; and the whole flank of a tenaille is cut through vertically in order to exhibit a section through one casemate and the mask.

The Ravelin.—On the faces of this work are shown two kinds of revetments; the rampart of the left face has what is called a counter-sloped wall, the exterior being vertical, and the interior broader at the base than at the cordon: the buttresses or counterforts are counter-sloped to correspond to the wall itself. The revetment of the right face consists of a wall whose exterior and interior faces are vertical, and the interior exhibits two different kinds of horizontal counterarches. On the part nearest the gorge, the arches are in three tiers, and spring from the sides of the counterforts, which, as well as the arches, are of different depths towards the interior of the rampart; the lowest tier having the least depth, and the upper tier the greatest. On the remainder of the face the arches are in two tiers only, springing also from the sides of the piers or counterforts; the upper tier being on the same level as the highest of the three tiers just mentioned, that is, on a level with the cordon of the wall; and, in the lower tier, two vaults are comprehended within each vault of the upper tier.

A main gallery for countermines extends along the capital of the ravelin, and a gallery crosses this at right angles near the middle of the work. This gallery communicates by a rampe with an escarp gallery which extends

in rear of the revetment, and through the lower parts of the counterforts along the left face; its floor being below the level of the bottom of the ditch, and a passage cut through the foundation of the revetment leads from the gallery into one which is formed under the ditch of the ravelin for the purpose of communicating with the opposite part of the counterscarp gallery. The cross gallery also opens into one which extends along the right face of the ravelin; this is placed a few feet behind the revetment, so as to leave spaces between the piers of the counterarches, which may serve as vaults if required: its floor is on the level of the bottom of the ditch, and a passage of communication is made from it into the gallery leading under the ditch, on this side, to the opposite counterscarp gallery. The galleries on the right and left faces communicate with each other at the flanked angle of the work, where a passage leads into a gallery crossing the ditch in the direction of the capital and under its bed. From this gallery there is an ascent to the corridor behind the steps at the rounded part of the counterscarp; and in this corridor is one of the principal entrances into the countermines under the glacis.

A gallery is formed along the gorge of the ravelin, consisting of a broad vaulted passage, which is provided with loop traverses at intervals, and these, as well as the gorge wall, are pierced with loop-holes, to defend the gallery, and to afford reverse fires into the main ditch. The corridor communicates at its extremities with the two escarp galleries of the work, and the entrances to it are by door-ways at the head of the caponniere.

The ramparts are cut through vertically in different places, in order to show the sections of the parts; and the whole of the parapet may be removed for the purpose of showing the plan of the works.

The Covered Way and Glacis.—The ground under the covered-way and glacis is provided with a complete system of countermines.

From the main ditch and the ditch of the ravelin, in the rounded parts, and from the former near the steps leading to the re-entering places of arms, are entrances into a gallery which extends along the back of the counterscarp wall. This last is pierced with loop-holes, from which reverse fires may be directed into the ditch. The gallery consists of vertical counterarches with vaulted roofs, communicating with one another by door-ways in the partition walls, and by simple passages behind the steps leading to the places of arms.

In the rear wall of this magistral gallery are openings leading into the main galleries under the covered-way and glacis; and these latter galleries, having their floors on the level of the bottom of the ditch, extend in rectilinear directions beyond the foot of the glacis: they diverge from one another, so as to leave nearly equal intervals between them, without exact symmetry in their dispositions. The main galleries are connected by others which cross them at irregular intervals, so that while they afford entire lateral communications, they do not form a continuous line, and, besides these, short branch galleries are formed on the right and left of each main; the floors of these are on planes differently inclined to the horizon, for the purpose of allowing chambers to be formed where required, at different depths below the surface of the ground. These branches are so disposed that chambers may be formed in them nearly under the presumed place of the besiegers' third parallel, under the trench cavaliers, and under any crowning batteries which the enemy might form on the crest of the glacis.

A little within the entrance into the main gallery, at the salients of the right bastion, are two vaulted apartments, one on each side of the gallery, for the convenience of the troops or workmen employed in the latter; and under the salients of the ravelin is a more complex building, intended to be used for the defence of the gallery. It consists of one rectangular apartment, surrounded by a vaulted corridor, with which it has no communication, except at the entrance behind the steps leading from the ditch to the covered-way; and the walls of the apartment are loop-holed. The entrances

of two main galleries are in a corridor which communicates with the central chambers; and it is presumed that the besiegers' troops or miners may force their way into that chamber, but while they are detained by the doors or barricades through which they must force a passage to get to the magistral gallery of the place, the defenders in the corridor surrounding them may fire upon them through the loopholes.

In the side-walls of all the main galleries under the glacis are piers, on which doors may be hung, or vertical grooves in which timbers may be laid, to arrest the advance of an enemy, should he penetrate into a gallery; and in a few places wells are sunk, which may serve either as obstacles to the enemy or as receptacles for any water which may happen to lodge in the gallery. Air-shafts are formed at intervals for ventilation.

Listening galleries have been made to extend only a short distance beyond the foot of the glacis.

On the glacis and covered-way in front of the right demi-bastion are shown the effect of the enemy's mines preparatory to a descent into the main ditch of the fortress. On removing a portion of the parapet of the third parallel there may be seen a descent by an inclined plane supposed to be made by the besiegers, in order to search for the galleries of countermines. It is imagined that they have broken into one of these galleries, and that they have proceeded along it till they came nearly under the crest of the glacis, where they have formed a chamber for the purpose of producing a globe of compression. By the time that the besiegers' miners have arrived at this spot it is presumed that the approaches above ground have been continued up the glacis so far as the formation of the trench cavaliers; and on the explosion of the mine taking place, the besiegers are supposed to have passed from the terreplein of their cavalier down into the crater, where they have formed a lodgment, in order to protect their miners in the event of any attempt being made to oppose them by the defenders of the covered-way. Behind this lodgment a gallery in an inclined plane has been carried by the besiegers under the covered-way, and a chamber has been formed at the back of the counterarches. Here a second globe has been fired, (a third may be fired if necessary,) and the effect has been the destruction of the counterscarp and the opening of a passage into the ditch. This part of the covered-way admits of being removed so that a section of the gallery may be seen.

Vertical sections have been made in several parts of the covered-way; and portions may be removed, that the plan and profile of the counterarches may be seen.

Across the main ditch on the right front of the model is a shell-proof caponniere, with a double tier of vaults; the side-walls are loop-holed, and a small ditch extends along them on the exterior.

In the ravelin on the centre front of the model is a casemated safety-redoubt of a circular form, and in construction similar to one of the Maximilian towers at Lintz, but greatly simplified. The vaulted rooms on the lowest level may serve to contain stores; the part above them is one vaulted casemate, the arches resting on the walls, and on six piers about the centre. There are port-holes in the wall for artillery; and above all is an open terreplein and parapet, with traversing platforms for guns.

We are glad to see announced, as in preparation, a Biographical Dictionary of all Living Naval Officers, a work of this kind being much wanted for general information and historical reference. At present it is impossible from the Navy Lists and other publications to form a correct opinion of the services of the gallant and distinguished members of the Royal Navy. We heartily wish success to the Editor, Mr. O. Byrne, of the forthcoming work; he has undertaken a task of no inconsiderable difficulty and labour, and we hope he will meet with cordial co-operation from Naval Officers and their friends.

THE half-yearly public examination of the Gentlemen Cadets educated at the East India Company's Military Seminary took place on Friday, the 7th inst., in the presence of the Chairman, John Shepherd, Esq., the Deputy Chairman, Sir Henry Willock, K.L.S., several members of the Honourable Court of Directors, and the following visitors, viz.:—

Major-Generals.—Sir Jas. Sutherland, K.L.S., Bombay Infantry; Sir Robert Arbuthnot, K.C.B.; Sir Geo. Whitmore, K.C.H., Lieut.-Governor R.M. Academy; Sir T. Dowman, C.B., K.C.H., (R.A.); Pym, C.B., (R.A).

Colonels.—Roberts, C.B.; Cochrane, H.M.S.; Dickinson, late Bombay Engineers; Bonner, (late Madras Artillery); St. Clair, R.A.

Lieut.-Colonels.—W. D. Jones, (Inspector R.M. Academy); Sir F. Smith, R.E., (Director Royal Engineer Establishment, Chatham); Sabine, R.A.; Prosser, (R.M. College); Hutchinson, late Bengal Engineers; P. Brewer, late Bengal Establishment; H. B. Smith, Madras Cavalry; Montgomerie, C.B., Madras Artillery; Graham, C.B., Bengal Artillery; Leslie, C.B., Bombay Horse Artillery; Angelo.

Captain.—Hutton, R.N.

Majors.—Wentworth Bayley; Timbrell; Dickson; Hadfield; Pears, C.B., Madras Engineers; Brown, (Depôt Warley); Matson, R.E.; Moore, (late Nizam's Service.)

Captains.—Whitmore, R.E.; Harness, R.E.; Savage, R.A.; Boldero, H.M.S.; Jones, (late Madras Cavalry); Showers, (Madras Artillery); St. Clare, (Bombay Horse Artillery); G. St. P. Lawrence.

Lieutenant.—Riddell, R.A.

Ensigns.—Robertson (E.I.C. Engineers;) Hutchinson, (E.I.C. Engineers.)

Reverends.—H. Lindsay; F. H. Hutton.

L. Keir, Esq.; J. Narrien, Esq., F.R.S., (R.M. College); S. N. Christie, Esq., (R.M. Academy); E. Giffard, Esq., (Admiralty); Quintin Dick, Esq.; — Nicolls, Esq.; — Cox, Esq.; — Smith, Esq.; — Nesbitt, Esq.

Doctors.—Sayer, Wylie, Grant.

The Class brought forward on this occasion consisted of thirty Gentlemen Cadets, from whom six were selected for the Engineers, viz.:—Thomas George Glover, Henry Hyde, Ralph Young, Jas. George Fife, George Hutchinson, George Vivian Winscom.

Twelve for the Artillery, viz.:

William Stewart, Edmund Sharpe, George Rodney Brown, George Gleig Brown, Wm. Robt. Fitzgerald, Edward Harrison, William Miller, William Frisk Cox, George Alex. Renny, Harry Vince Timbrell, Thomas Haydon, Joseph Carncross Griffith.

Twelve for the Infantry, viz.:

Edward Leeds, Richard Edw. Gore Smith, Elliot Hyndman, Wm. Widdicombe, John Graydon, Rawlin Jas. Mallock, Richard Thompson, Weston Barwise, Fred. John Salmon Bagshaw, Thomas Woollams Holland, George Rickett Roberts, and Chas. Cowper Johnson.

The distribution of prizes was as follows, viz.:—

FIRST CLASS.

T. G. Glover—2nd Mathematical; 1st Hindustani.
R. Young—1st Mathematical; French.
H. Hyde—1st Fortification; Military Surveying; Civil Drawing.
G. Hutchinson—Military Drawing.
W. Stewart—2nd Hindustani.
W. R. Fitzgerald—2nd Fortification.
T. Haydon—Latin.

SECOND CLASS.

C. D. Newmarch—Mathematics.
F. C. Grindall—Fortification; Civil Drawing; Good Conduct.
F. J. Moberley—French.
C. T. Boddam—Military Drawing; Military Surveying; Hindustani.
C. J. Stuart—Latin.

THIRD CLASS.

Alex. Cowper—4th Good Conduct.

The examination in Mathematics was very satisfactory as far as it proceeded. The Cadets in the lower part of the class demonstrated a few theorems in geometry with great perspicuity and distinctness. Other Cadets in the class demonstrated some propositions in conic sections and analytical trigonometry. Mr. Young afterwards explained the theory of the equilibrium of floating bodies, and the method of determining the specific gravities of different bodies; and Mr. Glover investigated the principal formulæ connected with gravity and uniformly accelerated motion. Mr. Hyde and Mr. Fife were proceeding to explain other propositions in statics and dynamics, when the Chairman informed the Public Examiner that the time allowed for this part of the examination was expired.

FORTIFICATION DEPARTMENT.—The Second Class commenced the operations in this department by the formation of two rafts, on which the Cadet Company crossed a stream of water sixty feet wide, the rafts being successively and rapidly hauled over, in a manner superior to the ordinary flying-bridge in streams of moderate width and strength of current; this operation was under the management of Gentleman Cadet Greathead.

While the above operation was going on, a bridge of casks and pontoons was formed by the Second Class, under Gentleman Cadet Grindall, over which a 3-pounder, limbered up, and the Company of Cadets, passed.

A small pile-bridge had been previously formed by the Second Class; on this bridge most of the distinguished visitors assembled to witness a voltaic subaqueous explosion, conducted by Gentleman Cadet Hyde. The charge was 15lbs. of gunpowder in a depth of six feet water.

A series of models in moist sand were then inspected and explained by order of Major-General Pasley.

1st.—A model of the fortress of Hattrass, thirty miles north of Agra. The plan and details of this fortress were furnished by Colonel Hutchinson, of the Bengal Engineers, who was present at its siege in 1817.

This model was traced by, and the execution of it intrusted to, Gentleman Cadet George Hutchinson, (son of Colonel Hutchinson,) aided by Gentlemen Cadets Wm. Stewart, G. Rodney Brown, Miller, Timbrell, Hyndman, Widdicomb, Thompson, and Smith, assisted by Corporal Daniels and Gunner Cook. The scale is a quarter of an inch to one foot, the redoubt in which the model is constructed not admitting of a larger scale, in consequence of the huge nature of the works, the walls of the inner citadel being eighty-five feet high, of the enceinte fifty-six feet, of the fausse-braie fifty feet, of the counterscarp forty-five feet.

Cadet Hutchinson explained the nature of the defensive works; Cadet G. Rodney Brown the real attack and reduction of the place in 1817, when it was overwhelmed by the fire of an immense battering-train; and when a shell from one of the British mortars, exploded the great magazine of the place, containing about 400,000 lbs. of gunpowder. The column of ascending materials was seen at a distance of thirty miles, and the effect was felt at Meerut, a distance of eighty miles.

Gentleman Cadet Miller explained a plan of attack proposed by the foregoing squad of Cadets, and modelled here, which carries the attack to the crowning of the covered-way, proceeds by galleries of mines to lay charges under the counterscarp, under the fausse-braie, and enceinte. Reduced charges of a few ounces were used in the model, in order to show the nature of the breaches that would under such circumstances be made for descending the counterscarp and assaulting the place.

Gentleman Cadet Sharpe.—Model of an elevated battery for three guns and two mortars, with a splinter-proof traverse, and a triangular field powder magazine in each epaulement; the parapet and traverse revetted with gabions and fascines; the battery is connected to a parallel in the rear. Scale six feet to one inch.

Gentleman Cadet Fitzgerald.—Model of a square redoubt, having a loop-holed covered caponniere and reverse gallery at opposite angles for flanking the ditches. Scale ten feet to one inch.

Gentlemen Cadet Glover.—Model of an iron eight-inch howitzer—on a scale of four inches to a foot (or one-third of the full size)—cast, bored, turned, &c., by Messrs. Maudsley and Field, presented to the institution by Cadet Glover. A carriage and limber for this howitzer has been beautifully modelled by Serjeant Bulman in his usual masterly style.

2nd.—Gentleman Cadet Glover explained the model of a double sap (Major Jebb's construction) executed by himself and Gentlemen Cadets Harrison and Haydon, on a scale of two inches to a foot, the gabions and fascines being all made to this scale.

Gentlemen Cadet Fife explained the model of a sunken battery, executed by himself and Gentlemen Cadets G. Glegg Brown, Griffith, and Leeds, on a scale of two inches to a foot. The rectangular field powder magazine attached to this battery was explained by Gentlemen Cadet G. Glegg Brown; all the materials, namely, gabions, fascines, platforms, splinter-proof-timbers, magazine frames, being made to this scale.

3rd.—A gallery of descent from the rear of the crowning of the glacis to the opening through the counter-scarp, (partly blinded,) was modelled on a scale of two inches to one foot by Gentlemen Cadets Young and Renny, and exceedingly well explained by Gentlemen Cadet Young.

A model of two zig-zag approaches driven out of a parallel by single sap, executed on a scale of two inches to a foot, was executed by Gentlemen Cadets Winscom, Cox, Graydon, and Holland. This model was clearly explained by Gentleman Cadet Winscom.

The examination of the first class, in their general information on fortification and artillery, was then conducted by Major General Pasley in the examination hall on a series of models. At its conclusion the following Gentlemen Cadets were called upon to produce and to explain the models constructed by themselves in wood during this term.

Gentleman Cadet Hyde.—A very handsome model of one of the celebrated fronts constructed by order of Napoleon at Alessandria, in Italy, and executed under the superintendence of General Chapeloup de Laubat. Scale twelve and a-half yards to one inch.

Gentleman Cadet George Hutchinson.—A beautiful model of a tower approved of by Napoleon to serve as a reduit or keep for a larger work; one side of the tower can be removed, by which the whole interior casemated structure can be examined. Scale two feet to one inch.

Gentleman Cadet George Hutchinson.—Model of an iron traversing platform for garrison guns, taken by Cadet Hutchinson from actual measurement. Scale half foot to one inch.

Military Drawings.—First Class.

Messrs.
* Hutchinson (Prize)—Country around Guarda
* Leeds—Corunna.
* Winscom—Country around Guarda.
* Fife—Battle of San Marcial.
Hyde—Guarda.
* Fitzgerald—Roliça.
Geo. G. Brown—Roliça.
* G. R. Brown—Cape of Good Hope.
* Cox—Condeixa.
* Stewart—Fuentes D'Onore.
* Mallock—General Plan of the Alps, &c.

Messrs.
Harrison—Tarragone.
Griffith—Neville.
Renny—Pombal.
Timbrell—Busaco Heights.
Hyndman—Sebugal.
Widdicombe—Condeixa.
Barwise—Ground in Portugal.
Miller—Tarragone.
Thompson—Foz D'Aruce.
Holland—Saragosse.
Johnson—Oporto.

* The gentlemen having a * deserve the highest encomiums.

Military Drawings.—Second Class.

Messrs.
Boddam (Prize)—Part of the celebrated Lisbon Lines.
Haig—A beautifully enlarged Plan of Pombal.
Grindall—Part of Portugal.
Greathead—Redinha.
Jones—Mafra. Part of the Lines.
Bean—Busaco Range.
Crofton—Alba.
Angelo—Redinha.
Moberly—Sebugal.
Newmarch—Ground in front of Lisbon.

Messrs.
J. Walker—Coast of Portugal.
Dempster—Castalla.
Stewart—D'Oropesa.
E. Walker—Fuentes D'Onore.
Hebbert—Cazal Novo.
Oakes—Saragosse.
Couchman—Combat of Roliça.
Marshall—Battle of Maida.
Conybeare—Position of Santarem.
Thompson—Lisbon and Vimero.
Kenloch—Santarem.

And many highly promising productions of the Junior Classes, from models of ground and sketches in various styles.

The drawings, in this department, of the two senior Cadets were so nearly equal in merit, as to render the award of the prize a matter of difficulty.

Landscape Drawings.

With no previous exhibition in this interesting department have we been more pleased than with the present attractive one. The large drawings of Cadets H. Hyde, Wm. Miller, Geo. Hutchinson, Geo. Winscom, James Fife, Wm. Fitzgerald, &c., all of the First Class, are beautiful specimens of the different qualities which are requisite to form a good picture. The first prize was awarded to Cadet H. Hyde. Of the drawings in the Second Class we must speak in the same favourable manner, especially of those by Cadets F. Grindall (which received the second prize), C. Boddam, J. Jones, W. H. Greathead, C. Newmarch, &c. A drawing by the last-named gentleman is one of very great interest, representing a man saved by the night life-buoy invented by Lieut. Cook, R.N. and F.R.S. This life-buoy has been universally adopted in the Royal Navy during the last twenty-five years, and has been the means, under Providence, of saving the lives of a vast number of men. The drawing represents a ship lying to in the distance, with a boat, vaguely seen in the darkness, pulling towards the man saved, who rests upon the life-buoy, whilst a strong and vivid light is shed on him and all around by the rocket-like fire that issues from the top of the buoy.

We must conclude with a hasty notice of the lithographic department, which contained as usual many excellent specimens.

Military Surveying.—The surveys and military sketches were highly creditable to the talent and industry of the Gentlemen Cadets. Those of the First Class exhibited some well-executed sketches, on a large scale, of the ground about Sanderstead Downs, the features of which are well suited for practice in the rough kind of surveying which is so constantly required from military men when serving in the field. The plans of Messrs. Hyde, Glover, Hutchinson, Stewart, Winscom, Young, Fitzgerald, Fife, and G. R. Brown, were amongst the best.

In the Second Class, the trigonometrical surveys of Messrs. Grindall, Boddam, Newmarch, Greathead, Crofton, and Jones, were deserving of commendation.

The use of the mountain barometer is now practically shown to the Cadets, who are required to measure the height of a lofty hill, and afterwards to test the accuracy of the operation by ascertaining its elevation by means of the spirit-level. Their operations showed, that in the height of 250 feet, the barometrical measurement came within about 25 feet of the truth.

The latest intelligence from India is altogether of a pacific character: the greatest tranquillity reigns throughout the British Provinces, properly so called, including the recent conquest of Scinde; and the subsidiary states within our boundaries are in an unexampled state of repose, to the great disappointment of all the foreboders of evil, who have filled the press in India with the most lamentable prognostications of the mischiefs that were, according to their accounts, to ensue from the energetic measures of the Governor-General. Disappointed and crest-fallen as these grumblers have undoubtedly been, in seeing all their prophecies fall to the ground, yet, we are grieved to say, a triumph awaits them in hearing of the sudden and unexpected recall of Lord Ellenborough, just at the moment when he had exposed their fallacies, asserted the rights of the British Government, and proved its supremacy. What a strange idea the natives of India must form as to our treatment of the public servants. In their own traditions they may have heard of unsuccessful statesmen and generals being disgraced or having lost their heads; but they must be totally at a loss to guess why a person who has done more for the benefit of India in a short space of time than any of his predecessors, should at the moment, when all his plans were bearing the fruits of success, and only wanted a short season to see them all perfectly developed and carried into effect, be suddenly removed from his high station without any cause assigned. If this is not an imitation of the oriental manner of managing such affairs, at least it savours pretty strongly of the despotism of the "east end."

Before taking a hurried glance at the different heads of intelligence received this month, we must notice what has been passing more immediately at the seat of government—the presidency of Bengal. We have had frequent occasion to remark on the great want of consistency and arrangement in the administration of military affairs; in pursuing these strictures in the present instance, it is hoped that we may not be again misunderstood, by its being supposed that it is meant to cast any reflections on the Governor-General;—as a civilian he must naturally have been obliged to repose confidence in those whom he conceived competent, and can only be answerable in a very remote degree, for their errors or mistakes.

In the first instance, we have never seen any just reason assigned why the garrisons of Scinde should be furnished from the presidency of Bengal, the farthest removed, and from which the troops had to undergo long and fatiguing marches before they could reach the place of their destination; while, on the contrary, for the greatest part of the year troops could be removed at once by water from Bombay. It may be urged that the military establishment of the latter presidency is too small to furnish so large an offset, but surely it was quite as easy to augment the force at Bombay as in Bengal. If the measure has been one of favouritism or patronage, it has nearly met with a serious check, and perhaps what has unfortunately occurred, will not be altogether forgotten.

From the earliest settlement of our military establishments in In
Bengal has always enjoyed pecuniary advantages, greater than
the two other presidencies; and perhaps there never was a m
or difficult operation than that performed by Lord Willi
cutting down the batta. The measure was submitted

but a good grace; and the fear of further innovations has kept that portion of the Indian army on the alert ever since. When reinforcements then were required for the garrisons in Scinde, this jealousy was naturally revived, as nothing had been stated as to what footing the troops were to be on as to batta and ration-money. They were aware that the climate had been very fatal to many of their comrades, and there was the farther consideration that if they fell by disease, there was no provision for their families, such as they would have in case of the men being killed in action. The result of all this was the mutiny of five regiments: it commenced in the 64th Regiment, in the shape of anonymous petitions, the author of which it was in vain to attempt to trace, and the discontent spread. A little time was allowed to pass, that the effervescence might subside, when by arguments and conceding the point in the case of the 64th, the affair was brought to a termination, with the exception of the 34th Regiment, of whom it was thought proper to make an example by disbanding them. This cruel necessity could have never existed, had the authorities allowed themselves to consider the hardship of the case: they would have given the soldier assurance beforehand, when sending him on what he considered foreign service in an unhealthy climate. When matters had proceeded so far, it looked something like shutting the stable door after the steed was stolen, to issue the following order:—

"Fort William, March 12, 1844.

"In order to remove the misunderstanding which is apprehended to exist with respect to the allowances drawn by troops in Scinde while in cantonments, the Governor-General in Council deems it expedient to make known that the allowances drawn by troops in Scinde while in cantonments are the same as those drawn by troops in Hindostan while in the field.

"Further, the lines of troops in Scinde being different in construction from those in Hindostan and more expensive, they have been erected at the public charge.

"It is known to the troops that when the price of ottah is above 15 seers the rupee, compensation in money for the excess of price is now given to them at the rate of a seer a day for each man.

"With the view of providing, as is done in Her Majesty's service, that the soldier's ration shall never cost him more than a fixed moderate sum, the Governor-General in Council thinks it expedient to extend the principle of giving compensation in money in the case of high prices to the other minor articles composing the Sepoy's ration, and it is accordingly notified that whenever the price of dholl is above 10 seers the rupee, that of ghee above two seers the rupee, and that of salt above eight seers the rupee, compensation money for the excess of price will be given to the troops at the rate of two chittacks of dholl, one chittack of ghee, and one-third of a chittack of salt, a day for each man.

"This rule is made generally applicable to the troops of all the Presidencies.

"The Governor-General in Council considers it right that in Scinde, as elsewhere, there should be a difference between the allowances given to troops in cantonments and those given to them in the field, and in practice this has been the case, for the extra allowance called 'Money Rations,' that is, the allowance of rations or of their equivalent in money in excess of pay and full batta, was withdrawn during the years 1840 and 1841, when the troops in Scinde were in cantonments, without an enemy in the field, was again granted from the 1st of January, 1842, when extensive movements became again necessary, and was again withdrawn from the 1st of July last, when the troops went into cantonments, and no enemy was in the field.

"Scinde being now permanently annexed to the British dominions, the Governor-General in Council deems it better to define by a general rule the future allowances of troops serving in that province than to vary their amount from time to time, according to circumstances, by special and occasional directions. According

Lordship in Council now notifies that troops in cantonments in Scinde will continue to draw the same allowances which are drawn in the field in Hindostan; and that rations or their value in money in excess of pay and full batta will be given to troops in Scinde under the same circumstances under which field allowances are now drawn in Hindostan.

"The Scinde allowances will only commence when troops reach the Scinde frontier.

"An official translation of this order will be transmitted to every regiment in the Service.

"J. STUART, Lieutenant-Colonel,
"Secretary to the Government of India, Military Dept."

The additional expense thus incurred, might in all probability have been avoided, had the garrisons of Scinde been furnished from an increased Bombay establishment. Amidst the discontent that was pretty general, exceptions were found in the 27th Native Infantry and the Bundelkund Legion—an irregular corps, that volunteered at once to march to Scinde; how much this exception was appreciated, may be seen by the subjoined General Order:—

"Fort William, April 1, 1844.

"No. 101 of 1844.—The native officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of all arms, of the Bundelkund Legion, stationed at Jhansi, having, on the 18th of March, declared their desire to be permitted to proceed at once to Scinde, the Governor-General in Council directs Captain Beatson, commanding the Legion, to express to all the brave and well-disciplined troops under his command, the great satisfaction with which their services are accepted by the Government, which will not forget that they have come forward voluntarily at a moment of apparent difficulty to advance their own honour, and to maintain that of the army to which they must hereafter permanently belong.

"The Governor-General in Council directs that the Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery of the Bundelkund Legion shall be permanently attached to the Bengal Army, and take rank accordingly, and that the native officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the several arms, will, from the 18th ultimo, be entitled to all the advantages which are now enjoyed by the corresponding ranks in the Regular Infantry and Artillery, and in the Irregular Cavalry of the army.

"Capt. Beatson will take measures for raising the Cavalry of the Legion to the usual strength of a regiment of Irregular Cavalry.

"J. STUART, Lieutenant-Colonel,
"Secretary to the Government of India, Military Dept."

The whole of this mutiny tells against the authorities; it would appear as if they wished to get these troops removed to Scinde, and then arrange about their pay and allowances as they pleased, with a view to some saving; and when this spirit of resistance began to show itself seriously, they became so alarmed that they conceded to the 64th Regt. what they demanded; but the 34th having held out rather longer, and the principal danger being removed, it was thought fit to make an example of this regiment by disbanding it.

Nothing can perhaps be a more powerful illustration of the folly of Lord William Bentinck's measure of abolishing corporal punishment than this affair; we may venture to say, that every man of the 34th Regt. would have preferred a good sound flogging to being sent adrift. It will not, we hope, be supposed that we are advocates for the punishment of flogging, but as long as it is practised in the British Army, the distinction carries with it a double [illegible] ation to the latter.

When Lord William Bent[illegible] newhat critical step of reducing the Beng[illegible] holished the

use of corporal punishment in the Indian army, without taking time to consider the probable effects of such a measure. But it is very extraordinary that he, himself a British soldier, did not at the first glance see the evils that might arise from so invidious a distinction. The Sepoy was accustomed always to look on the European soldier as something superior, and as an example, but this *prestige* must have been almost entirely removed from the native soldier in witnessing corporal punishment inflicted on British troops, while he was himself exempt. If this distinction had not been cruel, it would have been ridiculous, and we hope it will no longer be allowed to exist. The exemption from corporal punishment was given, as we said before, to the Sepoy as a sort of balance against reducing his allowances, but no reward or recompense was given to the officers, whose pecuniary losses were much more serious.

In adopting this psuedo humanity of doing away with flogging, no other alternative is left for the punishment of great offences, than sending the native soldier adrift, the most cruel infliction possible, as the poor fellows are utterly unfit for any other occupation or calling, by which they might earn their bread.

Disbanding regiments may be a pretty sort of amusement in the East, as long as we are at peace; but it would be hardly politic to practise it when any of the native princes are in arms against us, as it would be the direct mode of giving them reinforcements.

The health of the troops in Scinde has materially improved, and the country was in a state of general tranquillity; as a proof, we may mention that Sir Charles Napier went lately from Kurachee to Hyderabad, attended only by two or three of his Staff, passing through a district that had previously been notorious for acts of violence.

There are reports that Shere Mahommed has collected a force of 20,000 men above Sukhur, but that he does not intend to make any movement until the great heats set in and destroy the efficiency of our troops. As our soldiers have, however, had their seasoning, and have now got over it, we hope they will be able to give a good account of this hero, should he venture to make an attack. Kurachee is making rapid progress, all the workmen are in full employ in building; and in a short time it will probably rival Hong-Kong. The trade has so much increased, as to justify the levying of three and a half per cent. on imports.

In Gwalior there has been nothing to affect the stability of the arrangements made by Lord Ellenborough. Some partisans of Kasgeewallah, the ex-Minister, had remained in the place, disguised in mean apparel, for the purpose of assassinating Ram Rao Phalkee, the principal member of the Council of Regency; they, nine in number, had been discovered, tried, and convicted; and seven have been sentenced to imprisonment for life in one of the hill-forts.

The scenes that have been passing in the Punjaub have been of pure oriental character, but not of a nature to require our particular attention, or to show any reason for immediate intervention. Like the empire of Alexander the Great, the kingdom of Lahore promises a never-failing succession of competitors for its possession. Two youths have lately come forward, natural sons of Runjeet Singh, they are called the Princes Pashwa and Rosh Meera Singh. The latter has shut him-

self up in the fort of Seealkote, and was joined by many persons. He has successfully routed the troops of the Khalsa sent against him, and it is reported that Golab Singh was applied to for part of his hill army, the Lahore troops not being trustworthy. He would have nothing to do with the quarrel, however, and guns and men were sent from Lahore. Some of the latter openly joined the Princes, and there was little progress made with the siege. About this time also a portion of the troops at Lahore placed themselves in correspondence with Raja Suchet Singh, uncle of Raja Heera Singh, and invited him to the capital to displace Heera Singh. Heera Singh became alarmed, and tried to gain over his uncle to his cause, but without effect. Deluded by the promises of the soldiery, Suchet Singh came down from the hills with a slight escort, expecting to be joined by the troops who had corresponded with him, but was deceived. It is most probable that Heera Singh's treasure had been lavishly expended, for no one moved, or that this was a plot contrived to get Suchet Singh into his power, as he has long been neutral, or in opposition to him. The whole intrigue ended in blood, and that was what was in all probability desired from the first. Suchet Singh, having taken post or shelter in a small mosque and inclosure, was attacked there by a host of 20,000 men and a park of artillery. The mosque was knocked to pieces by the guns, but he refused to surrender, and died valiantly, fighting sword in hand, with his bugler, Keseree Singh, and some fifty or sixty followers. He had not one hundred in all. The revolution, therefore, was put an end to as far as Suchet Singh was concerned. How affairs connected with the two young Princes, so called, will terminate, is extremely doubtful; and nothing in the way of change in that country need surprise us. In the mean time there has been no appeal made to British protection, and the moment has not yet arrived, probably, when our interference would be prudent or politic.

From Affghanistan we learn that Akbar Khan was at Jellalabad with a considerable force; but that he had sent assurances to the Sirdar of Peshawar that his intentions were not directed to that place, but against Bajoura. What faith may be put in the protestations of that pleasant person we leave our readers to guess.

All appears tranquil in China; the intelligence from thence, henceforth, will probably be of more interest to the "London Price Current" than the pages of a military journal.

An expedition, consisting of H.M. sloops Harlequin and Wanderer, with the East India Company's steamer Diana, were sent lately to the coast of Sumatra, to seek redress for outrages committed on two British merchant vessels. They succeeded in burning and destroying the haunts of the pirates, but met with much more resistance and loss than was looked for.

His Imperial Majesty having introduced Porter's Anchor into the Russian Navy, a very beautiful model of it was prepared, and appropriately enclosed in a box made from [illegible] Royal George, which was presented to His Majest[illegible] [illegible]icke, during his passage to the Hague on b[illegible] [illegible]essel is fitted with it; and in testimon[illegible] [illegible]luable

invention, His Majesty charged Lieut.-Colonel Wylde, C.B., Equerry to His Royal Highness Prince Albert, with a magnificent diamond ring, to be transmitted to the patentee.

REVISED PASSAGE WARRANT.

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5. Officers messed at the table of the Lieutenant commanding, or at the table of the Lieutenant of a ship of war, will receive from the Secretary-at-War 4*s.* a-day, in aid of the expense of their own messing, in advance for the same number of days as the pay is issued in advance on embarkation, but will be required to pay to the Officers of the ship the actual share of the expense of the mess equally with the Officers of the ship, and will also pay to the Officers of the ship the proportions of that actual expense prescribed by the 13th Article of the Instructions for their wives and children permitted to embark with them. Such proportion of the payment is to be made in advance, as may be considered by the Naval Officers necessary for providing the mess for the passage.

6. Officers messed in vessels hired or chartered by the public, in which a proper table is, under the contract, to be provided by the Master, will be liable to a deduction of 3*s.* 6*d.* a day from their pay by the Secretary-at-War for their own messing, but must themselves pay to the Master the sums prescribed in the 14th Article of the Instructions for the messing of each member of their family.

7. Officers provided with passages in the contract steam-vessels are to be subjected to the prescribed contribution of 3*s.* 6*d.* for themselves, and must pay to the owners the contract rate for the accommodation and messing of their families.

8. Officers entitled to a free passage, and providing their own mess on board ship, will be allowed 4*s.* a day, to be paid to them by the Secretary-at-War, but are not entitled to any allowance whatever for the messing of their families.

9. I have to request that you will caution Officers to be particularly careful that the prescribed certificates are in every instance obtained, to enable them to receive the liberal allowances which Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to sanction.

I have, &c., H. HARDINGE.

The Officer commanding — Regiment.

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1st Dragoon Guards—Canterbury.
2nd do.—Ballincollig.
3rd do.—Dublin.
4th do.—Longford.
5th do.—Manchester.
6th do.—York.
7th do.—Cape of Good Hope; Maidstone.
1st Dragoons—Dublin.
2nd do.—Edinburgh.
3rd do.—Bengal; Maidstone.
4th do.—Ipswich.
6th do.—Brighton.
7th Hussars—Birmingham.
8th do.—Dundalk.
9th Lancers—Bengal; Maidstone.
10th Hussars—Cahir.
11th Hussars—Dublin.
12th Lancers—Nottingham.
13th Light Dragoons—Exeter.
14th do.—Bombay; Maidstone.
15th Hussars—Madras; Maidstone.
16th Lancers—Bengal; Maidstone.
17th do.—Hounslow.
Grenadier Guards [1st batt.]—Winchester.
Do. [2nd battalion]—St. George's Barracks.
Do. [3rd battalion]—St. John's Wood.
Coldstream Guards [1st batt.]—Portman St. B.
Do. [2nd battalion]—Wellington Barracks.
Sc. Fusilier Guards [1st batt.]—The Tower.
Do. [2nd battalion]—Windsor.
1st Foot [1st batt.]—Gibraltar; Tralee.
Do. [2nd battalion] Barbadoes; Enniskillen.
2nd do.—Bombay; Chatham.
3rd do.—Bengal; Sheerness.
4th do.—Madras; Chatham.
5th do.—Dublin.
6th do.—Chester.
7th do.—Gibraltar; Exeter.
8th do.—Bolton.
9th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
10th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
11th do.—Athlone.
12th do.—Mauritius; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Mauritius.
13th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
14th do.—Canada; Belturbet.
15th do.—Limerick.
16th do.—Dublin.
17th do.—Aden; Chatham.
18th do.—China; Chatham.
19th do.—Cephalonia; Jersey.
20th do.—Bermuda; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Bermuda.
21st do.—Bengal; Chatham.
22nd do.—Bombay; Chatham.
23rd do.—Barbadoes; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Canada.
24th do.—Dublin.
25th do.—Madras; Chatham.
26th do.—Edinburgh.
27th do.—Cape of Good Hope; Guernsey.
28th do.—Bombay; Chatham.
29th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
30th do.—Limerick.
31st do.—Bengal; Chatham.
32nd do.—Manchester.
33rd do.—New Brunswick; Buttevant.
34th do.—Dublin.
35th do.—Mauritius; Templemore.
36th do.—Dublin.
37th do.—Newcastle-on-Tyne.
38th do.—Gibraltar; Boyle.
39th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
40th do.—Bengal; [illegible]n.
41st Foot—Brecon.
42nd do.—Malta; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Malta.
43rd do.—Montreal; Carlisle.
44th do.—Plymouth.
45th do.—Cape of Good Hope; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Gibraltar.
46th do.—St. Vincent; Newbridge.
47th do.—Gosport.
48th do.—Jamaica; Hull.
49th do.—Winchester.
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51st do.—Van Diemen's Land; Chatham.
52nd do.—New Brunswick; Cork.
53rd do.—Newry.
54th do.—Birr.
55th do.—China; Chatham.
56th do.—Kilkenny.
57th do.—Madras; Chatham.
58th do.—N. S. Wales; Chatham.
59th do.—Portsmouth.
60th do. [1st batt.]—Fermoy.
Do. [2d batt.] Quebec; Stirling.
61st do.—Cork.
62nd do.—Bengal; Chatham.
63rd do.—Madras; Chatham.
64th do.—Northampton.
65th do.—Mullingar.
66th do.—Belfast.
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69th do.—Galway.
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81st do.—Canada; Templemore.
82nd do.—Canada; Clare Castle.
83rd do.—Weedon.
84th do.—Madras; Chatham.
85th do.—Barbadoes; Newbridge.
86th do.—Bombay; Chatham.
87th do.—Glasgow.
88th do.—Malta; Paisley.
89th do.—Canada; Cork.
90th do.—Ceylon; Carlow.
91st do.—Cape and St. Helena; Isle of Wight.
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92nd do.—Aberdeen.
93rd do.—Canada; Templemore.
94th do.—Madras; Chatham.
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96th do.—N. S. Wales; Chatham.
97th do.—Corfu; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Corfu.
98th do.—China; Chatham.
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Do. [2d batt.]—Halifax, N. S.; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Halifax, N.S.
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2nd do.—Jamaica.
3rd do.—Nassau, Sierra Leone, &c.
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St. Helena Regiment—St. Helena.

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STATIONS OF THE ROYAL NAVY IN COMMISSION,

With the Years when Built, and Dates of Commission of the Officers in Command.

Acheron, st., 2, 1838, Lt.-Com. B. Alpin, 1811, Mediterranean.
Adder, 1, st., M.-Cm. J. Hammond, (act.) Pemb.
Advice, 1, st., Lt.-Com. C. A. Petch, 1828, Pemb.
African, st., 1825, Mast.-Com. J. King, (act.) Sheerness.
Agincourt, 72, 1817, Rear-Adm. Sir T. J. Cochrane, Kt., Capt. H. W. Bruce, 1821, China Division, East Indies.
Aigle, 24, 1801, Capt. Lord C. E. Paget, Med.
Alban, 1, st. v., 1826, Lieut.-Com. J. Jeayes, Ireland.
Albatross, 16, 1842, Com. R. Yorke, 1833, Coast of Africa.
Albert, st., 1840, Lieut.-Com. O. Cumberland, 1841, Coast of Africa.
Albion, 90, 1842, Rear-Admiral Sir H. Pigot, K.C.H., Cpt. N. Lockyer, C.B., 1815, Cork
Alecto, st., 1839, Lt.-Cm. W. Hoseason, 1826, Mediterranean.
Alert, 6, 1835, Com. C. J. Bosanquet, 1839, Coast of Africa.
Alfred, 50, 1811, Com. J. B. Purvis, 1809, Brazils.
Alligator, 26, tr. sh., 1821, Master-Com. J. N. King, 1823, China.
America, 50, Capt. Hon. John Gordon, 1818, South America.
Anson, 72, convict-hulk, Com. F. R. Coghlan, 1844, Hobart Town.
Apollo, 8, tr. 1805, Com. W. Maclean, 1841, Sheerness.
Ardent, st. 1841, Com. J. Russell (*b*), 1840, C. A.
Asp, 1, st. Lt.-Com. W. W. Oke, 1825, Portpat.
Basilisk, 6, 1824, Lt. H. S. Hunt, (act.) 1835, S. America.
Beacon, 6, sur. ves., 1823, Com. T. Graves, 1841, Mediterranean.
Beaver, st. v., 1827, Lt.-Com. R. Mudge, 1815, Woolwich.
Bee, st. v., tender for the use of students on board the Excellent, and at the Naval College, Portsmouth.
Belvidera, 38, 1809, Cpt. Hon. G. Grey, 1834, Mediterranean.
Bittern, 16, 1840, Com. E. Peel, 1841, Cape of Good Hope.
Black Eagle, st. ves., 1831, Mast.-Com. S. B. Cook, (act.) 1838, Woolwich.
Blazer, 3, st. v. 1834, Capt. J. Washington, 1842, Surveying.
Bonetta, 3, 1836, Lieut.-Com. T. S. Brock, 1842, Mediterranean.
Bramble, 10, 1822, Lieut.-Com. C. B. Yule, 1842, East Indies.
Caledonia, 120, 1808, Adm. Sir D. Milne, G.C.B., Capt. A. Milne, 1839, Devonport.
Cambrian, 36, 1841, Comm. H. D. Chads, C.B., 1825, China.
Camperdown, 104, 1820, Vice-Admiral Sir J. C. White, K.C.B., Capt. W. F. Martin, 1824, Sheerness.
Carysfort, 26, 1836, Capt. Lord Geo. Paulet, 1833, Brazils.
Castor, 36, 1832, Capt. C. Graham, 1830, China.
Ceylon, 2, 1810, Lieut. R. Curtis, 1838, F.L. receiving ship, Malta.
Champion, 18, 1824, Com. J. Clavell, (act.) S.A.
Charon, st. ves., 1827, Sec. Mas. E. C. Rutter, (act.) 1837, Dover.
Childers, 16, 1827, Com. G. G. Wellesley, 1842, China.
Cleopatra, 26, 1835, Capt. Chris. Wyvill, 1832, Cape of Good Hope.
Clio, 16, 1807, Com. J. Fitzjames, 1842, China.
Cockatrice, 6, 1832, Lt.-Cm. J. Oxenham, 1826, South America.
Collingwood, 80, Rear-Adm. Sir G. Seymour, G.C.H., Capt. H. Eden, 1827, Portsmouth.
Columbia, st. ves., Lt.-Com. J. Harding, 1815, North America.
Confiance, 2, st., 1827, Sec. Mast. J. Jagoe, (act.) Devonport.
Conway, 26, 1832, Capt. W. Kelly, (*c*) (act.) 1844, Cape of Good Hope.
Cormorant, 6, st., 1842, Com. G. T. Gordon, 1840, S. America.
Cornwallis, 72, 1813, Vice Admiral Sir W. Parker, G.C.B., Capt. P. Richards, 1828, E. Indies.
Crescent, 42, rec. sh. 1810, Lt.-Cm. M. Donellan, 1808, Rio Janeiro.
Cuckoo, st., Lieut.-Com. A. Parks, 1815, Weym.
Curaçoa, 24, 1809, Cpt. Sir T. S. Pasley, Bart., 1831, Brazils.
Cyclops, 6, st. ves., 1839, Capt. W. F. Lapidge, 1837, Ireland.
Cygnet, 10, Com. H. Layton, 1825, Plymouth.
Daphne, 18, 1838, Cpt. J. J. Onslow, 1834, S.A.
Dasher, st. ves., Mas.-Com. R. White, (act.) Weymouth.
Dee, 2, st. v., 1832, Mast.-Com. T. Driver, 1809, Ireland.
Devastation, 6, st. v., 1841, Com. W. H. Kitchen, 1827, Mediterranean.
Dido, 18, 1836, Cpt. Hon. H. Keppel, 1837, Ch.
Dolphin, 3, 1836, Lt.-Com. W. O'B. Hoare, 1823, South America.
Doterel, st. ves. Mas.-Com. J. Grey (act.) Holy.
Dover, st. ves., Mast. E. Lyne, (act.) Dover.
Driver, 6, st. ves. 1840, Com. C. O. Hayes, 1839, China.
Dublin, 50, 1812, Rear-Admiral R. Thomas, Capt. J. J. Tucker, 1838, South America.
Dwarf, st. v., Lieut.-Com. W. C. Chamberlain, (1840), Ireland.
Electra, 18, 1837, Com. A. Darley, 1827, W. I.
Emerald, 1820, ten. to St. Vincent, Sec. Mast. S. Baggs, Portsmouth.
Espoir, 10, 1821, Com. A. Morrel, 1823, Coast of Africa.
Eurydice, 26, 1843, Capt. G. Elliot, 1838, Amer.
Excellent, 1810, Cpt. Sir T. Hastings, Kt., 1830, Portsmouth.
Experiment, 1, st. ves., Lt.-Com. J. Harper 1815, Lake Huron.
Fair Rosamond, 2, Lt.-Com. A. G. Bulman, 1828, America.
Fanny, tender to St. Vincent, Sec. Mas. G. Allen, Portsmouth.
Fearless, st. ves. Com. W. L. Sheringham, 1841, Portsmouth.
Ferret, 6, 1840, Com. J. Oake, 1827, C. of Africa.
Firefly, 2, st. ves., Capt. F. W. Beechey, 1827, Surveying, Ireland.
Fisguard, 42, 1819, Capt. J. A. Duntze, 1829, S. America.
Flamer, 1831, Lieut.-Com. C. J. Postle, 1836, Ireland.
Fly, 18, 1831, Capt. F. P. Blackwood, 1838, E. I.
Formidable, 84, 1825, Vice-Adm. Sir E. W. C. R. Owen, K.C.B., Capt. G. F. Rich, 1823, Mediterranean.
Fox, 42, 1829, Capt. Sir H. M. Blackwood, Bart., 1837, Plymouth.
Frolic, 16, 1842, Com. C. B. Hamilton, 1844, S. America.
Geyser, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. E. I. Carpenter, 1827, Mediterranean.
Gleaner, 2, st., 1833, Sec. Mast. H. Hill, Berm
Gorgon, 6, st. ves., 1837, Capt. C. Hotham, 1833 South America.
Griffon, 3, 1832, Lieut.-Com. C. Jenkin, 1829 West Indies.
Growler, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. C. H. M. Buckle, 1836, Coast of Africa.
Harlequin, 16, 1836, Com. the Hon. G. F. Hastings, 1838, East Indies.

Hazard, 18, 1837, Com. C. Bell, 1830, East Indies.
Hecate, 4, st. v. 1840, Com. J. P. Bower, 1841, Ireland.
Hecla, st.-v. 1839, Com. J. Duffill, 1839, Med.
Helena, 16, Com. Sir C. Ricketts, 1831, C.G.H.
Hermes, 2, st. ves., 1835, Lt.-Cm. W. Carr, 1821, America.
Heroine, 6, 1841, Lt.-Com. H. R. Foote, 1842, C. of Africa.
Hornet, 6, 1831, Lt.-Com. R. B. Miller, 1837, W. Indies.
Hyacinth, 18, 1829, Com. F. Scott, 1841, Coast of Africa.
Hydra, 4, 1838, Com. H. B. Young, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Illustrious, 72, 1803, Vice-Admiral Sir C. Adam, K.C.B., Capt. J. E. Erskine, 1838, Amer.
Imaum, rec. ship, Commodore A. R. Sharpe, C.B., 1813, Jamaica.
Inconstant, 36, 1836, Capt. C. H. Freemantle, 1825, West Indies.
Iris, 26, 1840, Capt. G. R. Mundy, 1837, China.
Isis, 44, 1819, Capt. Sir J. Marshall, Knt., K.C.H., 1814, Cape.
Jasper, st. ves., Mas.-Com. E. Rose, 1823, Pembroke.
Lark, 4, sur. v., 1830, Lieut.-Com. G. B. Lawrence, 1843, West Indies.
Larne, 18, 1829, Com. J. W. D. Brisbane, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Lightning, 2, st. v., 1823, Sec. Mas. W. Roberts, Woolwich.
Locust, 3, st. ves., 1840, Lt.-Cm. J. Lunn, 1829, Mediterranean.
Lucifer, st. surv. v., Com. Frazer, 1841, Ireland.
Lynx, 3, 1833, Lieut.-Com. J. T. Nott, 1810, Ireland.
Madagascar, 44, 1822, Cpt. John Foote, 1827, C. of Africa.
Mastiff, 2, 1813, sur. v. Mas.-Com. Thomas, 1808, Orkney.
Medea, 4, 1833, st. v., Com. F. Warden, 1838, Mediterranean.
Medina, 2, st. v., 1840, Mas.-Com. W. Smithett, (act.) Liverpool.
Medusa, 2, st. v., 1839, Lt.-Com. J. P. Philipps, 1815, Liverpool.
Mercury, tender, Sec. Mast. J. Scarlett, Portsmouth.
Merlin, 2, st. 1839, Lt.-Com. E. Keane, 1815, Liverpool.
Meteor, 2, st. 1824, Lieut.-Com. G. Buttler, 1811, Ireland.
Minden, 20, hos. sh., 1810, Capt. Michael Quin, 1837, China.
Modeste, 18, 1837, Com. Thomas Baillie, 1841, S. America.
Mohawk, Com. W. N. Fowell, 1839, L. Ontario.
Monkey, 1, st., Sec. Master W. Bryant, (act.) Woolwich.
Montreal, Lieut.-Com. J. Tyssen, 1832, Lake Erie.
Nautilus, 10, 1830, tender to Victoria and Albert, Lt.-Com. W. Tringham, 1826, Port.
Nereus, store ship, 1821, Mas.-Com. F. W. Bateman, 1837, Valparaiso.
Netley, 8, tender to Caledonia, Sec. Mas. F. H. May, Devonport.
Nimrod, 20, 1828, Com. F. H. H. Glasse, 1838, E. Indies.
North Star, 26, 1824, Capt. Sir J. E. Home, Bt. 1837, East Indies.
Ocean, 80, 1805, Capt.-Sup. Peter Fisher, 1814, Sheerness.
Orestes, 18, 1834, Com. E. St. Ledger Cannon, 1838, Mediterranean.
Otter, st. v., Lt.-Com. H. P. Jones, 1814, Holyhead.
Pelican, 16, 1812, Com. P. Justice (*b*), 1824, China.
Penelope, st., 24, 1829, Capt. W. Jones, 1828, Coast of Africa.
Perseus, rec. sh., 1812, Lieut.-Cm. W. Greet, 1840, off the Tower.
Philomel, 6, 1842, Com. B. J. Sulivan, 1841, Brazils.
Pickle, 2, 1827, Lieut.-Com. J. A. Bainbridge, 1826, West Indies.
Pigmy, 1, st. v., 1827, Lieut.-Com. C. Autridge, 1815, Pembroke.
Pike, 1, st., Lt.-Com. A. Boyter, 1815, Portpat.
Pilot, 16, 1838, Com. W. H. Jervis, 1834, China.
Pique, 36, 1834, Capt. the Hon. M. Stopford, 1825, West Indies.
Plover, sur. v., Capt. R. Collinson, C.B., 1842, China.
Pluto, 2, 1831, Lieut.-Com. W. P. Crozier, 1837, Ireland.
Poictiers, 72, 1809, Com.-Sup. W. H. Shirreff, 1809, Chatham.
Polyphemus, 1, st., 1839, Lieut.-Com. T. Spark, 1812, Mediterranean.
Princess Alice, Mast.-Com. L. Smithett (act.), Dover.
Prometheus, st. sloop, 1839, Commander J. Hay, 1841, Plymouth.
Prospero, 1, st. v., 1829, Sec. Mas. P. Rundle (act.), reserve packet, Pembroke.
Queen, 110, 1839, Capt Sir C. Sullivan, Bart., 1814, on passage to England.
Racer, 16, 1833, Com. A. Reed, 1837, Brazils.
Rapid, 10, 1829, Lt.-Com. E. C. Earle, 1813, Coast of Africa.
Raven, 4, 1829, Lt.-Com. John Stephen, 1815, Sheerness.
Redwing, st. v., 1834, Com. Thomas Bevis, 1829, Liverpool.
Resistance, 1805, tr. s., Com. C. G. G. Patey, 1840, Portsmouth.
Rhadamanthus, 2, st., 1832, Mast.-Com. Laen, 1812, particular service.
Ringdove, 16, 1833, Com. Sir W. Daniell, Knt., 1826, Coast of Africa.
Romney, depôt, 1815, Lt.-Com. R. M'Clure, 1837, Havannah.
Rose, 18, 1821, Com. H. R. Sturt, 1830, W.I.
Royal Sovereign, 1804, Capt.-Sup. Sir W. Pell, 1813, Pembroke.
Royalist, Lieut.-Com. P. Chetwode, 1832, E. I.
St. Vincent, 120, 1815, Adm. Sir C. Rowley, Bt. G.C.B., G.C.H., Capt. R. F. Rowley, 1830, Portsmouth.
Salamander, st., 4, 1832, Com. A. S. Hamond, 1838, South America.
Samarang, 26, 1822, Capt. Sir E. Belcher, C.B., 1841, China.
San Josef, 110, 1783, Rear-Ad. Sir Samuel Pym, K.C.B., Capt. F. W. Burgoyne, 1815, Plymouth.
Sapphire, tr. sh., 1827, Mas.-Cm. J. R. Fittock, 1827, China.
Sappho, 16, 1837, Com. the Hon. G. Hope, 1840, Cape of Good Hope.
Satellite, 18, 1826, Com. R. H. B. Rowley, 1842, Brazils.
Savage, 10, 1830, Lt.-Cm. J. H. Bowker, 1815, Mediterranean.
Scout, 18, 1832, Com. Hon. J. R. Drummond, 1838, Mediterranean.
Scylla, 16, 1809, Com. R. Sharpe, 1826, North America.
Seaflower, 6, cutt., 1830, Com. N. Robilliard, 1841, Jersey.
Sealark, 18, 1843, Com. T. L. Gooch, 1842, Coast of Africa.
Serpent, 16, 1832, Com. W. Nevill, 1825, China.
Shearwater, 2, st. v., 1826, Com. C. G. Robinson, 1838, surv. Coast of Scotland.
Siren, 16, 1841, Com. W. Smith (*b*), 1826, E. I.
Skylark, 4, 1826, Lt.-Com. G. Morris, 1823, part. serv.
Snake, 16, 1832, Commander Hon. W. B. Devereux, 1836, Mediterranean.
Snipe, 2, 1828, Lieut.-Com. G. Raymond, 1815, Ireland.

STATIONS OF THE ROYAL NAVY IN COMMISSION,

With the Years when Built, and Dates of Commission of the Officers in Command.

Acheron, st., 2, 1838, Lt.-Com. B. Alpin, 1811, Mediterranean.
Adder, 1, st., M.-Cm. J. Hammond, (act.) Pemb.
Advice, 1, st., Lt.-Com. C. A. Petch, 1828, Pemb.
African, st., 1825, Mast.-Com. J. King, (act.) Sheerness.
Agincourt, 72, 1817, Rear-Adm. Sir T. J. Cochrane, Kt., Capt. H. W. Bruce, 1821, China Division, East Indies.
Aigle, 24, 1801, Capt. Lord C. E. Paget, Med.
Alban, 1, st. v., 1826, Lieut.-Com. J. Jeayes, Ireland.
Albatross, 16, 1842, Com. R. Yorke, 1833, Coast of Africa.
Albert, st., 1840, Lieut.-Com. O. Cumberland, 1841, Coast of Africa.
Albion, 90, 1842, Rear-Admiral Sir H. Pigot, K.C.H., Cpt. N. Lockyer, C.B., 1815, Cork
Alecto, st., 1839, Lt.-Cm. W. Hoseason, 1826, Mediterranean.
Alert, 6, 1835, Com. C. J. Bosanquet, 1839, Coast of Africa.
Alfred, 50, 1811, Com. J. B. Purvis, 1809, Brazils.
Alligator, 26, tr. sh., 1821, Master-Com. J. N. King, 1823, China.
America, 50, Capt. Hon. John Gordon, 1818, South America.
Anson, 72, convict-hulk, Com. F. R. Coghlan, 1844, Hobart Town.
Apollo, 8, tr. 1805, Com. W. Maclean, 1841, Sheerness.
Ardent, st. 1841, Com. J. Russell (*b*), 1840, C. A.
Asp, 1, st. Lt.-Com. W. W. Oke, 1825, Portpat.
Basilisk, 6, 1824, Lt. H. S. Hunt, (act.) 1835, S. America.
Beacon, 6, sur. ves., 1823, Com. T. Graves, 1841, Mediterranean.
Beaver, st. v., 1827, Lt.-Com. R. Mudge, 1815, Woolwich.
Bee, st. v., tender for the use of students on board the Excellent, and at the Naval College, Portsmouth.
Belvidera, 38, 1809, Cpt. Hon. G. Grey, 1834, Mediterranean.
Bittern, 16, 1840, Com. E. Peel, 1841, Cape of Good Hope.
Black Eagle, st. ves., 1831, Mast.-Com. S. B. Cook, (act.) 1838, Woolwich.
Blazer, 3, st. v. 1834, Capt. J. Washington, 1842, Surveying.
Bonetta, 3, 1836, Lieut.-Com. T. S. Brock, 1842, Mediterranean.
Bramble, 10, 1822, Lieut.-Com. C. B. Yule, 1842, East Indies.
Caledonia, 120, 1808, Adm. Sir D. Milne, G.C.B., Capt. A. Milne, 1839, Devonport.
Cambrian, 36, 1841, Comm. H. D. Chads, C.B., 1825, China.
Camperdown, 104, 1820, Vice-Admiral Sir J. C. White, K.C.B., Capt. W. F. Martin, 1824, Sheerness.
Carysfort, 26, 1836, Capt. Lord Geo. Paulet, 1833, Brazils.
Castor, 36, 1832, Capt. C. Graham, 1830, China.
Ceylon, 2, 1810, Lieut. R. Curtis, 1838, F.L. receiving ship, Malta.
Champion, 18, 1824, Com. J. Clavell, (act.) S.A.
Charon, st. ves., 1827, Sec. Mas. E. C. Rutter, (act.) 1837, Dover.
Childers, 16, 1827, Com. G. G. Wellesley, 1842, China.
Cleopatra, 26, 1835, Capt. Chris. Wyvill, 1832, Cape of Good Hope.
Clio, 16, 1807, Com. J. Fitzjames, 1842, China.
Cockatrice, 6, 1832, Lt.-Cm. J. Oxenham, 1826, South America.
Collingwood, 80, Rear-Adm. Sir G. Seymour, G.C.H., Capt. H. Eden, 1827, Portsmouth.
Columbia, st. ves., Lt.-Com. J. Harding, 1815, North America.
Confiance, 2, st., 1827, Sec. Mast. J. Jagoe, (act.) Devonport.
Conway, 26, 1832, Capt. W. Kelly, (*c*) (act.) 1844, Cape of Good Hope.
Cormorant, 6, st., 1842, Com. G. T. Gordon, 1840, S. America.
Cornwallis, 72, 1813, Vice Admiral Sir W. Parker, G.C.B., Capt. P. Richards, 1828, E. Indies.
Crescent, 42, rec. sh. 1810, Lt.-Cm. M. Donellan, 1808, Rio Janeiro.
Cuckoo, st., Lieut.-Com. A. Parks, 1815, Weym.
Curaçoa, 24, 1809, Cpt. Sir T. S. Pasley, Bart., 1831, Brazils.
Cyclops, 6, st. ves., 1839, Capt. W. F. Lapidge, 1837, Ireland.
Cygnet, 10, Com. H. Layton, 1825, Plymouth.
Daphne, 18, 1838, Cpt. J. J. Onslow, 1834, S.A.
Dasher, st. ves., Mas.-Com. R. White, (act.) Weymouth.
Dee, 2, st. v., 1832, Mast.-Com. T. Driver, 1809, Ireland.
Devastation, 6, st. v., 1841, Com. W. H. Kitchen, 1827, Mediterranean.
Dido, 18, 1836, Cpt. Hon. H. Keppel, 1837, Ch.
Dolphin, 3, 1836, Lt.-Com. W. O'B. Hoare, 1823, South America.
Doterel, st. ves. Mas.-Com. J. Grey (act.) Holy.
Dover, st. ves., Mast. E. Lyne, (act.) Dover.
Driver, 6, st. ves. 1840, Com. C. O. Hayes, 1839, China.
Dublin, 50, 1812, Rear-Admiral R. Thomas, Capt. J. J. Tucker, 1838, South America.
Dwarf, st. v., Lieut.-Com. W. C. Chamberlain, (1840), Ireland.
Electra, 18, 1837, Com. A. Darley, 1827, W. I.
Emerald, 1820, ten. to St. Vincent, Sec. Mast. S. Baggs, Portsmouth.
Espoir, 10, 1821, Com. A. Morrel, 1823, Coast of Africa.
Eurydice, 26, 1843, Capt. G. Elliot, 1838, Amer.
Excellent, 1810, Cpt. Sir T. Hastings, Kt., 1830, Portsmouth.
Experiment, 1, st. ves., Lt.-Com. J. Harper 1815, Lake Huron.
Fair Rosamond, 2, Lt.-Com. A. G. Bulman, 1823, America.
Fanny, tender to St. Vincent, Sec. Mas. G. Allen, Portsmouth.
Fearless, st. ves. Com. W. L. Sheringham, 1841, Portsmouth.
Ferret, 6, 1840, Com. J. Oake, 1827, C. of Africa.
Firefly, 2, st. ves., Capt. F. W. Beechey, 1827, Surveying, Ireland.
Fisguard, 42, 1819, Capt. J. A. Duntze, 1829, S. America.
Flamer, 1831, Lieut.-Com. C. J. Postle, 1836, Ireland.
Fly, 18, 1831, Capt. F. P. Blackwood, 1838, E. I.
Formidable, 84, 1825, Vice-Adm. Sir E. W. C. R. Owen, K.C.B., Capt. G. F. Rich, 1823, Mediterranean.
Fox, 42, 1829, Capt. Sir H. M. Blackwood, Bart., 1837, Plymouth.
Frolic, 16, 1842, Com. C. B. Hamilton, 1844, S. America.
Geyser, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. E. I. Carpenter, 1827, Mediterranean.
Gleaner, 2, st., 1833, Sec. Mast. H. Hill, Berm
Gorgon, 6, st. ves., 1837, Capt. C. Hotham, 1833 South America.
Griffon, 3, 1832, Lieut.-Com. C. Jenkin, 1829 West Indies.
Growler, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. C. H. M. Buckle, 1836, Coast of Africa.
Harlequin, 16, 1836, Com. the Hon. G. F. Hastings, 1838, East Indies.

Hazard, 18, 1837, Com. C. Bell, 1830, East Indies.
Hecate, 4, st. v. 1840, Com. J. P. Bower, 1841, Ireland.
Hecla, st.-v. 1839, Com. J. Duffill, 1839, Med.
Helena, 16, Com. Sir C. Ricketts, 1831, C.G.H.
Hermes, 2, st. ves., 1835, Lt.-Cm. W. Carr, 1821, America.
Heroine, 6, 1841, Lt.-Com. H. R. Foote, 1842, C. of Africa.
Hornet, 6, 1831, Lt.-Com. R. B. Miller, 1837, W. Indies.
Hyacinth, 18, 1829, Com. F. Scott, 1841, Coast of Africa.
Hydra, 4, 1838, Com. H. B. Young, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Illustrious, 72, 1803, Vice-Admiral Sir C. Adam, K.C.B., Capt. J. E. Erskine, 1838, Amer.
Imaum, rec. ship, Commodore A. R. Sharpe, C.B., 1813, Jamaica.
Inconstant, 36, 1836, Capt. C. H. Freemantle, 1825, West Indies.
Iris, 26, 1840, Capt. G. R. Mundy, 1837, China.
Isis, 44, 1819, Capt. Sir J. Marshall, Knt., K.C.H., 1814, Cape.
Jasper, st. ves., Mas.-Com. E. Rose, 1823, Pembroke.
Lark, 4, sur. v., 1830, Lieut.-Com. G. B. Lawrence, 1843, West Indies.
Larne, 18, 1829, Com. J. W. D. Brisbane, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Lightning, 2, st. v., 1823, Sec. Mas. W. Roberts, Woolwich.
Locust, 3, st. ves., 1840, Lt.-Cm. J. Lunn, 1829, Mediterranean.
Lucifer, st. surv. v., Com. Frazer, 1841, Ireland.
Lynx, 3, 1833, Lieut.-Com. J. T. Nott, 1810, Ireland.
Madagascar, 44, 1822, Cpt. John Foote, 1827, C. of Africa.
Mastiff, 2, 1813, sur. v. Mas.-Com. Thomas, 1808, Orkney.
Medea, 4, 1833, st. v., Com. F. Warden, 1838, Mediterranean.
Medina, 2, st. v., 1840, Mas.-Com. W. Smithett, (act.) Liverpool.
Medusa, 2, st. v., 1839, Lt.-Com. J. P. Philipps, 1815, Liverpool.
Mercury, tender, Sec. Mast. J. Scarlett, Portsmouth.
Merlin, 2, st. 1839, Lt.-Com. E. Keane, 1815, Liverpool.
Meteor, 2, st. 1824, Lieut.-Com. G. Buttler, 1811, Ireland.
Minden, 20, hos. sh., 1810, Capt. Michael Quin, 1837, China.
Modeste, 18, 1837, Com. Thomas Baillie, 1841, S. America.
Mohawk, Com. W. N. Fowell, 1839, L. Ontario.
Monkey, 1, st., Sec. Master W. Bryant, (act.) Woolwich.
Montreal, Lieut.-Com. J. Tyssen, 1832, Lake Erie.
Nautilus, 10, 1830, tender to Victoria and Albert, Lt.-Com. W. Tringham, 1826, Port.
Nereus, store ship, 1821, Mas.-Com. F. W. Bateman, 1837, Valparaiso.
Netley, 8, tender to Caledonia, Sec. Mas. F. H. May, Devonport.
Nimrod, 20, 1828, Com. F. H. H. Glasse, 1838, E. Indies.
North Star, 26, 1824, Capt. Sir J. E. Home, Bt. 1837, East Indies.
Ocean, 80, 1805, Capt.-Sup. Peter Fisher, 1814, Sheerness.
Orestes, 18, 1834, Com. E. St. Ledger Cannon, 1838, Mediterranean.
Otter, st. v., Lt.-Com. H. P. Jones, 1814, Holyhead.
Pelican, 16, 1812, Com. P. Justice (*b*), 1824, China.
Penelope, st., 24, 1829, Capt. W. Jones, 1828, Coast of Africa.
Perseus, rec. sh., 1812, Lieut.-Cm. W. Greet, 1840, off the Tower.
Philomel, 6, 1842, Com. B. J. Sulivan, 1841, Brazils.
Pickle, 2, 1827, Lieut.-Com. J. A. Bainbridge, 1826, West Indies.
Pigmy, 1, st. v., 1827, Lieut.-Com. C. Autridge, 1815, Pembroke.
Pike, 1, st., Lt.-Com. A. Boyter, 1815, Portpat.
Pilot, 16, 1838, Com. W. H. Jervis, 1834, China.
Pique, 36, 1834, Capt. the Hon. M. Stopford, 1825, West Indies.
Plover, sur. v., Capt. R. Collinson, C.B., 1842, China.
Pluto, 2, 1831, Lieut.-Com. W. P. Crozier, 1837, Ireland.
Poictiers, 72, 1809, Com.-Sup. W. H. Shirreff, 1809, Chatham.
Polyphemus, 1, st., 1839, Lieut.-Com. T. Spark, 1812, Mediterranean.
Princess Alice, Mast.-Com. L. Smithett (act.), Dover.
Prometheus, st. sloop, 1839, Commander J. Hay, 1841, Plymouth.
Prospero, 1, st. v., 1829, Sec. Mas. P. Rundle (act.), reserve packet, Pembroke.
Queen, 110, 1839, Capt Sir C. Sullivan, Bart., 1814, on passage to England.
Racer, 16, 1833, Com. A. Reed, 1837, Brazils.
Rapid, 10, 1829, Lt.-Com. E. C. Earle, 1813, Coast of Africa.
Raven, 4, 1829, Lt.-Com. John Stephen, 1815, Sheerness.
Redwing, st. v., 1834, Com. Thomas Bevis, 1829, Liverpool.
Resistance, 1805, tr. s., Com. C. G. G. Patey, 1840, Portsmouth.
Rhadamanthus, 2, st., 1832, Mast.-Com. Laen, 1812, particular service.
Ringdove, 16, 1833, Com. Sir W. Daniell, Knt., 1826, Coast of Africa.
Romney, depôt, 1815, Lt.-Com. R. M'Clure, 1837, Havannah.
Rose, 18, 1821, Com. H. R. Sturt, 1830, W.I.
Royal Sovereign, 1804, Capt.-Sup. Sir W. Pell, 1813, Pembroke.
Royalist, Lieut.-Com. P. Chetwode, 1832, E. I.
St. Vincent, 120, 1815, Adm. Sir C. Rowley, Bt. G.C.B., G.C.H., Capt. R. F. Rowley, 1830, Portsmouth.
Salamander, st., 4, 1832, Com. A. S. Hamond, 1838, South America.
Samarang, 26, 1822, Capt. Sir E. Belcher, C.B., 1841, China.
San Josef, 110, 1783, Rear-Ad. Sir Samuel Pym, K.C.B., Capt. F. W. Burgoyne, 1815, Plymouth.
Sapphire, tr. sh., 1827, Mas.-Cm. J. R. Fittock, 1827, China.
Sappho, 16, 1837, Com. the Hon. G. Hope, 1840, Cape of Good Hope.
Satellite, 18, 1826, Com. R. H. B. Rowley, 1842, Brazils.
Savage, 10, 1830, Lt.-Cm. J. H. Bowker, 1815, Mediterranean.
Scout, 18, 1832, Com. Hon. J. R. Drummond, 1838, Mediterranean.
Scylla, 16, 1809, Com. R. Sharpe, 1826, North America.
Seaflower, 6, cutt., 1830, Com. N. Robilliard, 1841, Jersey.
Sealark, 18, 1843, Com. T. L. Gooch, 1842, Coast of Africa.
Serpent, 16, 1832, Com. W. Nevill, 1825, China.
Shearwater, 2, st. v., 1826, Com. C. G. Robinson, 1838, surv. Coast of Scotland.
Siren, 16, 1841, Com. W. Smith (*b*), 1826, E. I.
Skylark, 4, 1826, Lt.-Com. G. Morris, 1823, part. serv.
Snake, 16, 1832, Commander Hon. W. B. Devereux, 1836, Mediterranean.
Snipe, 2, 1828, Lieut.-Com. G. Raymond, 1815, Ireland.

Sparrow, 6, ketch, Lieut. H. C. Otter, 1831, Chatham.
Spartan, 26, 1841, Capt. the Hon. C. G. J. B. Elliot, 1841, West Indies.
Speedy, 2, 1828, Lieut.-Com. G. Beaufoy, 1821, Coast of Scotland.
Spider, 6, 1835, Lieut.-Com. R. E. Pym, 1815, South America.
Spiteful, st., 6, 1842, Com. W. Maitland, 1840, China.
Sprightly, 1, st., 1823, Mast.-Com. J. P. Moon, (act.), Holyhead.
Spy, 3, 1841, Lt.-Com. S. O. Wooldridge, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Star, 10, 1835, Cm. R. J. W. Dunlop, 1842, Coast of Africa.
Stromboli, 6, 1839, Com. the Hon. E. Plunkett, 1840, Ireland.
Styx, 6, st., 1841, Capt. A. T. E. Vidal, 1825, Azores.
Swallow, 1, st. Mast.-Com. R. Sherlock (act.), Dover.
Sydenham, st.-ves., Lieut. D. R. B. Mapleton, 1837, Portsmouth.
Sylph, 2, tender to Caledonia, Devonport.
Sylvia, 6, Lt. E. E. Turnour, 1842, tndr. to Seaflower, Portsmouth.
Talbot, 26, 1824, Capt. Sir T. Thompson, 1837, Pacific.
Tartarus, st. v., 1834, Com. J. Wolfe, 1843, Ireland.
Thalia, 42, 1830, Capt. C. Hope, 1826, Pacific.
Thunder, 6, sur.v., 1829, Com. E. Barnett, 1838, West Indies.
Thunderbolt, 6, st., 1842, Com. G. N. Broke, 1840, Cape of Good Hope.
Tortoise, 12, Com. W. Finlaison, 1820, Ascension.
Tyne, 26, 1826, Capt. W. N. Glascock, 1833, Mediterranean.
Urgent, 2, st. v., Mas.-Com. J. Emerson, 1810, Liverpool.
Vestal, 26, 1833, Capt. C. Talbot, 1830, East Indies.
Vesuvius, 6, st., 1840, Com. E. Ommanney, 1840, Mediterranean.
Victoria and Albert, yacht, 1843, Capt. Lord A. Fitzclarence, 1821, Portsmouth.
Victory, 104, 1765, Rear-Admiral H. Parker, C.B., Captain Henderson, C.B., K.H., 1838, Portsmouth.
Vindictive, 50, 1813, Capt. Nicolas, C.B. K.H., 1815, Pacific.
Viper, 6, 1831, Lt.-Com. J. Carter, 1815, South America.
Virago, 6, st.-ves., 1843, Com. G. G. Otway 1841, Mediterranean.
Vixen, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. G. Giffard, 1840, China.
Volage, 26, 1825, Capt. Sir W. Dickson, Bart., 1837, Lisbon.
Volcano, 2, st., 1836, Lieut.-Com. E. C. Miller, 1826, Ireland.
Wanderer, 16, 1835, Com. G. H. Seymour, 1841, Portsmouth.
Warspite, 50, 1807, Capt. P. W. P. Wallis, 1819, Mediterranean.
Wasp, 16, 1812, Com. S. B. Usher, ( ), Coast of Africa.
Widgeon, 1, st., Lt.-Com. T. S. Scriven, 1822, Dover.
Wildfire, 1, st. 1826, Lieut.-Com. A. Darby, 1828, Weymouth.
William and Mary, yacht, 1807, Commodore Sir F. A. Collier, Kt., C.B., K.C.H., 1808, Woolwich.
Winchester, 52, 1822, Rear-Adm. the Hon. J. Percy, Capt. C. Eden, 1841, C. of Good Hope.
Wolf, 18, 1826, Com. A. Vyner (act.), 1841, China.
Wolverine, 16, 1836, Com. C. F. Brown, 1841, China.
Young Hebe, Lieut.-Com. W. T. Bate, 1841, China.
Zephyr, 1, st., 1827, Lieut.-Com. Jas. Small, 1825, Holyhead.

HER MAJESTY'S PACKET BRIGS AT FALMOUTH :—

Crane, Lieut.-Com. Lewis, 1821.
Express, Lt.-Com. E. Herrick.
Linnet, Lieut.-Com. P. H. Dicken.
Penguin, Lt.-Com. W. Leslie.
Peterel, Lt.-Com. T. Creser.
Swift, Lieut.-Com. J. Douglas.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

ROYAL NAVY.

PROMOTIONS.

Captain—William Kelly (*c*). G. H. Seymour.

Commanders—E. B. Stewart; William Cornwallis Aldham.

Lieutenants — L. R. Fitzmaurice; G. W. Preedy; E. T. Hinds; Hon. T. A. Pakenham; Lord C. W. Butler; C. F. Compton; P. W. Coventry.

APPOINTMENTS.

Captains—William Kelly (1844), (*a*), (acting), to Conway; the Earl of Hardwicke (1825), to Black Eagle; L. T. Jones, to study at Naval College.

Commanders—Edward Hawes, to Packet Service at Port Patrick; A. H. Ingram (1841), to Royal Naval College, for instructions; Charles Patriarche (1830), Commander in the Fleet; S. B. Usher (1837), to Wasp, vice Bagot; H. M. E. Allen (1841), to Imaum; Peter Fisher (1841), T. F. Birch (1840), J. N. Strange (1842), to study at Naval College; W. C. Aldham (1844), to Winchester.

Lieutenants—Josiah Dornford (1802), to Greenwich Hospital; F. L. A. Selwyn (1843), to Albion; R. R. Quin (1841), and R. J. J. Mc Donald (1842), to Collingwood; E. A. Glynn (1840), to Cygnet; E. R. J. Balfour (1841), (addit.), to Agincourt; M. Barrows (1843), to Sappho; W. Peel from Salamander to Black Eagle, *pro. tem.*; F. H. Stevens (1841), to Belvidera; R. Fowke (1816), to Ocean; G. Wylde (1814), to Holyhead Packet station, (addit.); E. B. Stewart (1814), first to Black Eagle; C. T. Compton (addit.) to Agincourt; W. T. Bellairs (1819), to be Agent in a Royal Mail Packet; W. Peel (1844), (addit.) to Cormorant; T. Gresham (1843), to Medea; D. N. Welch (acting), to Rose.

Masters—G. Collier (1844), to Cygnet; F. R. Sturdee (1843), to Daring; T. C. Pullen (1844), to Flying Fish; J. S. Hill (acting), to Osprey.

Mates—P. W. Coventry (1837), to Black Eagle, pro. *tem.*; R. A. Buchanan (1836), to

Caledonia; S. Osborn, (1843), to Black Eagle.

Second Masters—F. G. Anderson, to Camperdown; E. H. Garwood (1838), to Lynx; W. Betts, to Caledonia.

Midshipmen—F. Cotter, to Volage; W. Parish, to Excellent; T. Brandreth, to Excellent; J. Parish, to Excellent; A. H. Hodgkinson, to Collingwood.

Naval Cadets—W. H. Jones, to Collingwood; W. Clarke, to Prometheus; R. P. Massey and G. J. Richards, to St. Vincent; Reginald Parker, and E. T. Bartlett, to Alfred; C. Campbell, to St. Vincent; E. W. M. Carrington from St. Vincent to Cygnet; W. Andrew and M. Barnard to Salamander; H. Pearson to Spartan; H. Farrington to Daphne; C. Armytage, from Collingwood to Salamander; J. S. Twysden, to St. Vincent; F. W. Noel and J. B. Rennie, to Aigle; R. Yaskin, to Alfred; M. Bertie, to Carysfort; G. B. Godden, to Blazer; R. Parker, to Alfred; H. E. Bacon, to Camperdown; A. C. Cowper and C. Markham, to Collingwood; W. H. Truscott, to Excellent.

Surgeons—(to Convict Ships), C. H. Fuller (1834), to Agincourt; John S. Hampton (1834), to Auckland; John J. Lancaster (1835), to William Jardine; and John Munro, M.D. (1838), to Emily.

Assistant-Surgeons—George Rae, M.D., (1841), to Caledonia, for service in Plymouth Hospital; J. G. Buchanan (1839), to Greenwich Hospital; W. Crofton (1838), to Royal Sovereign; Alexander Brown, to Collingwood, L. J. Monteith (Acting), (1843), to Prometheus; A. A. Jack (1840), to Lucifer; Ernest Elliot (1841), to Confiance, st.-v.; J. Findlay (1838), from Illustrious, to have charge of the Romney, slave depot, at the Havannah, vice Birtwhistle, invalided; J. G. Buchanan (1839), to Greenwich Hospital; T. Tait (1837), to Fearless.

Naval Instructors—W. F. Fowler, to Inconstant; J. Graham, to Excellent; Wm. S. Harvey (1841), to Agincourt; J. Richardson, to Excellent, to qualify; W. F. Smith, to Iris.

Paymasters and Pursers—A. Kent (1831), to be Secretary to Rear-Admiral Sir G. Seymour; J. W. Nichols (1837), to be Secretary to Rear-Admiral Sir H. Pigot; G. H. Moubray (1841), to Daring; Francis Cole (acting), to Osprey; C. Fielon (acting), to Flying Fish.

Clerk—W. P. O'Brien to be Secretary's Clerk in the Admiral's Office, Sheerness.

COAST-GUARD.

APPOINTMENTS.

Lieut. Chapman Wise, R.N., to the command of Selsea Station, vice Mr. Forsyth, R.N. Lieut. Henry Probyn, R.N., to Greatham Cree Station, vice Lieut. R. Taylor, to Chichester Harbour.

REMOVALS.

Lieut. John Baker Hockley, R.N., from Winterton, to Corton, vice Lieut. W. H. Savage, retired through ill health; Lieut. Charles Edward Blisset, R.N., from Baltimore, to Castletownsend.

ARMY.

WAR-OFFICE, May 3.

1st Drag. Guards—Lieut. B. Newland to be Capt. by purch., vice M. Pipon, who retires; Cornet J. S. S. Stuart to be Lieut. by purch., vice Newland.

1st Foot—Capt. T. Graham to be Major by purch., vice Goodall, who retires; Lieut. F. R. Mein to be Capt. by purch., vice Graham; Ensign A. W. Gordon to be Lieut. by purch., vice Mein; T. G. Coles, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Gordon.

25th—Lieut. N. Armstrong, from h.p. 81st, to be Lieut., vice Wellesley, app. to 73rd Foot; Ensign W. Cumming to be Lieut. by purch., vice Armstrong, who retires; G. Needham, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Cumming.

35th—Ensign R. H. Price to be Lieut. by purch., vice T. J. G. Chatterton, who retires; M. V. Sankey Morton, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Price.

56th—Quarterm.-Serj. W. Dougherty to be Quarterm., vice T. Debenham, who retires upon h.p.

67th—Serj.-Major J. Graham to be Ensign without purch., vice Montgomery, deceased.

69th—Capt. C. E. Bewes, from 85th Foot, to be Capt., vice O'Reilly, who exchanges.

73rd—Lieut. E. Wellesley, from 25th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Cubitt, appointed Paymaster of 7th Light Dragoons.

82nd—Ensign L. F. Bernard to be Lieut. by purch., vice Nicholls, who retires; F. H. Garner, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Bernard.

85th—Capt. D. K. O'Reilly, from 69th Foot, to be Capt., vice Bewes, who exchanges.

86th—Ensign J. J. Matthews to be Lieut. by purch., vice Thursbay, promoted; A. G. St. John Mildmay, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Matthews.

87th—Sec. Lieut. the Hon. R. W. Shirley to be First Lieut. by purch., vice North, who retires; J. Halkett le Conteur, Gent., to be Sec. Lieut. by purch., vice Shirley.

97th—Lieut. W. Murray to be Adjutant, vice Moore, promoted; Ensign A. J. Loftus to be Lieut. without purch., vice Murray, appointed Adjutant; D. R. Crosadaile, Gent., to be Ens., vice Loftus.

99th—G. H. Wynyard, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Armstrong, deceased.

3rd West India Regt.—Ensign F. A. Davidson to be Lieut. without purch., vice Macdonnell, superseded; U. M. Burke, Gent., to be Ensign, vice Davidson.

Hospital Staff—Assist.-Surg. N. O'Connor, M.D., from 59th Foot, to be Assist.-Surg. to the Forces, vice W. Godfrey Watt, appointed to 23rd Foot.

Mem.—The date of the Commission of Lieut. Whitty, 25th Foot, which appeared in the Gazette 26th ult., is 26th April.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, April 30.

Rl. Regt. of Artillery—Sec. Lieut. G. H. Vesey to be First Lieut., vice Olphert, deceased, April 15.

Mem.—The dates of promotions of the undermentioned Officers have been altered as follow:—First Lieut. D. M. Fraser, March 7, 1844; First Lieut. J. D. Telfer, March 30, 1844; First Lieut. A. C. Gleig, April 1, 1844.

Rl. Eastern Regt. of Middlesex Militia—T. M. Carvick (and not T. M. Carvich, as inserted in the Gazette of Friday last), Esq., to be Captain, April 22.

Rl. Wilts Yeomanry Cavalry—W. Long, jun., Esq., to be Capt., vice Olivier, resigned; C. J. T. Conolly, Gent., to be Lieut., vice Long,

promoted; E. D. B. Estcourt, Gent., to be Cornet, vice Antrobus, promoted; R. P. Long, Gent., to be Cornet, vice Awdry, resigned, April 24.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, May 4.

Rl. Regt. of Artillery—Second Capt. Henry Higgins Donatus O'Brien to be Capt., vice Farrell, retired on full-pay; First Lieut. Francis Ramsay to be Sec. Capt., vice O'Brien; Sec. Lieut. Francis Charles Standish to be First Lieut., vice Ramsay.

West Middlesex Regt. of Militia—The Right Hon. George Stevens Byng to be Colonel.

WAR-OFFICE, May 10.

1st Drag. Guards—G. Briggs, Gent., to be Cornet by purch., vice Stuart, promoted.

8th Light Dragoons — Cornet Lord A. S. Churchill to be Lieut. by purch., vice Carden, who retires; J. V. Allen, Gent., to be Cornet by purch., vice Lord A. S. Churchill.

5th Foot—Sec. Lieut. G. Renny to be First Lieut. without purch., vice Scott, deceased, May 1; A. E. C. Forster, Gent., to be Second Lieut., vice Renny.

7th—Lieut. C. F. Wedderburne, from 52nd Foot, to be Lieut., vice Stewart, who exchanges.

22nd—Lieut. R. Blackall, from 49th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Stopford, who exchanges.

24th—Lieut. W. G. Brown to be Capt. without purch., vice J. A. Lutman, who retires on full-pay; C. M. Drew, Gent., to be Ensign without purch.

25th—Ensign C. D. Pogson to be Lieut. by purch., vice Birch, appointed to 51st Foot; G. A. Hartman, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Pogson.

39th—J. T. W. Racot, Gent., to be Assist.-Surg., vice M'Gregor, appointed to the Staff.

47th—Lieut. W. Armstrong to be Capt. by purch., vice M'Nally, who retires; Ensign G. P. Drought to be Lieut. by purch., vice Armstrong; G. C. D. Nangle, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Drought.

49th—Lieut. C. P. J. Stopford, from 22nd Foot, to be Lieut., vice Blackall, who exch.

52nd—Lieut. J. H. F. Stewart, from 7th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Wedderburne, who exchanges.

73rd—Lieut. Sir C. Shaw, from h.p. 90th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Bicknell, appointed Adjutant; Ensign T. Nash to be Lieut. by purch., vice Sir C. Shaw, who retires; W. L. Peto, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Nash.

81st—Lieut. H. Farrant to be Capt. without purch., vice Bt.-Major H. Dixon, who retires on full-pay; Ensign D. A. Murray to be Lieut., vice Farrant; F. S. De V. Lane, Gent., to be Ensign, vice Murray.

94th—Lieut. W. Fisher to be Capt. by purch., vice Aldworth, who retires; Ensign T. C. Poole to be Lieut. by purch., vice Fisher; G. D. D. Cleveland, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Poole.

Cape Mounted Riflemen—Ensign M. Rorke, to be Quartermaster, vice D. S. Schonfeldt, who retires upon h.p.; Serj.-Major J. Salis (Ridingmaster), to be Ensign without purch., vice Rorke, appointed Quartermaster.

Unatt.—Lieut. L. Clare, from the Ceylon Rifle Regt., to be Capt. without purch.

Hospital Staff—Assist.-Surg. J. M'Gregor, from 39th Foot, to be Assist.-Surg. to the Forces, vice Horniblow, appointed to 72nd Foot.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, May 11.

Rl. Reg. of Artillery—First Lieut. Anthony Benn to be Sec. Capt., vice Geary, dec.; Sec. Lieut. Stapylton Robinson to be First Lieut. v. Been.

MEMORANDUM—The dates of promotion of the under-mentioned Officers have been altered as follows:—Sec. Capt. H. A. Turner, Jan. 14, 1844; Sec. Capt. T. B. F. Marriott, March 30, 1844; Sec. Capt. W. H. Elliot, April 1, 1844; Sec. Capt. T. Ramsay, April 15, 1844; First Lieut. D.M. Fraser, Jan. 14, 1844; Lirst Lieut. J. D. Telfer, March 7, 1844; First Lieut. C. J. Strange, March 30, 1844; First Lieut. C. Frye, April 1, 1841; First Lieut. F. C. Standish, April 15, 1844.

WHITEHALL, May 17.

The Queen has been pleased to constitute and appoint Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, Bart., to be Her Majesty's Secretary-at-War.

WAR OFFICE, May 17.

6th Regt. of Dragoons—Lieut. H. D. White to be Capt. by purch., vice Thomson, who retires; Cornet F. W. J. FitzWygram to be Lieut. by purch., vice White.

8th Dragoons—Lieut. G. Lockwood, from 75th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Cooper, who exchanges.

10th Light Dragoons—Lieut. J. Wilkie to be Capt. by purch., vice Wood, prom.; Cornet F. Leigh to be Lieut. by purch., vice Wilkie; C. H. S. G. Lord Garvagh to be Cornet by purch., vice Leigh.

11th Foot—Major W. Chambre, from h.-p. unattached, to be Major, vice Bisshopp.

18th—Lieut. W. T. Bruce to be Adjutant, vice Graves, prom; Ensign R. H. Farrer to be Lieut. without purch., vice Bruce, appointed Adjutant; R. Halahan, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Farrer.

70th—W. D. M. Best, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Young, who retires.

75th—Lieut. W. H. Cooper, from 8th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut., vice Lockwood, who exchanges.

85th—Ensign J. A. Keyt, to be Lieut. without purch., vice Lothbridge, deceased, April 1; C. H. Aide, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Keyt.

89th—Ensign A. M'Geachy Alleyne, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Mills, who retires; A. E. Mulloy, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Alleyne.

Unattached—Brt.-Col. C. Bisshopp, from the 11th Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel by purch.; Brt.-Colonel, Sir T. H. Browne, from Capt., h.-p. 23rd Foot, to be Major without purch.; Brt.-Major W. Chambre, from 11th Foot, to be Major without purch.; Capt. R. E. Wood, from 10th Light Dragoons, to be Major by purch.

Memorandum—Major O. Pilling, upon h.-p. unattached, and Fort-Major at Sheerness, has been allowed to retire from the Service, with the sale of an unattached Majority.

West Middlesex Regt. of Militia—The Right Hon. G. S. Byng, to be Colonel, vice Sir J. Gibbons, deceased, April 29.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, May 18.

Royal Regiment of Artillery—First Lieut. Robert Miller Mundy, to be Sec. Captain, vice Murray, retired on half-pay; Sec. Lieut. Michael Shrapnel Biddulph to be First Lieut., vice Mundy.

Durham Militia—Robert Smith Surtees, Esq., to be Major.

The Hungerford Troop of Yeomanry Cavalry—George Willes, Esq., to be Captain Commandant, vice William Honeywood, resigned.

WAR-OFFICE, May 24.

15th Light Dragoons—Ensign G. A. Hartman, from 25th Foot, to be Cornet without purchase, vice Blandy, promoted; Paymaster J. G. H. Holmes, from 35th Foot, to be Paymaster, vice Routh.

Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards—Capt. the Hon. F. J. R. Villiers, from 73rd Foot, to be Lieut. and Capt., vice the Hon. F. W. C. Villiers, who exchanges.

3rd Foot—Lieut. G. Bridge, to be Capt. without purch., vice Chatterton, deceased; Ensign T. G. Souter, to be Lieut., vice Bridge, Jan. 28; J. Rochfort, Gent., to be Ensign, vice Souter.

7th—Lieut. W. Monck, from 84th Foot, to be Lieut., vice De Montmorencie, appointed to 50th Foot.

11th—Capt. J. Goold, from h.p. Unatt., to be Capt., vice Chambre, promoted; Capt. C. Agnew, from h.p. Unatt., vice E. S. Farmar, who exchanges; Lieut. V. F. Story to be Capt. by purch., vice Agnew, who retires; Ensign J. R. T. T. Parker, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Story; J. Roe, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Parker; J. S. Travers, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Powell, removed to 49th Foot.

13th—Lieut. T. B. Speedy, to be Adjutant, vice Sinclair, promoted; Ensign C. C. Abbott, to be Lieut. without purch., vice Speedy, appointed Adjutant; J. Nicol, Gent., to be Ensign, vice Abbott.

15th—Capt. G. Pinder, to be Major by purch., vice Ellis, who retires; Lieut. the Hon. F. Colborne, to be Capt. by purch., vice Pinder; Ensign J. Wilkinson, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Colborne; E. H. Dering, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Wilkinson.

22nd—Capt. J. Heatly, from 49th Foot, to be Capt., vice Chalmers, who exchanges.

23rd—Capt. D. Lysons, from 3rd West India Regiment, to be Capt., vice W. Alcock, who retires on h.p., Unatt.

25th—T. E. Bloomfield, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Hartman, appointed to 15th Hussars.

27th—Capt. W. W. T. Cole, from 1st West India Regiment, to be Capt., vice Neynoe, who exchanges.

28th—Lieut. J. E. H. Pryce, to be Capt. by purch., vice O'Connell, who retires; Ensign S. Read, to be Lieut. without purch., vice Grant, deceased, Feb. 28; Ensign T. Mitchell, to be Lieutenant without purch., vice Read, whose promotion, on 28th March, 1844, has been cancelled, March 30; Ensign S. L. A. B. Messiter to be Lieutenant by purch., vice Pryce; E. Collins, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Messiter, May 24; C. G. Walsh, Gent., to be Ensign vice Mitchell, May 25.

40th—Ensign H. T. F. White, from 58th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Symonds, appointed to 99th Foot.

41st—Capt. W. L. Peard, from h.-p. 62nd Foot, to be Capt., vice P. Brown, who exchanges; Lieut. Henry Downes, to Capt. by purch., vice Peard, who retires; Ensign E. R. Wethered, to be Lieutenant by purch., vice Downes; S. H. Page, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Sutherland, promoted in 44th Foot.

42nd—W. G. Cameron, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Maclachlan, who resigns.

44th—Ensign A. J. Sutherland, from 41st Foot, to be Lieutenant without purch., vice White, who retires.

48th—Capt. W. T. Servantes, from h.-p. York Chasseurs, to be Capt., vice Anthony Donelan, who exchanges; Lieut. H. Bromley, to be Capt. by purch., vice Servantes, who retires; Ensign A. Selleck, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Bromley; H. G. T. Elton, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Selleck.

49th—Capt. J. Chalmers, from 22nd Foot, to be Capt. vice Heatley, who exchanges; Ensign C. L. Powell, from 11th Foot, to be Ensign without purchase.

58th—Ensign G. H. Wynward, from 99th Foot, to be Ensign, vice White, appointed to 40th Foot.

59th—Lieut. W. Bridge, from 95th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Holmes, who exchanges.

73rd—Capt. the Hon. F. W. C. Villiers, from Coldstream Regt. of Foot Guards, to be Capt., vice the Hon. F. J. R. Villiers, who exchanges; Capt. D. G. Freer, from h.-p. unatt., to be Capt., vice the Hon. F. W. C. Villiers, who exchanges.

95th—Lieut. R. C. Holmes, from 59th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Bridges, who exchanges.

99th—Ensign J. J. Symonds, from 40th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Wynyard, appointed to 58th Foot.

1st West India Regt.—Capt. R. S. C. Neynoe, from 27th Foot, to be Capt., vice Cole, who exchanges.

3rd West India Regt.—Capt. J. P. Berry, from h.-p. unatt., to be Captain, vice Lysons, appointed to 23rd Foot.

Unattached—Bt.-Colonel G. H. Ruhickle, from Major h.-p. Portuguese Service, to be Lieut.-Colonel without purchase.

To be Majors without Purchase—Bt.-Col. Sir W. Chalmers, from Captain h.-p. 57th Foot; Bt. Colonel C. Beckwith, from Captain h.-p. Rifle Brigade, May 24.

To be Captain without Purchase—Lieut. J. Goold, from 11th Foot.

Brevet—Capt. W. L. Peard, 41st Foot, to be Major in the Army; Jan. 10, 1837. Capt. C. Agnew, 11th Foot, to be Major in the Army; Nov. 23, 1841.

Memorandum—The name of the Serjeant-Major appointed to an Ensigncy in the 3rd Foot, on Dec. 22, 1843, are William Colborn, not William Colborn Collum, as previously stated.

East Suffolk Regt. of Militia—H. B. Bence, Esq., to be Colonel, vice the Earl of Stradbroke, resigned; C. Blois, Esq., to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice H. B. Bence, promoted; F. Barne, Esq., to be Captain, Feb. 6.

North Lincolnshire Yeomanry Cavalry—Lieut. M. Graburn to be Capt., vice Harneis, resigned; Cornet G. T. W. Sibthorp to be Lieut., vice Graburn, promoted; Cornet Francis Hudson to be Lieut., vice Healy, resigned; T. J. Harneis, Jun., Gent., to be Cornet, vice Sibthorp, promoted; Quarter-master H. Grantham, to be Cornet, vice Hudson, promoted, May 21.

2nd Regiment Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry—Cornet John Gerard to be Lieut., vice J. Clode, promoted; Henry William Bonsey, Gent., to be Cornet, vice the Marquis of Chandos, promoted.

WAR-OFFICE, May 31.

6th Dragoons—Lieut. H. Stone, from 37th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Fleeming, who exchanges.

9th Light Dragoons—Cornet A. Hawtrey to be Lieut. by purch., vice Colville, promoted in Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment; C. F. Clifton, Gent., to be Cornet by purch., vice Hawtrey.

15th Light Dragoons—Cornet W. B. L. Sleigh to be Lieut. by purch., vice Norton, who retires; W. V. Greetham, Gent., to be Cornet by purch., vice Sleigh.

1st Foot—Captain and Paymaster J. Espinasse, from 29th Foot, to be Paymaster, vice Sharp, deceased.

2nd—F. J. F. Payne. Gent., to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Hunter, promoted on the Staff.

3rd—Assistant-Surgeon A. Smith, from 17th Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Macqueen, deceased.

17th—Assistant-Surgeon J. S. Willes, M.D., from the Staff, to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Smith, promoted in 3rd Foot.

27th—J. R. H. Becher, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Hamilton, who retires.

29th—Lieut. J. H. Clay, from 59th Foot, to be Paymaster, vice Espinasse, appointed to 1st Foot.

37th—Lieut. J. E. Fleeming, from 6th Dragoons, to be Lieut., vice Stone, who exchanges.

46th—Ensign J. E. Spilling to be Lieut. without purch., vice Moffat, deceased, April 3; Ensign H. F. Sandwith to be Lieut. without purch., vice Spilling, whose promotion, on 26th April, 1844, has been cancelled, April 26; J. H. Chambers, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Sandwith.

47th—R. C. Gordon, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Peacock, who retires.

49th—Lieut. H. S. M. D. Fulton, from 62nd Foot, to be Lieut., vice Bartley, who exchanges.

52nd—R. W. Reade, M.D., to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Robinson, appointed to Staff.

62nd—Lieut. W. T. Bartley, from 49th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Fulton, who exchanges.

70th—Capt. J. Brown to be Major by purch., vice Taylor, who retires; Lieut. W. R. Brereton to be Capt. by purch., vice Brown; Ensign G. A. Schreiber to be Lieut. by purch., vice Brereton; G. Ryan, Gent., to be Ensign by purchase, vice Schreiber.

73rd—Lieut. W. B. Faunce to be Capt. by purch., vice Sandeman, who retires; Ensign C. Hoghton to be Lieut. by purch., vice Faunce; W. Nash, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Hoghton.

Rifle Brigade—Capt. R. Walpole to be Major by purch., vice Saumarez, promoted; Lieut. H. O. Bowles to be Capt. by purch., vice Walpole; Sec. Lieut. J. F. Beckwith to be First Lieut. by purch., vice Bowles; A. Lowther, Gent., to be Sec. Lieut. by purch., vice Beckwith.

Rl. Canadian Rifle Regt.—Lieut. C. J. Colville, from 9th Light Drags., to be Capt. by purch., vice Edwards.

Unattached—Bt.-Colonel the Hon. C. Gore, from Major half-pay Unatt., to be. Lieut.-Col. without purch.; Major the Hon. J. St. Vincent Saumarez, from the Rifle Brigade, to be Lieut.-Col. by purch., vice Gen. A. J. Goldie, who retires; Bt.-Col. W. Campbell, from Capt. half-pay 23rd Foot, to be Major without purch.

Brevet—Major A. M. Tulloch, h.p. Unatt., military Superintendent of Out Pensioners, to be Lieut.-Col. in the Army.

Hospital Staff—Assist.-Surg. W. Robinson, M.D., from 52nd Foot, to be Assist.-Surg. to the Forces, vice Willis, app. to 17th Foot.

Mem. — The Christian names of Ensign Coles, of 1st Foot, are Richard George, and not Thomas George, as previously stated.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, May 28th.

Rl. Regt. of Artillery—First Lieut. C. L. Fitzgerald to be Second Capt., vice Robertson, deceased; Sec. Lieut. H. A. Vernon to be First Lieut., vice Fitzgerald, May 15.

Memorandum—The dates of promotion of the undermentioned Officers have been altered as follow:—Sec. Capt. P. Maclean, April 14; Sec. Capt. A. Benn, April 15; Sec. Capt. R. M. Mundy, April 28; First Lieut. Hon. W. C. Yelverton, April 14; First Lieut. S. Robinson, April 15; First Lieut M. S. Biddulph, April 28.

Westmoreland and Cumberland Regt. of Yeomanry Cavalry—Henry Spencer, Gent., to be Cornet.—County of Bucks; The Taplow Troop of Yeomanry Cavalry: John Parton, Gent., to be Cornet.

WHITEHALL, June 7th.

The Queen has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal, granting the dignity of a Knight of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto William Cornwallis Harris, Esq., Major in the Bombay Corps of Engineers.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

March 1st, at Singapore, the Lady of Captain Glynn, 4th Madras N.I., of a daughter.

May 13th, at the Palazzo, Amerighi, Florence, the Lady of Capt. T. N. Langford, R.N., of a daughter.

May 13th, at Gibraltar, the Hon. Mrs. Carter, the Lady of Capt. Carter, the Royal Regiment, of a daughter.

May 26th, the Lady of Capt. Horatio P. Austin, R.N., of a daughter.

May 27th, in Great Britain-street, Dublin, the Lady of Commander John Patterson Porter, Indian Navy, of a daughter.

May 28th, at Horham-hall, Essex, the Lady of Capt. Edward Joddrell, late of H.M.'s 18th Royal Regiment, of a daughter.

June 4th, at Melville-street, Edinburgh, the Lady of Lieut.-Colonel Watkins, E.I.C.S., of a son.

June 5th, at Boulogne-sur-Mer, the Lady of Capt. Barre W. Goldie, Bengal Engineers, of a son.

June 11th, the Lady of Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. C. B. Phipps, of a son.

June 18th, at Westhorpe, Notts, the Lady of Major Warrand, of a son.

June 19th, at Clevedon, Somerset, the Lady of Edmund Boult, Esq., Bengal Medical Service, of a daughter.

June 20th, in Chapel-street, Belgrave-square, the Lady of W. D. Willan, Esq., Royal Horse Artillery, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

April 6th, at Colombo, Lieut. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, to Alice Trevor, daughter of T. E. M. Turton, Esq.

May 29th, at Kingston, James Geo. Hooper, Esq., Master, R.N., to Mary, third daughter of E. Naylor, Esq., R.M.

May 30th, at Pillington, John Philip Mitford, Esq., Capt. 18th Royal Irish, to Fanny, daughter of the late C. Mitford, Esq., of Pitshill.

May 30th, at Grosvenor-street, Captain Allis, Grenadier Guards, to Mary Sophia, only child of the late C. H. Noel, Esq., of Wellingore, Lincoln.

May 30th, at St. George's, Bloomsbury, C. J. F. Bunbury, Esq., eldest son of Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. E. Bunbury, Bart., K.C.B., to Frances, daughter of L. Horner, Esq., of Bedford-place.

June 4th, at Gosforth, C. F. Shum, Esq., Lieutenant 37th Regt., to Harriet, daughter of C. Fenwick, Esq., of Stand House, Northumberland.

June 6th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, John Clavel, eldest son of Colonel Mansel, C.B., of Smedmore House, Dorset, to Emily A. Harriet, only daughter of the late Captain Bingham, R.N.

June 6th, at Kensington, T. M. D. Trotter, Esq., son of the late Dr. Trotter, R.N., to Ellen, daughter of the late Murdoch Robertson, Esq., R.N.

June 10th, at Marylebone Church, Capt. J. W. Dalling, R.N., to Frances Anne, eldest daughter of Colonel Fanshawe, C.B., Royal Engineers.

June 11th, at Repplestone, John Paton, Esq., of Ferrachie and Grandhorne, Lieut. 91st Regt., to Eliza Deborah, daughter of Thomas Burnett, Esq., Advocate, Aberdeen.

June 14th, at Brighton, J. A. Gunthorpe, Esq., Madras Artillery, to Julia, daughter of the late Colonel Nuthall, E.I.C.S.

June 16th, at St. John's, Bethnal Green, Lieut. W. Pretyman, R.N., of Ipswich, to Catherine Elliott, daughter of Lieut. A. Webb, R.N.

June 20th, at Bryanstone, Dorset, William Grey Pitt, Esq., late of 11th Hussars, to Laura Matilda, youngest daughter of the late Admiral Ryves, of Throton House, Dorset.

At Bytown, Canada West, Major R. Thomson, R.E., to Caroline, daughter of the late Major Powell, and widow of G. Buchanan, Esq.

DEATHS.

Jan. 11th, at Finchley, Eliza, relict of Lieut.-General Salvin, aged 70.

January 28th, at Madras, Major Wallace, E.I.C.S.

February 1st, at Hong-Kong, Assistant-Commissary-General J. Irvine.

Feb. —, on board the ship Earl of Hardwicke, on passage from Bengal to England, Capt. Edmonds, 9th Foot.

March 3rd, at Port Louis, Mauritius, aged 45 years, Maria, wife of Capt. Drummond, Barrackmaster.

March 6th, at St. Kitt's, Lieut. Olphert, Royal Artillery.

March 13th, in London, Lieut. R. Madden, late Royal Artillery Drivers.

March 16th, at sea, on board the Ragastan, Major Myers, unattached.

March 17th, Lieut. O'Regan, late Royal Veteran Battalion.

March 22nd, at Barrackpore, Lieut. George S. Mackenzie, 22nd Bengal N.I., eldest son of the late John Mackenzie, Esq., Deputy Commissary-General.

March 24th, at Neilgherry Hills, Madras, in his 29th year, Capt. A. F. Codd, of H.M.'s 63rd Regiment.

March 24th, at Jaffna, Theodora, wife of Major Cochrane, Ceylon Rifle Regt.

March 25th, at Paris, Major-General Crosse, formerly of 36th Regiment.

March 27th, on board H.M.S. Alert, on the coast of Africa, Lieut. W. B. Wills, only son of Capt. T. G. Wills, R.N.

April 2nd, on board the General Palmer, off St. Lucia, Lieut. Moffatt, 46th Foot.

April 13th, at Demerara, Capt. R. Robertson, Royal Artillery.

April 16th, near Calcutta, Major-General Sir W. Casement, C.B. This distinguished officer and Member of Council had taken his passage in the Windsor, and was to have returned to England in March last, but the outbreak of the corps ordered to Scinde, having then assumed so alarming an aspect, led to his remaining in compliance with the wishes of the Gov.-General and the other Members of the Council. He had been looking unwell for some time past, and his constitution appeared to be breaking, but he attended Council on the 13th April, coming in from Cossipore, a distance of four miles, where he had taken a house for change of air; that night he was attacked with cholera, but lingered on until 3 o'clock on the morning of the 16th, when he expired.

The following Government Gazette Extraordinary notified the event.

"Fort William, Home Department, April 16.—The Honourable Major-General Sir William Casement, K.C.B., Second Ordinary Member of the Supreme Council of India, died this day at four o'clock in the morning, at Cossipore. The Governor-General in Council notifies, with the deepest regret, this mournful event to the community of the Presidency, and requests that the Officers of Government, Civil and Military, will attend the Funeral of the late Sir William Casement, assembling for this purpose at his residence, in Fort William, at half-past 5 o'clock to-morrow morning. P. Melville, Under Secretary, to the Government of India."

He was buried on the morning of the 17th April, with military honours, the Governor-General, Members of Council, and all the Civil and Military Officers at the Presidency attending the funeral.

He was a Cadet of 1795, and arrived in Bengal in 1797, having served 47 years in India, without even revisiting his native country. In his earlier years he was actively employed in Lord Lake's campaigns, as also during the Marquis of Hastings's administration. He was present in action with his regiment at the storming of Allyghur, in 1803, and at the battle of Deeg, in 1804. In 1810 he was appointed Deputy-Judge-Advocate-General at Cawnpore, was afterwards named Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, and attached during the Nepaul campaign to the division commanded by General Marley. In 1818 he was appointed Military Secretary to Government, which situation he held for upwards of twenty years, until he was nominated Member of Council. He was thoroughly conversant with every detail connected with the Army, an able and valuable servant to the Government, and an upright and honourable member of his profession.

Though Sir William had filled high offices for forty years, and in times of difficulty and trouble, yet he had the rare felicity of obtaining not only the approbation of the Directors, but the confidence of the Army, who looked on his promotion as the reward of efficient service, and of great military knowledge. He has left a widow, the daughter of a most distinguished soldier, General Sir Sackville Browne, to mourn his loss.

April 19th, at Aden, Arabia, Lieut. N. M. Hunter, H.M.'s 17th Regt.

April 24, Lieutenant Alderson, h.-p., 33rd Foot.

April 30, at Dublin, Lieutenant Scott, 5th Foot.

May 1st, at Dublin, Lieut. Egan, h.p., 21st Foot.

May 6th, at Slough, near Windsor, Lieut. Neal (Adj.), h.p. 25th Dragoons.

May 8th, Deputy Commissary-General, W. Maturin, h. p.

May 13th, at Eastbourne, Capt. J. Watson, h.p. 7th Dragoons.

May 19th, at Wöbbell, in Westphalia, George Baron Von Donop, late of the King's German Legion.

May 22nd, in Olive-street, Bishop Wearmouth, John Quelch, retired Commander Rl. Navy, aged 69.

May 22nd, at Northop, Flintshire, Lieut. Allen, 4th Dragoon Guards.

May 23rd, at his residence, Highfield, Southampton, in his 81st year, Vice-Admiral Hollis.

May 23rd, at Parkhead, near Blairgowrie, R. F. Edwards, Commander, R.N.

May 25th, at Malta, in his 44th year, Major T. Clibborn, 1st Bombay N.I.

May 27th, at her residence, No. 9, Union Terrace, Plymouth, Susanna, the wife of Henry Kelsall, Surgeon, R.N.

May 28th, at Portsmouth, Emma, youngest daughter of the late Capt. W. J. Madden, R.M., aged 38.

May 28th, at Holybourne, Alton, Lieut.-Col. Thomas Frederick, aged 80.

May 28th, at Skeg Hall, Great Oakley, Essex, Lieut.-Col. John Blake Lynch, of Plymouth, formerly in the 63rd Regt. From the age of fifteen his life was consecrated to the service of his country, he having served in Holland under the command of his late Royal Highness the Duke of York, and was by him promoted to the rank of Lieutenant on the field of battle for his firmness and intrepidity. He served also at the taking of Surinam, in the West Indies, some time afterwards, and at Walcheren in 1809, where he nearly fell a sacrifice to the ague and fever peculiar to that locality. In 1815 he was present at the retaking of Guadaloupe, when he was severely and dangerously wounded, having been entirely deprived of the use of his left arm. He was a man of the strictest honour and integrity, and his death will be long and deeply deplored by his sorrowing widow and relatives.

May 28th, in Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, Vice-Admiral Norborne Thompson, in his 75th year. He entered the Navy in 1778, and received his first commission 4th Nov., 1790. In 1794 he was on board the Boyne, 98, and served at the attack on Point-a-Pitre; was made Commander 23rd March, 1795, and in 1798 commanded the Savage, sloop, in the expedition to Ostend. Promoted to Post rank 11th Aug., 1800, and appointed to the Perlen, 38, in which ship he was at the reduction of Flushing in 1809, and subsequently at the taking of Guadaloupe. In 1814 he commanded the Aboukir at the capture of Genoa. On 22nd July, 1830, he was promoted to Rear-Admiral, and became a Vice-Admiral 23rd Nov., 1841.

May 29th, Capt. T. Collard, late of 81st Regt., and Adjutant of the South Hants Militia.

June 1st, at Rome, Lady Adam, wife of Lieut.-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Adam, G.C.B.

June 1st, at Walker-street, Edinburgh, Mrs. Margaretta Macdonald, of Kinlochmoidart, wife of Lieut.-Colonel Robertson Macdonald.

June 2nd, at Ahascreagh, Galway, William Brackenbury, Esq., formerly Lieut. in the 61st Regt.

June 4th, Capt. Jellicoe Turner, R.N., of Stevenage, Herts, aged 59.

June 4th, at Kensington Gore, Lieut.-Col. Joseph Brown, late of Bombay Army.

June 4th, at Portsmouth, on his return from the river Gambia, Capt. T. Berwick, 3rd West India Regt. He had been 30 years in the Service; he commanded the force, and was twice wounded in the actions of 11th and 17th Nov., 1831, at the retaking of Barra Point on the river Gambia, and at the attack upon Esson, the capital of the King of Barra's territories.

June 5th, at Green Bank, Selkirk, Anne, wife of William Brydone, Esq., Paymaster and Purser, R.N.

June 8th, at Wellington House, Co. of Durham, Jane, the wife of Colonel Mills, aged 62 years.

June 9th, at the Elms, Southampton, Louisa Catherine, wife of Capt. J. G. Weir, late 29th Regt.

June 9th, at Montreuil-sur-Mer, France, in her 24th year, Annabella, eldest daughter of the late Andrew Munro, Esq., Lieut. R.N.

June 10th, at Windlesham, Mrs. J. W. Taylor, widow of the late Col. J. W. Taylor, Bengal Army, aged 51.

June 12th, at the Royal Naval Hospital, Stonehouse, Capt. Robert Kellow, half-pay.

June 12th, at Baden Baden, Mary, wife of Colonel Parker, Royal Horse Artillery, and daughter of the late Vice-Admiral Home Popham.

June 14th, at the residence of his father, General Morris, Hyde Park-gardens, Capt. J. B. Morris, late of 1st Dragoon Guards.

June 15th, at Helmsley Blackmoor, Yorkshire, George Flintoft, Esq., Paymaster and Purser, R.N.

June 18th, at Brighton, Priscilla, eldest daughter of the late Vice-Adm. W. A. Otway, wife of Rear-Admiral Inglefield, C.B.

— At the Cape of Good Hope, Capt. R. Fair, K.H., of H.M.S. Conway, 26, which ship he fitted out for the Cape station in May last. His achievements in Her Majesty's service were distinguished and eminently meritorious. In 1804, when Master of the Beaver sloop, with whose boats and those of the Scorpion, he assisted in cutting out the Dutch brig Atalanta, of 16 guns, and while Master in the Amethyst, he received the praise of the Admiralty for his gallant deeds at the captures of the French frigates Thetis, in 1808, and Niemen, in 1807. Subsequently (when Lieutenant) he had command of a gun-boat in the Walcheren Expedition, and afterwards, when in command of the Locust gun-brig, he drove a French brig-of-war ashore near Calais, and ultimately succeeded in destroying her. He was at the siege and blockade of Dantzic, in 1812. He attained his Post-rank in 1837.

FRANCE AND MOROCCO.

It is now some thirteen or fourteen years since Marshal Bourmont, with an admirably appointed army of 42,000 men, escorted by a well-manned fleet of 11 sail of the line, 24 frigates, 15 corvettes, and 37 other vessels of war, under Admiral Duperré, besides 8 large steamers and a numerous fleet of transports, made a successful descent upon Algiers, overturned its regency, sacked the treasures of the Kasibba, and established a permanent settlement on the coast of Africa. To be sure there was, as we suspected and predicted, no little of the Gallic practice of looking one way and pulling another, and the said occupation was in the face of repeated official professions, that the expedition was not undertaken with any view whatever to territorial aggrandizement, and all that. After great coquetting upon this subject with our Government, they affected to take it very hard that their promises as to their ultimate views should not be literally received, and they even hinted that we seemed to desire them to desist from redressing their own wrongs. To this our Minister pointedly replied—"The French Government appear to mistake the motives which have induced us to ask for explanations more precise and explicit than those which we have hitherto received respecting the expedition to Algiers. They appear, also, to have formed an erroneous estimate of the real situation of this country, and to have regarded as evidence of ill-will, of suspicion, and distrust, a conduct which has been dictated by a plain sense of duty. His Majesty's Government are so far from entertaining these hostile feelings, that they have always been desirous of seeing the most ample reparation exacted from the state of Algiers."

But, as any properly-garnished head could have foreseen, all the French protestations evaporated with the fall of Algiers, and moorings for a full-due were laid down. This rich guerdon, however, was willingly awarded them by those well-meaning people who look rather to the end than the means, because there was a romantic hope, that the presence of highly-civilized conquerors must inevitably advance the claims of humanity throughout those benighted regions: hence Marshal Clauzel so confidently said—"L'Europe entiere s'intéresse au succès de nôtre établissement sur cette côte si long-tems inhospitalière!" But these expectations have been grievously disappointed; except newly naming the streets and other localities of Algiers, furbishing up a square, the introduction of *tables d'hôte* and opera-dancers, and the publication of the Moniteur Algérien, little has yet been done. To be sure they advertized the *Ferme modèle* at Haoosh, as *le noyau d'une vaste colonisation*, but that was found too unhealthy, and was soon, says Sir G. Temple, a "ruined square in the midst of a desert." Indeed the retention of the regency being at an expense of twenty times its revenue is a heavy burden on the French finances, and its abandonment soon came to be canvassed by the sober-minded in the Chambers: but the clamours of the republican and conquest-making party prevailed. It was asserted as a *sine qua non*, that Algiers could not be abandoned without France seeming to throw away a wreath of her laurels: but assuredly there was not much glory to be gathered where a great military people, with vast means, had beaten down a horde of barbarians. Paris,

however, was divided into two very unequal classes; the few who were worth listening to strongly advised the relinquishment of so onerous a prize, while the many-headed took a contrary view.

Meantime the occupation continued to be a source of cost and embarrassment, without any corresponding advantage. The intractable natives of the new possession, it was found, were not reducible to method; and European colonists could not be induced to settle among them. At least the French, who understand the sword better than the olive-branch, and parade more than utility, could make nothing of it. Nominally masters of the regency of Algiers, they actually only possessed those portions occupied by their garrisons, nor are they much better off at the present moment. The neighbouring Moors and Arabs gave them full occupation, making frequent attacks on the French posts, while the French sacked and burnt their towns and villages in retaliation. One of the most active and powerful chiefs arrayed against them is the celebrated Abd-al-Kadir, Emir of Mascara, a province lying along the foot of the lesser Atlas range of mountains. Instead of the obvious necessity of dealing with these people upon principles of conciliation, and nursing the infant colony with money, goods, credit, markets, and colonists, the conquerors assumed a policy similar to that which would do for the temporary occupation of a petty European state. In this spirit, irritated at the goadings which Abd-al-Kadir inflicted on them, the French boasted that they would destroy his army, and send him to Paris in a cage. They have not, however, yet caught him; and they continue to find the inhabitants of Barbary, as the voluminous John Ogilby said, sufficiently barbarous.

In 1834, both sides appearing to desire repose, a treaty was concluded with Abd-al-Kadir, by which his authority over certain tribes, intervening between his territories and the French settlement, was recognized and confirmed. But the French commander shortly afterwards, upon grounds of which there is only a one-sided colouring, forbade him to interfere with these tribes, and called upon him to make himself tributary to France. The African prince, complaining loudly of this breach of faith, rejected the terms with disdain, and imprisoned a chief who had sought protection under the invaders. The French troops under General Trezel, at Oran, forthwith marched towards Mascara, and on the 26th of June, 1835, forced the defile of Muley Ismael; but it was so obstinately defended, the loss was so considerable, and the general appearances so threatening, that, after a delay of a couple of days in inactivity, it was resolved to return. On the 28th, the retreat, or retrograde movement as it was officially designated, commenced, and Abd-al-Kadir advanced. The desultory but spirited attacks of the Arabs threw the French into the utmost disorder, and Trezel was compelled to precipitate his retreat, with the loss of his waggons, train and baggage, and an acknowledged sacrifice of 570 officers and men killed and wounded. The discomfited troops re-entered Oran on the 4th of July, and the Arabs advanced into the neighbourhood of Algiers, harassing the enemy by repeated skirmishes, but carefully avoiding a general engagement.

When tidings of this most unpalatable disaster reached Paris, the rage against the Emir was vehement, and nothing but his destruction was to satisfy the wounded honour of the nation. There were already upwards of 30,000 troops at Algiers; but a new expedition of 10,000

men was immediately ordered to reinforce Marshal Clauzel, and the Duke of Orleans himself, the heir-apparent of the crown, accompanied it, to retrieve the military renown of the French name. By the end of November the Marshal, accompanied by the Prince Royal, marched against Mascara at the head of 15,000 choice troops, and 26 pieces of artillery. The Emir, too weak and too wary to meet so formidable a force in the field, took up a strong position on the banks of the river Sigg. Here the French attacked him, and a severe contest ensued; but the Arabs were unable to resist the well-served and murderous artillery of their skilful opponents, and were forced to abandon their camp. Abd-al-Kadir awaited another attack between the Sigg and his capital, and being again discomfited, retired into the fastnesses of the Atlas, expecting a turn of the tide. Meantime the triumphant French army entered Mascara without resistance on the 6th of December, razed the city to the ground to chastise the Emir, and immediately returned to the coast. Hardly had they started, however, ere it was found that the destruction of a Moorish town does not drain the resources of a persevering Nomade chief, for Abd-al-Kadir hung upon their flanks during the whole march, and took possession of the important town of Tlemezen on their re-entering Oran. As this act was liable to jeopardise the western stations of the French, Marshal Clauzel was obliged to break from his winter cantonments, and take the field to dislodge the Arabs: but the Emir, with his usual prudence, evacuated the town, and withdrawing a few leagues into the interior, from thence watched the further movements of his opponents. Several skirmishes took place, in which the impetuosity of the Emir's cavalry could only be deprived of advantage by the excellence of the French artillery. But no decisive blow could be aimed at the barbarians, nor was it Abd-al-Kadir's intention to allow it to be aimed. Clauzel therefore returned to Oran, where he arrived on the 12th of February, 1836, having been closely followed and sorely galled during the first four days' march, by a large body of Arabs, whose impetuous attacks were only to be checked by the dreaded *bouches à feu*.

In a very short time, the indefatigable Abd-al-Kadir placed himself between Oran and Tlemezen, by which the communication between those posts was interrupted. A new expedition was therefore absolutely necessary in order to drive him back. Several severe conflicts took place, and according to the French, always to their own advantage; but as the Emir published no bulletins, the statements are all unilateral. A clear inference, however, may be drawn, that the victories were not very advantageous, since they neither secured the territory, nor placed the Emir in the promised cage. Towards the close of this year, the French resolved to reduce the eastern province of Algeria to order by attacking their other dreaded enemy, Achmet Bey, in his strong-hold of Constantina. The consequent expedition, and disastrous retreat, are not within the province of this sketch, as our object is rather to show the *quid pro quo* on the Morocco frontier; but we may remark, *en passant*, that the calamities of the return, as detailed to us by Captain George Mansel, of the Royal Navy, who accompanied the French in the arduous character of *soldat volontaire*, were mournfully severe. Having at last waded through a horrid country, his army, reduced by slaughter and starvation to a skeleton, and most of his artillery, ammunition, and

baggage lost, the gallant Marshal commenced his dispatch. "The expedition against Constantine has not had COMPLETE SUCCESS." Leaving that fated city to the calamitous outrages it experienced in the following campaign, we must return to the western provinces.

In the summer of 1837, General Bugeaud had a personal conference with Abd-al-Kadir at the outposts of the Arab army; and, in consequence, the treaty of Tafna was negotiated, and officially promulgated on the 18th of July. By its principal provisions, the Emir recognised the sovereignty of the French over the stipulated portions of the space since called Algeria, while the Emir was to retain the sovereignty of those portions of Oran, Tittery, and the regency of Algiers, not included within the French territory. One of the chief points of this treaty of peace, was the establishment of commercial intercourse between the colonists and original inhabitants of the French conquest, and the Moors and Arabs of the vicinity. The practical operation of this soon gave several "very pretty occasions," as Sir Lucius would have said, to quarrel, in the various infringements upon each other's lines. The French accused the Emir of tyranny, treachery, perfidy, and all uncharitableness; while Abd-al-Kadir had a good deal to say in recrimination.

On the 18th of November, 1839, the latter announced to Marshal Vallée, who then commanded the French army in Africa, that the Moslems had determined to wage war against the infidels, and that no alternative was left him, but to obey the law of his religion, and assume the command. Two days afterwards, he crossed the line of demarcation, and devastated the great plain of Mutijah. Clouds of Bedoweens surrounded the French outposts, and half a battalion was cut off and destroyed. The farms and villages of the few colonists who were tempted to Algeria were set on fire, and the suddenness of the attack struck the French with dismay. Henceforward a series of actions and skirmishes took place between the troops of Marshal Vallée and the Emir's Arabs, in which various brilliant exploits were performed on both sides, but nothing decisive. France, however, was again and again called upon for money and reinforcements.

During these events, it has been seen that the Emir, like another Antæus, rises with fresh vigour after each throw which he receives; and when the French would persuade all the world that he is at the last gasp, there he is at his post again in full vigour, and well fitted for another struggle. Sometimes they think they have fast hold of him; but, like an eel, he slips through their fingers, glides along almost unscotched, and rears his head in another direction. It was also perceived that, after reverses, he was wont to seek refuge within the dominions of Morocco, whence he always returned with fresh means of annoyance to the theatre of the baffled attempts of France at colonization. These measures have lately been screwed up to a crisis. Besides the late attack made on the division of General Lamoricière, there have been two or three severe skirmishes on the Moroquin frontier, in which, though the Moors generally sustained repulse and defeat, they were always the assailants.

All this was sufficiently annoying to the French, who find their present conquest so expensive a bauble; yet they consider it sternly necessary to show front to the storm. It is uncertain how far these hostile

acts have been authorized or countenanced by the Emperor of Morocco, or how much is due to the turbulence of the fanatical chiefs by whom he is surrounded; who naturally have a fellow-feeling for those unconquered tribes who regard the presence of the French as an insult to their religion, and an infraction of their rights. Indeed, though ungraduated in civil law, they all consider the infidels as occupants *de facto*, and not *de jure*.

Under these embarrassing circumstances, since France will not swallow the pill, and abandon Algeria, perhaps her best policy would be to increase her garrisons, and establish warlike colonists along the frontiers which have been acknowledged to be hers. Such a step would enable them to be efficiently on the defensive, and as to Moroquin incursion, why they should in a measure "grin and bear it" for a while, until repeated repulses damp the ardour of the confederates. A war with Morocco may prove *glorious;* but it will inevitably be ruinously expensive in its nature, and may, *perchance*, end in catching a Tartar. The French have now, wear and tear included, to maintain 100,000 men in Algeria, and cannot compass the making of war upon such a state as Morocco, without a certain prospect of requiring at least as many more. Instead of regular campaigns and splendid battle-fields, their disciplined troops must move in heavy harness against wild and bigoted hordes of determined enemies, who will inflict upon them that desultory warfare so inimical to European tactics, so expensive to life and treasure, and so fruitless to the invader even in victory. Above all, be it remembered, that even if the French succeed in ravaging Morocco, their active enemy has the interminable wastes of the Great Desert to retreat upon, where to follow him would be madness and destruction.

Still the die appears to be cast, and preparations are actually made for a Moroquin war. Our Government has received assurances of the moderate and even pacific intentions of Louis Philippe; but while these assurances are being retailed to our House of Commons, Prince de Joinville—a pitch-forked Admiral—has been appointed to the command of a squadron of three sail of the line, some frigates, and half a dozen large class steamers, for a visit to the shores of Morocco. Now even if our experience of French protestations—monarchical, republican, imperial, or kingly—were less than it is, we should here have certain misgivings as to the ultimate objects of the Gallic cabinet. The strange circumstances of their occupation of Algiers, under pledges and affirmations that their only intention was a belligerent attack, gives us some inquietude for the balance of maritime power in the Mediterranean, as well as for the ultimate integrity of Italy and distracted Spain. As the chosen *Admiral's* arrogance was displayed in an unpunished outrage on one of our West India packets, and his yearnings for war in a notorious pamphlet of which he is one of the authors, there is but little indication of the peace being kept by him. The Admiralty, therefore, must keep their weather-eye open, and beware of leaving vanity and presumption without a check-mate. This precaution we think the more necessary, since the Barbary fleets having been crippled and "done up" by ourselves, it is evident that there is no suitable maritime opponent in North Africa to encounter such a force; and from the disposition hitherto evinced by this youthful seaman and pamphleteer, there

is reason to apprehend he will twist his instructions to their fullest latitude.

The paramount importance of the shores of Morocco, and the dependence of Gibraltar on supplies from thence, as well as the nautical balance of power above alluded to, render it impossible for us to remain passive or indifferent spectators on such an occasion. Relying on the duration of peace, our naval reductions have been made accordingly; yet this unexpected armament is an incident of that grave nature, that we presume the Mediterranean squadron will be forthwith reinforced. But let us see what kind of quarry France wishes to pounce upon.

The empire of Morocco, vernacularly designated *Mogh'rib-al-akzà*, the farthest west, is a remnant of the great African monarchies formed by the Saracens in Mauritania; and it was under the dynasty of the Edrisites, whose capital was Fez. It was dubbed empire from being formed by the union of several small kingdoms, or rather large provinces, perpetually at variance among themselves, till at length they were subdued and united under one sovereign by the Scherifs. At first it was recognized to consist of the kingdoms of Fez, Morocco, Suez, Tafilet, Tarudant, Mesquinez, Sugulmessa, and Tremezen; but they have all latterly merged into those of Morocco and Fez. Anarchy and intestine discords have reduced their boundaries; but the empire is still possessed of a surface at least equal to that of Spain: and the present ruler is of a family which has, despite of numerous revolutions, maintained itself in the musnud for about 300 years.

The empire of Morocco is on the extreme west of North Africa, bounded on that side by the Atlantic Ocean; on the east by the river Mubria, which parts it from Algiers; on the north by the Mediterranean Sea; and on the south by the river Sus, beyond which is the Sahara, or Great Desert. This extensive space is finely diversified with hills and valleys, a great part of which has never yet been visited by Europeans; and there are various rivers flowing from the great Atlas range of mountains, which traverses the empire in its greatest length, at some distance from its southern and eastern boundary, and attains the height of nearly 12,000 feet. These rivers disembogue into the Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean, the large ones forming bar harbours, which, though now so neglected as to admit of small vessels only entering them, might readily be converted to good stations for steamers. A ramification of the great mountain range turns to the north, and is there known as the Lesser Atlas, of which Mount Abyla, or Ape's Hill, opposite Gibraltar may be deemed the northern scarp. The country generally rises from the sea-shore, which in many places is rocky and inaccessible, and extends in wide plains ascending like terraces one above the other, the eastern being always some hundred feet higher than that immediately west of it, until at the range of the Lesser Atlas they probably attain an elevation of 4000 feet.

Morocco is necessarily warm, but not so much so as might be expected from its geographical situation: the interior is cooled by the mountain winds, and the margin experiences the alternations of land and sea breezes, while the climate is at once mild and salubrious. The seasons are divided into the dry and the wet, the latter generally being from November till March. The soil where cultivated is in the highest degree fertile; but there are everywhere large tracts entirely unculti-

vated, Corn, dhurra, fruits, rice, maize, and pulse are extensively reared in most of the plain districts; and there are raised and collected oil, cotton, tobacco, indigo, sesamum, gum, honey, wax, salt, saltpetre, hemp, saffron, and madder-roots: they have also manufactories of linen, scull-caps, morocco leather, barracans, shawls, carpets, soap, and hides. The declivities of the mountains are sprinkled with forests, in which the cedar, cork, ilex, carubba, walnut, acacia, and olive trees are prominent; and though iron, copper, lead, and antimony, as well as gold and silver, have been produced to a certain extent, the mineral wealth of these mountains may be said to be as yet unknown. It is truly a luxuriant yet indigent country, favoured by nature, but neglected by man.

With soil and climate so excellent, if cultivated with tolerable skill and industry, Morocco would yield in quantities the products of most other parts of the globe: but this cannot be hoped for in a country groaning under the galling yoke of oppression. Still their agriculture, it seems, is equal to the wants of the people, those wants being most blindly curbed down to mere animal desires. The great dogma of the politico-economical school, that "cheap corn is a blessing," meets its full refutation in this country; where the cheaper the corn, the more are the people proportionably poor and wretched. Domestic animals are numerous, among the foremost of which must be named their horses, since they have ever been famed for rearing those animals, which, though inferior in size, have for ages excelled in elegance of symmetry, fleetness, hardihood, and peculiar docility. The sheep, which are considered as indigenous, produce a wool of eminent staple and softness; and the oxen, cows, asses, mules, camels, and goats, are esteemed in their several kinds. Poultry, pigeons, partridges, and indeed game of all kinds, are everywhere plentiful; and the coasts have many varieties of fish. The woody and uncultivated tracts abound with deer, antelopes, and wild boars; and the southern district with bears, panthers, hyænas, lions, wolves, monkeys, snakes, storks, cranes, and ostriches. As might be expected in such a climate, they are abundantly provided with mosquitoes, and all "the light militia of the lower sky." But the most dreaded of all animated evils is a visit from the locusts, which takes place ever and anon to the waste of whole provinces. These creatures are considered to come from the Great Desert, where their myriads are marshalled, and start on their northern incursions in a dense body, devastating as they go, for, after devouring all other vegetation, they even attack the trees, and strip off their leaves and bark. In retaliation, they are brought to the markets pickled, and eaten by the Moors.

Such are the physical features of the nest in which France wishes to deposit an egg. Let us now turn to the moral state of the picture.

There are many difficulties, and some almost insuperable, in the way of the inquirer into Moroquin statistics. From all we could gather a few years ago, the population of the whole empire might amount to about seven millions—plus or minus—it having undergone a serious diminution in the course of the preceding century. Here is a contradiction to that axiom of political economists, which declares that man, like all other animals, multiplies in proportion to the means of subsistence which are placed within his reach. Morocco possesses every

requisite for producing the necessaries and conveniences of life in abundance, so that before referring to the occasional plagues and locusts' visits to which the decrease has been attributed, we must recollect the state of ignorance and indolence of the people: a scanty population and a deficiency of industry are circumstances so intimately connected, that it is not easy to determine which is the cause, or which the effect. Of the number above stated, about half consist of Moors and Arabs; one quarter consists of the Berbers, or Aboriginal inhabitants; with nearly half a million of Jews, and the remainder will be found Negroes, with a very few Christians, and still fewer renegadoes, which last are deemed "pariahs" by all, only intermarrying among each other.

The Moors and Arabs are here tacked together, on account of the many cognate points between them; but it must not be concealed that they have a hearty hatred to each other. The Moors are the principal inhabitants of the towns, where they fill the higher offices of government, and form the military class: hereditary distinctions, however, are unknown among them; by birth they are all equal; and they admit no difference of rank except such as is derived from official employments, on the resignation of which the occupant mixes again with the common citizens. They are the only nation of Morocco with which the Europeans have had an immediate intercourse; and many of them are descended from those who were so impoliticly and cruelly expelled from Spain; an act which commenced the downward march of that country. Their language is the Moghreb, a dialect of the Arabic, intermixed with many Amazirk (the original tongue) and Spanish words. They are tall, handsome, and of every shade of complexion, white, tawny, yellow, and even black, a result of the greatly encouraged marriages with the women of Súdan. In the absence of almost every public amusement, the habits of a Moor of condition are very simple; and his rigid adherence to established usages, makes one day the picture of every other. He rises with the sun, and as he sleeps in part of his dress, his toilet costs him little trouble. He offers up his prayer as the loud voice of the Muezzin reminds him of monotheism and the prophet's mission, and then breakfasts on a cup of coffee, some sweatmeats, and perhaps the luxury of his pipe of el keefe, or hemlock flowers, tobacco being rarely used. He then orders his horse, and rides for two or three hours, after which, about noon—the hour when nature rings her dinner-bell—he dines on pillau, zummit, and other dishes highly seasoned, but the boast of the *tabella cibaria* is the excellent and savoury *cuscusou*. In the afternoon, he frequents the coffee-house, or practising the very ancient rite of discalceation*, enters the mosque. In the evening he returns home to sup, or rather to take a second dinner, and then turns in. The *Tripudium Mauritanicum*, or morris-dance, no longer suits the gravity of the Moors, if ever it did: but they are brimful of superstition, and though magic and augury are denounced by Mahomet—who coolly says that astrologers are liars—they have great faith in them. They believe in the malignancy of the evil eye, dread demons and spirits, and have a remarkable regard for amulets;

* Both slippers and boots are worn very large and loose, consequently there are no corns on the Moor's foot. It was by seeing these marks of European stamp upon the toes of Ali Bey, otherwise Badia the Spaniard, in a bath, that suspicion first fell upon him.

yet as they recommend the use of the latter to Christians, their supposed efficacy must be independent of religious views. They are bigoted and fanatic; and albeit they may startle at the notion of their prophet having put half the moon into his sleeve, they fully believe that the fatal angel of the third heaven has a space of 70,000 days' journey between his eyes. From puerilities of this tenor, springs their respect for the marabuts, or dirty saints who infest the towns and prowl among the sepulchres,—like the demoniacs of the Gospel. These bearings, together with a disposition at once vengeful, mean, sensual, and cruel,—an utter disregard for truth—and the invincible duplicity styled in Italian *furberia*, fully entitle them to the poet's stigma—

> "Omne nefas proni patare pudoris inanes
> Crudeles, violenti, importunique tyranni
> Mendaces, falsi, perversi, perfidiosi,
> Fœdifragi, falsis verbis infunda loquentes."

So much for the Moors! The Arabs are the next important branch of the Moroquin population, although evidently not an indigenous portion. Their language is a tolerably pure Arabic, and they are supposed to be the descendants of those who fled from Yemen when the Mahometan tenets were first promulgated; following the chiefs whose names they have preserved in Beni Zarnol, Beni Razin, Beni Yedir, Beni Talid, Beni Bezil, Beni Waleed, and the like. They are widely dispersed over the plain, where they still adhere to their nomade wanderings and pastoral avocations; and are at once hardy, active, and intelligent, but with no little share of the *furberia* so cultivated by their Moorish brethren. They live in dusky encampments called *douars*, each consisting of numerous tents, and having large flocks and herds, from which, with a slight attention to agriculture, they entirely subsist themselves with food, home-made raiment, and surplus for markets; but they are expected to pay the *garahm*, or property tribute, and are obliged to provide passing troops with corn, butter, honey, and meat. These rural tents are shifted from time to time, in order to give rest to the land, and obtain fresh pasturage; and the removal of the people, tents, traps, and stock, recalls the patriarchal ages. Each douar has a scheik, or chief, who is invested with pretty full authority; and we have often experienced the hospitality of those simple and primitive communities, where the birth of a child and the fall of a foal are equally subjects of gratulation. There is usually a spare tent for the way-farer, and some of the more numerous douars have a mosque-tent, in which the *talib*, or school-master, instructs the juveniles in passages from the Koran.

The Berbers, Berebbers, or Brebes, are known as the Amazirghis, who, if not the aboriginals, are the most ancient inhabitants of North Africa. As their language is a dialect of the wide-spread Amazirk, which is spoken by the Tibboos, Tuariks, and other African people, from the shores of the Atlantic to the banks of the Nile; they are probably descended from the original and Punic races; but there are antiquaries who declare them to have been the Philistines who were driven out of Syria by David, while others contend that they are the posterity of certain Sabæans who fled from Arabia Felix. Be that as it may, being all but independent, they exercise a very influential share in the

destinies of Morocco, and have many an Abd-al-Kadir among them. They are divided into two great families,—the Ereefins, or dwellers on the Ereefe mountain-range, and the Schellúhs, who occupy the branches of the Greater Atlas; the first being herdsmen and hunters, the latter working principally in agriculture and handicraft; while both classes are temperate, agile, warlike, and hardy. Armed with a long gun, sword, and dagger, in the use of which they are very expert, the Ereefin is an object of alarm to the enemy. The Berbers only intermarry with each other, and are somewhat irregular Mahometans, as they eat wild-boar's flesh, and drink wine of their own making.

The Jews are a mystery, both here and throughout Barbary, being very numerous and intermixed among all the people whom we have spoken of. Their condition is best among the Ereefins, but among the Schellúhs and Moors they are exposed to the most ignominious treatment. Some are mechanics, such as goldsmiths, gunsmiths, tinmen, masons, and tailors; while others are employed in fixing and receiving the customs, collecting the taxes, coining the money, and in all negotiations and intercourse with Europeans. These bankers of the realm are very numerous in the sea-ports and commercial towns, but they possess neither lands, houses, nor gardens, nor can they enjoy their own property in tranquillity. They must wear only black habiliments, and are compelled when they pass near mosques, or through streets in which there are sanctuaries, to walk barefoot. Cut off from all participation of civil rights, they are born to no inheritance but slavery, and their hard-earned bread is eaten in sorrow and trembling, nor dare they repel the intrusive Moor from their dwelling, or return a blow which shall be given them. Their quiescence under the goading insults they receive is an evidence of the prostration of spirit and debasement of mind induced by the degrading punishments which tyranny mercilessly inflicts upon them. Yet, under all their oppression, the Jews contrive to have substantial advantages over the Moors: better understanding the nature of trade, especially that carried on by the incompetent medium of exchange of commodities, they are the active agents and brokers in all large bargains, when they never fail to profit by their own cunning knavishness and the dense ignorance of the Moors. Besides money, they possess another advantage in the excellent qualities and beauty of their women.

We cannot dismiss the Jews without a concluding remark. Our intercourse with Morocco has been greatly impeded by the very imperfect degree in which our Consuls and Agents possessed the language. What expectations can be entertained of success in a negotiation conducted through the medium of an illiterate and despised Jew? Such abject and devoted subjects of the Emperor are most unfit depositaries for national secrets, and dare not, on pain of death, take the freedom of using to their master many expressions which are essential to the conclusion of a treaty. Indeed, so little do some of our Envoys understand these matters, that while we were about there, one of the tapist squad waited on the Bashaw of Tangier in good Downing Street attire,—coat, waistcoat, and tights, black, and all black; but considered there, owing to the colour and the close fitting, an odious dress. Then again, he would submit to no extortions, as he termed the acknowledged practice of the country; but a man on his country's duty should have known

that the custom of making presents by a Consul, and on the ratification of treaties, is rather a part of the local manners than an exaction.

The Negroes are the least in number of the people of Morocco, yet constitute an important branch of its population. They are usually imported as slaves, though on good behaviour frequently obtain their liberty; and the kind liberality with which they are generally treated, ensures the propriety of their conduct. From among them is formed the body-guard of the Emperor, a force once very formidable, but at present not above 5000 or 6000 strong. In the golden days of the sanguinary but wary Muley Ishmael, who brought intermarrying with them into fashion, the guards are said to have amounted to 100,000 men. They are the merciless myrmidons of despotism when called into action; but at other times the Negro is easy and familiar, though affecting a little of the imperturbable gravity of the Moors, who have taught him,

> "To eat and drink, and feel it eating, drinking;
> To smoke and feel it smoke, and think he's thinking."

Such being the people, it remains to state, that their Government is absolutely more arbitrary than the Turkish; and that their Emperor, or rather Sultan, is the most despotic of all despots, uniting in his own hands the various ramifications of power, without the shackles of council, divan, or laws. His authority extends not only over the lives and property of his subjects, but their consciences too, of which, as the representative of Mahomet, he is the spiritual guide. He is the framer, judge, interpreter, and, when he pleases, sole executor of his own decrees; and the duties, coins, weights, and measures, are consequently as variable as his opinions. The capricious tyranny of the monarch is as inconceivable as the abject passiveness of the subject, who, with arms in his hand and means at command, thinks of nothing but unconditional submission. Thus a bad Government and a worse religion have corrupted the sentiments and enslaved the understandings as well as the persons and consciences of the people. But the Moors have no notion of sovereignty without despotism: and to the inherent quality of this tyranny in repressing improvement, the low state of Moroquin knowledge may be ascribed. Education therefore is in a dreadful lethargy, for as Monsieur St. Olon remarked—"The Moors of Morocco are not much addicted to reading." Yet it is scarcely five centuries ago since the intellectual light of those regions beamed into Spain!

With such motley and contradictory elements, it is difficult to predict the consequence of an invasion of Morocco on a competent scale, or what would be the nature and amount of its army on a crisis. In the general cases when the Emperor wants troops, they are levied by contribution in the provinces for a limited service, but they receive very little pay or gratuity, and therefore support themselves and families by plundering in every way they can. In this manner he might raise from 150,000 to 200,000 men of sorts, with barely any distinction of uniform, and variously armed, but all capable of enduring hunger, thirst, and fatigue with the utmost patience. Indeed, men imbued with the principle that though it is necessary to do their duty, yet it is not necessary to live, are not readily put down; and opium and predestination, as Prince Eugene observed, will make any man brave. Averse to the sea, though dreaded as rovers, they never were good sailors, but on land

seem ever ready for action; and with them a stranger and an enemy are synonymous terms. Their general plan of attack is that of riding up till within a couple of hundred yards of the enemy, when they level muskets, fire, wheel round their horses, and gallop away at full speed; after which, when beyond shot-range, they re-load and return to the charge with loud yells. If the enemy gives way or exhibits signs of fear, they venture to push forwards; but, if attacked, man to man, with the sabre, we may safely consider their resistance as likely to be very short, since they are obliged to hold both bridle and gun in one hand, if they use the sword with the other. The latter they avoid to the last moment, preferring to rely on the swiftness of the attack and retreat, and on a dexterous use of the musquet. We are here speaking of the Moors: but the Berber tactics are, after the first fire, to rush in pell-mell among the enemy, with bayonets fixed to their long guns, which they manage with impetuosity and bravery, placing their dependence rather on steel than powder.

But should a powerful enemy succeed in occupying the plains of the country, with their towns and cities, it is still very far from completing the conquest of Morocco; and even to maintain such occupation, it would require that the conquerors should be absolute in the maritime supremacy of the Mediterranean; a point which France can have no hope of ever attaining. Under this military cantonment, the fastnesses and elevated table-lands of the extensive Atlas range must remain independent *sine die;* for they teem with an unsubdued race, in command of difficult passes untraversed as yet but by themselves, and where even the footsteps of the stranger would be instantly traced by their keenness and sagacity. Full of fire, strength, and courage, they are suspicious, cruel, and implacable; and not at all remarkable for sparing those who fall into their clutches. They already view in Abd-al-Kadir—who is descended from one of the most ancient of the Arabian families—the gallant Defender of their Faith, and the heroic Chief of the Holy War; in which light the present contest with the French is universally regarded. A cry against them has broken forth throughout North Africa, and given birth to a feeling which will interfere with colonization. Fanatically attached to the rights of their soil, their religion, and their race, the Amazirghis—whose very name signifies noble and free—live in a state of almost independence, under the administration of their Omzargh, Amzgar, and Amucran, elders and lords who are hereditary, and ever ready to lead. Their scheiks are also active and intelligent in warlike affairs, as indeed they are expected to be; "The want of courage in a chief," saith one of their proverbs, "is the standard of revolt." They are at once very inclined and well calculated for hostilities, as the rulers of Morocco have frequently found; for the mutual jealousies of the mountain chiefs, seem to be the only causes which preserve to those rulers the shadow of authority over the tribes.

Such is the country, and such are the hordes of Morocco. Her destinies appear to be advancing; but the plot has not yet sufficiently ripened. Marshal Bugeaud has broken ground, and finds that the Moroquin Chief has "received no permission from his Emperor to make war;" so that all seems smooth enough at present. To the question as to the ultimate intentions of France, it may be replied, *Nous verrons.*

REMARKS ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE RIVER PLATA.

BY A NAVAL OFFICER.

No. II.

THE appearance of affairs in the Republic of the Uruguay has in no way changed for the better since my last observations on them. General Oribe still besieges Monte Video by land, and Admiral Brown, with the Buenos Ayrean squadron, does his best to reduce it by sea; and yet the war appears as far from a termination as ever. Abandoned by France and England, to whom Monte Video had successively clung for help, she has recently received the finishing stroke from the Brazilians, who, frightened as it were at their own shadow, hastily recalled their Minister, because he had literally fulfilled their orders, and lost no time in making their excuses to Rosas, thus meriting the soubriquet by which they have so long been designated as the "Brava Gente." But in proportion to the gravity of these disappointments, has been the energy of its rulers; laying aside all attempts at concealment or duplicity, they published a manifesto, and made their exact state known to the public at large; they appealed to the courage, unanimity, and patriotism of their defenders, contrasting the advantages already promised to them at the conclusion of the war with the vexations and taxes to which they would be subjected if their adversaries prevailed, and finally succeeded in producing a better feeling amongst the troops than had at any previous period existed.

No more convincing proof could be given of the talent of a Government; to keep an army together composed of French, Italians, Negroes (formerly slaves), and voluntary exiles from Buenos Ayres is no easy task. Prior to the war, these men were exercising a peaceable and thriving trade, and as shopkeepers had an abhorrence of fighting; and even when they took up arms, they made a reservation that their services should be confined to the defence of the town, and that they should never be called upon to serve in the open country. At this moment they are taking their daily turn of duty at the outposts, and are engaged in a guerilla almost every morning. That the French troops should remain so united is certainly most extraordinary, for their Admiral, Monsieur Massien de Clerval, has, in compliance with orders from France, insisted on their relinquishing their national tricolour cockade and colours, and their Consul has endeavoured to establish, that as they now serve under Monte Videan colours, they are no longer entitled to claim protection as subjects of France, and have entirely forfeited their nationality; and so anxious are the authorities to induce their countrymen to abstain from entering into the contest, that all those who do not belong to the French volunteers (as th
called), are daily relieved with money at the Consul
bribes are held out to induce the soldiers to desert.

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special mention, and who goes by the g
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most extraordinary combinations, dispersing and re-forming his men as circumstances may require; and when common repute proclaims Rivera annihilated, he as suddenly appears at the head of a numerous body of cavalry, sprung, as it were, from the ground. A good horseman, brave, and open in heart and purse, as ready to spend his money after a battle as he was before to accumulate it, kind and conciliatory in his manner, he unites in himself the qualities calculated to win the heart of the Gaucho, and, consequently, as long as he remains banished from power, or what he may imagine to be his proper situation, there will be no peace for the Banda Oriental.

I have seen one or two cavalry guerillas; they ride towards each other without any apparent order, and as they pass, fire their carbines from the hip; but little damage is of course done in this way, and the lance and sword appear principally used in the retreat; but if a man should fall wounded, and his comrades are hard pressed, they throw a lasso round him, one end of which has been previously made fast to the horse's girths, and off they gallop, dragging the poor wounded man along the ground at the best pace.

As long as the Government *de facto* entertained hopes of assistance or interference from foreign nations, the war on their part was conducted on civilized principles, but now they appear to have thrown off all restraint, and to have abandoned themselves to the full swing of their natural ferocity. Then they endeavoured to cajole observers with their superior progress in civilization; now their object appears to be to rival that enemy, whom they have so loudly abused, in atrocities. The last example, which occurred only two days ago, may suffice. In a guerilla, an officer fell wounded, with a ball in his breast; he was taken prisoner, and brought into the town, and the ball immediately extracted. The next day he went through the form of a mock trial, and was sentenced to be shot. Now this man had never borne arms on their side; it is true he was an Oriental, and belonged to the republic, but as he had not served in the army, he cannot be considered a deserter; and yet on that plea was condemned. The truth is, the victim was a rich tradesman, whose property it was of some importance for the Government to get hold of. Was there ever such a refinement of cruelty as this? If the man was to be tried on a capital charge, why keep him so long in suspense, and in intense agony from his wound, instead of proceeding to his trial at once? Poor fellow, when his eyes were covered, there was no symptom of fear, but his countenance indicated the agony he was suffering from his wound. And there are thirty men-of-war lying before Monte Video, and such crimes and atrocities are permitted! How strange it is that the Spanish character appears everywhere to delight in blood. The cruelties of the war in the northern provinces of Spain rivalled the atrocities of this, and yet on both sides all is so well concealed under the cloak of politeness and refinement of manner.

As a contrast to the armies and their deeds, it is delightful to be able to speak in high terms of praise of the Buenos Ayrean navy, commanded by Admiral Brown, an officer well known to all naval men who have served in this part of South America since 1814. So long a residence amongst these savages appears in no way to have tinged the character of the old English sailor; as gallant in battle as he is merci-

ful to the fallen foe, he never has forgotten the country that gave him birth, and, whatever may be his faults, merits, on that account alone, a full meed of praise. In a former paper I alluded to the reign of terror at Buenos Ayres, to the system of espionage, and the total check given to the free expression of opinion. As a reward for long services rendered to the Argentine provinces, Admiral Brown was invited to a public dinner, where the horrible customary toast, "Viva la Republica —mueren los salvagios unitarios," was given; all filled, and drank it, except Brown, who, acknowledging the first part, "Viva la Republica," neatly added, that the world was big enough for all, and declined drinking the rest. No other man could, I am confident, be found in Buenos Ayres who would dare to follow his example.

He is now rapidly going down the vale of life, but it is to be hoped that he will leave some memoranda behind him, whereupon to frame a history of his times, which, from his having been necessarily much mixed up with most of the leading characters in the Plata provinces, would prove as interesting as instructive.

The present Government of Monte Video has recently granted us a treaty for the exclusive right of steam navigation on the Uruguay, and there are men of capital now residing here who have purchased extensive tracts of forest, for the purpose of supplying wood as fuel, and who are ready to provide vessels, and embark in the enterprise, as soon as the state of the country may permit. One would imagine that this alone would induce us to use every exertion in behalf of Monte Video. Our treaty with Brazil expires in 1844, and at present there appears no prospect of our being able to conclude another on favourable terms; but by the free navigation of this river she is entirely at our mercy; our goods may be conveyed into the heart of Brazil free from any duty, and that country, with its immense extent of coast, would soon find that the expense of supporting a general system of coast-guard would prove far more ruinous than any apparent loss which might accrue from a relaxation of the tariff. Experience has long proved that with nations, as well as men, it is unadvisable to relinquish an alternative when trying to accomplish an end; and surely the rule is especially applicable to this country at the present moment.

Besides this, a man high in office, and in the confidence of General Oribe, assured me, only the other day, that one of his first acts on succeeding to power would be to conclude a treaty with Brazil for the delivering up political offenders on both sides; and as this measure is much more essential to the internal prosperity of Monte Video than Brazil, the latter country would not forget to insist on the Uruguay being closed,—a point which every one must see is of so much value to herself.

But let us leave the Banda Oriental for a time, and take a cursory view of the rivers which discharge themselves into the Plata, and the political and commercial consequences which might attach to them if the present restriction was removed, and their course thrown open to the navigation and trade of the world; and let me ask, are we, the inhabitants of the first commercial country in the world, to permit people barely merging from a state of barbarism to close the mouths of rivers leading from the Atlantic to the Cordilleras Mountains in the west, and almost joining themselves to the magnificent "Amazon" in the

north? They produce lines of navigable waters, I may say, unparalleled in the globe; and are we tamely to look on, and suffer a man who rules through the terror of the few, against the voice of the many, to exclude commerce and civilization from the rich countries through which these waters run?

Dr. Francia no longer rules in Paraguay, and its people sigh for an outlet for the productions of that favoured land. Seek for Paraguay on the map. See how surrounded it is by rivers; observe its latitude; and it requires but little consideration to discover that all the tropical productions will there be found: cotton, sugar, rice, and coffee would there, under proper management, make us perfectly independent of Brazil. This cannot, in my opinion, be too much dwelt upon. Open these rivers, as reason, justice, and humanity dictate, and the insolent slave-dealing "Brava Gente" is at your feet. Deeply to be lamented is it that amidst all the numerous theories, schemes, and speculations of the conscientious opponents of slavery, this idea has never struck them; and would that Lord Brougham could be persuaded to employ a little of his eloquence to enable the free-grown sugars of Paraguay to compete with the slave-grown sugars of Brazil. For internal American commerce Paraguay is pre-eminently situated; there is ten feet of water in the river at all times of the year far above Assomcion, and its forests abound with wood well calculated for ship-building. The best maté yerba is grown in this province, an article more extensively used in South America than tea in England.

The British Government not long ago made an effort to conclude a treaty, or at all events to establish relations with Paraguay, and, according to general report, signally failed. Numerous causes are of course assigned by old residents in the country well acquainted with the habits of the people; and as there is a general coincidence of opinions on some of the leading points, we may fairly suppose that the aggregate of the whole is not very far from the mark.

Previous to the mission leaving Buenos Ayres it became, of course, necessary to solicit permission from the Dictator, General Rosas, and also to request assistance and letters of recommendation, both of which he professed himself ready to give. His principal Minister advised our Envoy to provide himself with some books written by a Frenchman, in the reign of Napoleon, for the avowed purpose of showing what he supposed to be the commercial ambition of England, and to disseminate them as he went along; moreover, it is generally believed that Rosas sent agents through the country to circulate all sorts of reports relative to the visit, and to inspire dislike and distrust on the part of those with whom he was likely to have communication. No better means could have been adopted to ruin the proceedings. The very name of Rosas is abhorred in Corrientes and Entre Rios, and so naturally he found himself shunned by all.

Some clever friends also advised the diplomatist to arm himself with vaccinating matter for the small-pox, which being administered to a few ignorant people, and having shown itself very freely, they took fright, and became effectually confirmed in the idea that his visit had no good object; and so as he went along he found himself received with common civility, coldly administered in as small portions as possible,—and nowhere did he succeed in obtaining practical information which could be turned to much account.

I learn from good authority, also, that the personal manner of the agent was not calculated to forward his views in Paraguay. Secluded from the world for so many years, the Paraguayans entertain a great distrust of all foreigners, are cautious and guarded in their advances, and expect a similar return on the part of the persons they are dealing with. Now, report says that our countryman was possessed of that winning frankness of manner so admirably calculated to promote a feeling of confidence and regard towards a person in Europe, but tending to a directly opposite end in that country. Even in Monte Video this demeanour is much assumed: the man who considers himself of high merit, and who perhaps occupies an important situation, will generally be found silent and retiring in his habits, return monosyllables for answers, and looking out from under the corners of his eyes; and the more one travels into the interior the more evident is the assumption of what we should call mock-modesty. So the mission failed, and Rosas probably rejoiced in the full success of his stratagem. But even yet the measure was not complete; the question arose as to who had circulated reports injurious to the object of the expedition? and General Rosas had the unblushing effrontery to declare that his rival, Rivera, was the author; and it required no inconsiderable trouble for the head of the Monte Videan Government to prove his innocence.

Let us not, however, despair, the knowledge of the cause of the late failure is half-way towards the success of any second attempt Her Majesty's Government may think proper to make. But they must lose no time; if Rosas succeeds in installing his Lieutenant as President of the Republic of the Uruguay, assuredly his next effort will be to annex Paraguay to the Argentine Republic. Visions of the magnificence of the Spanish Viceroyalty are for ever dazzling this man's mind; and so long as the finest province in this part of South America is independent, ambition will always attract him thither. Paraguay has sent ambassadors to Buenos Ayres to claim the recognition of their independence, and although no direct refusal has been given to their demand, the question has been evaded, and the ambassadors have returned unsatisfied; and Paraguay appears well aware of the fate which awaits her, for she is now busily occupied in training and forming an army.

Before quitting this province and its noble river, it is worthy of remark that the navigable Vermejo flows into the grand stream nearly at the boundary-line of Paraguay and Corrientes. At the present moment the trade on this branch would probably not pay the contingent expenses; nevertheless it should not be overlooked: the time will come when the valuable produce of the province of Salta will find its way to Europe by those waters, to say nothing of the temptation held out to adventurers to re-open mines which are now closed on account of the immense expenses attendant on the transit of the metal.

In the provinces of the southward a considerable number of our fellow-countrymen are settled on estanciers, or farms; and if the country could be kept free from revolutions and wars, no safer or better speculation could be made,—the first outlay is all that is required, and nature does the rest. Give them peace and a free government, and these districts would become the fairest fields for settlers. Subject to fewer natural casualties than the sheep-breeders in Australia, possessing a

finer soil, an easier and more accessible high-road for their produce, where could an Englishman establish himself with a better chance of success? But all, all is marred, by the restless ambition of the despot Rosas. A detachment of his army marches through your estanciero, and every head of cattle is swept off,—to whom are you to appeal for payment? Try you may, but not one farthing will you get. It is lamentable to witness such a system; and still worse to hear the ruler advocated as the only man who has power to govern the country, and maintain order and keep trade in its proper channels; as if anything would not be preferable to the decoy now adopted. By high-sounding words, and a concealment of facts, many have been persuaded to embark their capital in land, and have been ruined before the bitter truth broke in upon them. I do not believe that out of the whole mercantile body of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video six persons could be found to approve of the footing on which trade is carried on; and in all probability those six would be induced to give it their support from some interested motive. "How are you to coerce Rosas," say some, "or obtain a better government? The situation of Buenos Ayres renders it inaccessible; your ships cannot get within five miles of the town, on account of the depth of water. If you will not venture on a land-expedition, how can England make an impression on Buenos Ayres?" And then they cite the length and inefficiency of the French blockade. It is heart-sickening to hear influential men talk in this way. Admitting all, the countenance of England to this tyrant is a disgrace to the country, and expense should not be thought of in such a case. But the truth is far from this supposition,—three steamers of light draught, (say ten feet,) and six or seven schooners, would suffice to shut up and out the commerce of Buenos Ayres. An English blockade is a very different affair from that of our neighbours; and I will answer for it that the word inefficiency would never again be mentioned. The whole trade would centre at Monte Video; and whilst the ruin of Rosas was progressing, the revenue and trade of England would not perceptibly suffer.

But, although I point out the means, I do not recommend violent and hasty measures. The man who acts as if he were the enemy of Europeans is a bully, and, like other gentlemen of that denomination, ever ready to draw in his horns when occasion requires. Speak out, and abandon a wavering policy, and he will speedily comply with our demands, and not oblige us to have recourse to extremities.

PASSAGES IN THE LIFE OF A SAILOR.

No. XIX.

[Continued from No. 185, page 522.]

SIR JOHN MURRAY had arrived from England, and assumed the command of the army, his predecessor, General Campbell, having returned to Sicily. Early in April the Anglo-Sicilian army was put in motion, and took up a position at Castalla, the advance, under Colonel Adam, consisting of the 2nd, 27th (a weak battalion), the Calabrese rifle corps, an Italian light infantry battalion, Capt. Jack's troop of hussars, and two mountain light guns, occupying the village and defile of Biar. This movement in advance of the Allies was not unobserved by Suchet, who immediately concentrated his troops, and prepared to attack them in their newly-occupied position. For this purpose he advanced with his whole collected force, and early in the morning of the 12th of April made a furious assault upon the post of Biar, which was defended with great gallantry and resolution, until Colonel Adam, finding his flanks likely to be turned, was at length compelled to fall back before a force so overwhelming. This movement was effected in admirable order, the division retiring across the plain which separates Biar from Castalla, followed by the enemy's numerous cavalry, which threatened and pressed it close, but never ventured to charge home the serried ranks of the intrepid little column. The same afternoon it entered the lines of Castalla, and took its allotted position to the right of Whittingham's Spanish division. Considering the obstinacy with which the post was defended against assailants so numerous, the division did not suffer much, but it had to leave the two mountain guns behind, in consequence of the mules having been killed.

On the morning of the 12th, the army of Marshal Suchet was observed in front of the Allied lines, making dispositions which showed an evident intent to attack their position. A strong column, with the whole of the French guns, threatened the centre and right, which they cannonaded, but which was warmly and effectually answered by the British artillery. Meanwhile, two columns, one in support of the other, and preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, advanced against the left, a steep and rugged height, the key of the position, which was occupied by the Spanish division of General Whittingham. The nature and importance of this post, and the national troops to whom its defence was confided, were not unobserved by the enemy. Once in motion, their advance was steady, and although the ascent was exceedingly steep, and the ground difficult, on they pressed without a pause, nor did the heavy fire from the Spanish troops, which thinned their ranks, arrest their progress for a moment. The crest of the height was gained, and Whittingham's soldiers fell back before the gathering storm. The moment was critical. The post once in possession of the enemy, the left of the Allies was turned, and then a miracle could scarcely save the army from defeat; and such probably would have been the result of the day, had Spaniards alone been on the height. But fortunately the heroic little band, which had so much distinguished itself the day before, occupied part of the same ridge, immediately on

their right. Here an abrupt dip in the ground concealed it from view of the ascending columns, and when the French gained the summit, instead of Spaniards alone, the blood-red uniform of England met their gaze. The sight of this new and unexpected opponent caused the enemy to pause; but no time was allowed them to recover from their surprise; a well-directed volley, within pistol-shot distance, added to their confusion, and before they had time to breathe, or close their ranks, loosened and disordered by the steepness and difficulty of the ascent, Colonel Reeves called to the 27th to charge, and placing himself at their head, rushed like a torrent upon the foe, who scarcely awaited the shock, but fled with the utmost precipitation, bearing with them, in their downward flight, the columns advancing to their support. Seeing the success of this charge, and how completely the enemy's columns were overthrown, Colonel Adam wisely restrained the impetuosity of his men, and re-occupied his former position.

Suchet, having failed in his attack upon the left, made no other serious attempt, but holding some strong columns in front of the right and centre, which he continued to cannonade, till his discomfited battalions were brought into some order; he then drew off his army, retiring in the direction of Biar. Sir John Murray then moved out in advance, but slowly and with caution; so that the French filed through Biar with no other obstruction than what was occasioned by a distant cannonade. There were not wanting those who affirmed, that had the English General's pursuit been closer and more vigorous, the enemy's loss must have been very considerable. He was provided with a powerful and admirably-appointed artillery, which, if sufficiently advanced, would have played with crushing effect upon the mass as it struggled through the defile, where at one time horses, guns, tumbrils, and men choked the pass, impeding each other's movements. But of these matters, or by what motives the General's conduct was guided, a sailor can be but a very imperfect judge; I only recount the opinions of several officers who bore a part in the operations of the day, and which were expressed at the time. The loss of the Anglo-Sicilian army in the operations of the two days was inconsiderable; one officer, Capt. Campbell, of the Staff, was killed, and Colonel Adam, and three or four officers of the 27th, were wounded. I am unable to say what number of men were *hors de combat*, but certainly not many. The loss sustained by the enemy must have been much greater, though the numbers were not precisely ascertained. They left several dead and wounded upon the field, and some prisoners were taken. From the latter it was gathered that the enemy's force at Castalla amounted to between 13,000 and 14,000 men, including 1700 cavalry. In point of numbers, the Allied army was somewhat superior, with a strong position, partly entrenched, and a formidable and well-served artillery; but of cavalry it had little or none; two squadrons of the 20th Light Dragoons, two squadrons of the Brunswick Oels Hussars, and Capt. Jack's troop of foreign hussars, comprising its strength in that arm.

The repulse of Marshal Suchet at Castalla was regarded by the English General as a victory, which he deemed of sufficient importance to be announced to Government immediately by a special dispatch entrusted to one of his Aides-de-camp. And perhaps this estimate of the day's advantage was not much overrated, if the constitution of the

opposing forces be taken into consideration. The French army was composed of men of one nation, in perfect discipline, and inured to war; it was led by officers in whose skill and courage they had a just confidence, and the whole was commanded by a chief of consummate knowledge in the art of war, who had conducted them from victory to victory with scarcely a single check. On the other hand, the Allied army was compounded of men of five or six different nations—Calabrese, Sicilians, Spaniards, Germans, and English; the soldiers of the two latter forming scarcely a third of the whole force. And when it is considered that the French advanced to the attack with all the confidence which uninterrupted success is sure to inspire, while the Allied forces, with the exception of the British, fought under the disadvantage of conscious inferiority to their assailants—an inferiority impressed upon their minds from former disasters and defeat—it will be conceded that the result of the day was creditable to the combined army.

After the affair of Castalla, the opposing armies remained for some weeks in front of each other, occupying nearly the same positions which they did before the combat. Various were the conjectures during this interval as to the probable destination of the army in the approaching summer. That something was in agitation we felt pretty confident, and it was generally thought that Catalonia would be the scene of the ensuing campaign. This supposition gained strength from the circumstance of an officer having been sent to that province in order to communicate personally with Copons, the Captain-General, and make himself acquainted with the state of the Catalan army, and also ascertain, as far as that could be done, the numbers and positions of the French forces in Catalonia.

In May I was sent in a transport to Cartagena, with a letter to the Governor of that town, requesting him to furnish a supply of wood from the naval arsenal to the Engineer department of the army in Valencia, and when it was shipped, I was to return to Alicant with all the expedition I could use. A light but favourable breeze took us off the harbour in twenty-four hours, when, by the help of Tofiño's Spanish Pilot, and his excellent plan and sailing directions for Cartagena, I took the ship in without any other assistance, and moored her alongside the jetty in the basin, or wet dock. This fine piece of water, of several acres' extent, situated in the heart of the dockyard, and capable of holding afloat from sixteen to twenty sail of the line fully equipped for sea, was then, like the rest of that noble arsenal, silent and deserted; no vessel, save our own English transport, rested on its still, unruffled surface. Here, as well as in all parts of the vast establishment, reigned the tranquillity of death, filling the thoughts with sadness, and presenting to the eye a picture of desolation and decay—true image of the departing glories of once powerful and haughty Spain. In wandering around the dockyard, a solitary warder here and there, and the sentinels at the entrance gates, showed that the place was not quite abandoned. Not a soul was to be met to open the now useless and half-empty storehouses. The workshops and smithies were mute, and no longer rang with the sound of the sledge, the axe, and the adze, and in contemplating its then melancholy and forsaken condition, it was impossibl contrast it painfully with the life, the stir, the busy activity once exhibited, when it could boast of having laid down

launched, and fully equipped for sea, a 38-gun frigate in twenty-eight days.

When I waited on the Governor, with the letter with which I was charged, he received me with much courtesy, and he promised that inquiry should be made immediately in the proper quarter to ascertain how far he was enabled to comply with the English General's request. But I had soon reason to know how dilatory and procrastinating are all official proceedings in Spain. To my repeated enquiries I was always told that the proper person had not made his report, and no answer could be obtained that day. It was the same the next, and then no Governor was to be seen. For three days I was put off with the same, or some equally-frivolous excuse, when, seeing no end to such prevarication, I at length demanded a simple answer, yes or no, as to whether I was to be supplied with the wood for which I had been sent, when I was told that none could be spared, as all that remained in store was required either for the service of the arsenal or for the repairs of the fortifications of Cartagena. Having got this final answer, which would have saved much time had it been given honestly at first, my preparations for departure were soon made, and in less than two hours we were clear of the harbour.

It would be difficult to account for the Governor's motive in thus refusing the request of the English General. Certain it is that the reason he chose to assign was not the real one. There were spars and gross timber enough and to spare for any purposes that they could have been wanted for at Cartagena. Perhaps it is not unreasonable to suppose that this churlishness sprang from that miserable petty jealousy so constantly evinced by the Spanish authorities during the progress of the war of everything English, and which so frequently impeded their operations, and sometimes defeated the best-laid schemes. We reached Alicant the day after we left Cartagena, and when I reported my proceedings, and gave copies of my correspondence with the Spanish Governor to the Admiral, he was pleased to express himself satisfied with my conduct.

When I returned to the Bay of Alicant everything bore the appearance of a speedy change. Transports were in motion; some shifting their berths to positions the most convenient for embarking cavalry, artillery, and stores,—whilst others were returning from or sailing to Altea, to complete their water. Just after the sailing of a batch of those transports for Altea it was discovered that three seamen had deserted from the Guillaume Tell; and as the Captain thought it not unlikely that they had escaped in one or other of those vessels, he directed me to proceed by land for the purpose of overhauling them. An order to the Postmaster being procured, I was furnished with a pair of mules, one for myself, the other for the guide, or "conductor." These were to take me to Los Baños, the first stage, when I was to be provided with a fresh guide and mules, and so on till I reached Altea. It was noon before I set out, and I cantered quickly over a good road across the "Huerta" of Alicant, a distance of six or seven miles. My companion was a young man, with a gay and cheerful but somewhat arch expression of countenance. His stature was short, but well formed, lithe and active, and appeared to much advantage in his Spanish dress. This consis[illegible] Spanish brown cloth, and breeches of the

same, which were met at the knee by tight-fitting leggings of smooth tanned leather, looped at the side by thongs of the same material. His purple velvet vest was ornamented with a multitude of silver buttons, of the kind called Talavera, and a gorro, or cap of scarlet worsted, that scarcely confined the luxuriance of his coal-black hair, the tassel of which hung over one shoulder, completed his attire. The tract which we traversed was rich in all the products of a garden, and well deserved the name by which it was distinguished. Vines, and every variety of fruit and vegetables, were there in abundance. It seemed a fat alluvial soil, washed down by the rains of winter from the high land by which it is in great part surrounded. It is, or was, divided into numerous small properties, to each of which was appended a "quinta," or farm-house, with here and there the casa de campo of some wealthy Alicantino. The fields, vineyards, and gardens which compose these little properties were inclosed by low loose stone walls, bald and naked, and which detracted much from the appearance of the luxuriant fertility of the whole district. A pantano, or vast reservoir, is constructed in the hills to the north-west, in order to collect the waters of the small streams and drainings that fall from the uplands. A main aqueduct conveys these waters to the low grounds, and thence, by numerous conduits, to the different properties for the purpose of irrigation, for the use of which a small tax is paid by the owners of the estates. Where no river is at hand to supply the means of irrigation, reservoirs of this description are not uncommon in Spain; and, in a country subject to excessive drought, the consequence of a discontinuance of rain sometimes for months together, their utility is incalculable, furnishing refreshment and sustenance to vegetation, which without moisture must wither and die in the heats of summer. It sometimes happens, however, though rarely, that these vast tanks or reservoirs burst their banks, when the immense body of water, released from confinement, pours down in one resistless overwhelming deluge on the plain below, sweeping all before it, and involving in promiscuous ruin whatever stands in its way,—men, cattle, villages, corn-fields, and vineyards,—and leaving desolation, barrenness, and woe where peace and happiness, fertility and abundance, smiled a few short hours before. An instance of the above kind took place near Orihuela, in Murcia, whilst we were at Alicant, and the distress and misery which it caused, plunging a whole district, from comparative wealth and comfort, into hopeless poverty and ruin in a few hours, was quite appalling.

After crossing the Huerta, the road, which now becomes almost impassable for any vehicle upon wheels, enters upon a wild and naked country, interrupted and broken by large loose stones, and rocks imbedded in the ground, or knolls covered with moss or a scanty herbage. Here and there a dwarfed and stunted oak, or starveling algaroba, serves to add to, rather than relieve, the dreariness of the prospect. For seven or eight miles this road, though not steep, continually ascends, until it reaches Los Baños, a village consisting of a few miserable dwellings, scattered around the sides of a basin-like hollow formed in the side of the hill. The village, as its name would imply, owes its origin to a mineral spring discovered there many years before. It is said to be efficacious in the cure of rheumatism and cutaneous disorders, and the poor inhabitants derive their subsistence in great measure from

the strangers who resort thither for the benefit of the waters. I had no time, however, to examine them, or the accommodation and conveniency of the place where they were situated; for being anxious to proceed on my way as far as I could that evening, I inquired for fresh mules immediately on my arrival. But to all my perquisitions I received the same answer,—not a mule was left in the village. All had been taken for the service of the army. I then asked to see the Alcalde, or chief authority of the place. He, too, was absent, or, at all events, could nowhere be found. I next told the guide that as no mules were to be had at Los Baños I should be obliged to take his on to Villa Joyosa, when he whispered me that he had just received a hint that two fine machos were secreted at such a house, pointing to one at a considerable distance, and that if I went myself, no doubt they would be produced. Upon hearing this, and charging the muleteer to be in the way in case of further disappointment, I proceeded to the house which he had pointed out. It took me ten minutes to get there, and then not a man was to be found about the premises, and the women declared that they were all absent looking after their beasts, which had been impressed for the service of the army. And when I expressed a doubt of the truth of this statement they showed me, without the least hesitation, two stables, one above, the other underground, in which animals had evidently been lodged, but which I found completely deserted.

Determined to make no further delay, but proceed to Villa Joyosa with the mules that brought me from Alicant, I now made all haste back to the place where I had left the guide,—but imagine my amazement, perplexity, and vexation at finding the fellow gone. The moment he succeeded in starting me on my fool's errand, and I was fairly out of view, he was in the saddle, and, without waiting to give himself or his mules any refreshment, was four or five miles on his return to Alicant by the time I had completed the examination of the empty stables. I was now in a pretty dilemma, and began to think I had nothing for it but to wait patiently the Alcalde's return, or else start on foot for Villa Joyosa. Before I made up my mind, however, as to which course I should adopt, I resolved to try what effect storming and threatening would have on the people, who began to congregate and gaze at the stranger, and perhaps enjoy his perplexity and distress. So I threw myself into a towering passion,—fumed, and sputtered, and swore in bad Spanish, vowing that the Capitan-General, and all the authorities of the province, should know how a British officer, charged with an important mission, had been treated at Los Baños. Observing that this made some impression, I became still more voluble, swearing and threatening louder than before. There was now some whispering among the listeners; soon after which I was told that there was one sorry mula in the village, and that, if I would have patience for a little, she should be brought out, when I could judge whether she was fit to carry me to the next stage or not. To this I very readily consented, and in a little time the animal made her appearance. She proved as miserable a creature as ever moved on four legs; but I was too happy even of such means to proceed on my journey, and leave the wretched village of Los Baños.

My guide, who was on foot, directed me across the moor. The way was rough, and perfectly trackless, but it cut off a considerable

and when we joined the high road I found it comparatively smooth. When we reached Villa Joyosa it was eight o'clock. I went straight to the Alcalde, who received me with great courtesy and hospitality. He would not hear of my going to the posada, but insisted that I should be lodged and entertained at his own house; and for this civility I was not a little thankful, for I knew from experience what kind of fare was to be expected at a Spanish inn. Supper was soon served, to which we sat down a "*partie carrée*," consisting of mine host, his wife and daughter, and myself.

My ride from Alicant, and fast since the morning, enabled me to do ample justice to a cheerful and social meal; soon after which, I was shown to a comfortable bed, where I slept like a top till five o'clock in the morning. At that hour I found mules and a guide at the door; and after taking a cup of chocolate, I proceeded over ten miles of a rough road to Altea. Without a moment's delay, I procured a boat on the beach, and pulled off to the transports, three of which were lying in the bay. I mustered the crews of each successively, and then searched every place below and aloft, where I thought a man could be concealed, but to no purpose—the deserters were nowhere to be found.

I was not a little chagrined at this unsuccessful result of my journey, especially when I noticed a grin of satisfaction on "Jack's" countenance, and the knowing winks which they exchanged with each other at the man-of-war officer's disappointment.

It was still early when I returned to the shore; and getting to horse, or rather to macho again, I rode back to Villa Joyosa. There the worthy Alcalde gave me a good breakfast; and as I was determined to reach Alicant if possible before sunset, a fresh mule was ready for me by the time I had finished. As it was feared that I might again be disappointed in procuring a relay at Los Baños, this mule was to carry me all the way to Alicant; and as its owner was to accompany me on foot, and I was pressed for time, I thought that he would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to keep way with the mule for such a distance—more than twenty miles; but not at all. He kept up with the animal in a sort of slinging trot, without distress, and seemingly with perfect ease; and when a bit of good road enabled me to urge the beast to greater speed, he took hold of its tail as a tow-line, and so was lugged along.

We stopped a few minutes at Los Baños, and reached the barrier of Alicant just five minutes before the gun fired for sunset; and thus I lost my labour, and with it no inconsiderable portion of leather, the result of a kind of exercise to which sailors of the olden time were not much accustomed.

Conjecture was still busy as to the probable movements of the army in the ensuing summer, the most prevalent rumour being, that its destination was Catalonia, and that Sir John Murray only awaited the junction of the armies of the Duke del Parque and General Elio, to break up from Castalla, and march to Alicant for the purpose of embarkation.

The last-named rumour was soon converted into certainty, for the second and third Spanish armies were in communication with that under the command of Sir John Murray, on the 28th of May, immediately after which, the 1st division entered Alicant; and between that

time and the afternoon of the 31st, 16,000 men, with 1,700 horses and mules, and a competent field and siege-train, were embarked, and sailed from Alicant. Prior to this the British garrison had been withdrawn from Cartagena. This consisted of the 2nd, 67th, and a wing of Dillon's regiment. The latter was incorporated with that of Rolle, and henceforward they bore together the designation of the battalion Rolle-Dillon. At the same time six gun-boats, to be manned by English officers and sailors, were borrowed from the Spanish Government, and added to the force of the expedition. A moderate breeze bore the whole convoy off the Col de Balaguer by noon on the 2nd of June, when the brigade of Colonel Prevost, consisting of the troops that formed the garrison of Cartagena, with a proportion of artillery, hauled in and anchored under convoy of the Brune troop-ship, for the purpose of attacking St. Felipe, a strong fort that commanded the high road, (the only one practicable for artillery,) from Valencia and Tortosa to Catalonia, Captain Adam, of the Invincible, having with him the Thames frigate, and the Volcano and Stromboli bombs, being directed to co-operate with Colonel Prevost. The rest of the convoy had all anchored by five o'clock of the same afternoon in the Bay of Tarragona.

It was intended to land the advance, and invest the place that evening; but upon examining the state of the beach, the Admiral gave it as his opinion, that as there was a little surf, and as no object would be lost by the delay, the disembarkation had better be deferred till the morning.

Early on the morning of the 3rd, the landing commenced. By noon the whole of the infantry, the field-train, some howitzers, and 200 horses and mules, were put on shore; and by three o'clock in the afternoon, the place was invested without any molestation on the part of the enemy. Thus did every thing combine to favour the success of the expedition.

An army of 16,000 men, with the necessary *matériel* for siege and field, were wafted from the Bay of Alicant to that of Tarragona, a distance of more than two hundred miles, the men all disembarked, and the town invested, in the incredibly short time of three days!—a tide of prosperous circumstances unexampled, I believe, in the history of all former expeditions, and which must have produced the most fortunate results, if taken proper advantage of. But it was far otherwise. From the moment he had set his foot on shore, the General thought he had "undertaken more than he was able to accomplish." The natural consequence of this feeling in its chief was, that indecision and delay marked all the proceedings of this ill-fated army.

It was late in the evening before an order was given to land intrenching tools; and it was the 6th, three days after the disembarkation, before two batteries, the one of two 24-pounders, the other of four 8-inch howitzers, were opened on the Fuerte Real, an outwork five hundred yards in advance of the body of the place to the S.W., and which was the only one standing, the others having been destroyed some time before.

Our employment (I mean that of the Navy,) was various. In the day, landing stores as they were required—an operation that was uninterrupted by the weather, or state of the be[illegible] of the siege; and in the night, in keeping [illegible]

the ship's boats on the Fuerte Real. The gun-boats were assisting the operations at Balaguer, or watching the coast roads to the eastward and westward of Tarragona. Whatever depended upon him, was thought of and provided for by our fine old Admiral. He was in all places, superintending everything both ashore and afloat; and in order to be near at hand, in case his presence should be necessary, or the General should wish to communicate with him in the night, he had a kind of tent erected on the beach, under which he used to snatch a few hours' sleep, when he thought his presence was not required, or could be useful elsewhere. He had caused a temporary jetty or stage to be run out in a cove at the western extremity of the bay, for the more safe and expeditious re-embarkation of the horses and mules, similar to the one which had been constructed at Alicant for the same purpose. In fact, there was not any thing which depended upon him, that his experience and sagacity did not provide for.

The force sent to reduce the fort at Balaguer found it a more difficult affair than was expected. Situated on a height that commanded every approach to it, and garrisoned by 120 men, amply provided stores and munitions of every kind, its speedy reduction could in no ways be effected. Besides which, the ground leading to it was so steep and rugged, that it was necessary to cut a road through the rock, before the breaching guns could be dragged up the height, and placed in battery. This, however, was accomplished with great labour, and a good many casualties; for there was neither brushwood, depth of soil, nor any thing else, with which the working parties could cover themselves from the fire of the garrison. Both services vied with each other upon this arduous occasion; the exertions of Capt. Carrol, of the Volcano, and of Lieut. Corbyn, of the Invincible, being conspicuously meritorious. When those difficulties were overcome, and the fire from the English batteries began to make an impression, and seeing no prospect of immediate succour, the fort surrendered on the morning of the 7th.

The possession of this fort was of great importance. It completely closed the coast round, (the only one practicable for artillery,) from Valencia and Tortosa to the eastward, compelling Suchet, when he advanced to the relief of Tarragona, to make a fatiguing detour through the mountains by ways little better than sheep-tracks, causing him a delay of at least forty-eight hours, and obliging him to leave his guns behind.

Up to the moment that Sir John Murray received the account of the fall of Fort St. Felipe, the operations before Tarragona were tardy in the extreme; but when this intelligence reached him, it seemed to infuse a little more life into his measures, and the siege was pushed with somewhat more vigour. More guns and mortars were ordered to be landed; and on the 9th, two new batteries within four hundred and fifty yards of the walls, the one on the Oliva of six 24-pounders, and the other lower down to the right, of five 10-inch mortars, and five 8-inch howitzers, meant to enfilade the works on that side of the fortress proposed to be attacked, were commenced. These batteries were ready to be armed on the night of the 10th, when 400 of our "Jolly Jacks," as a friend of mine in writing to England called them, were landed from the Guillaume Tell, Fame, and Bristol, and were employed till daylight of the following morning in dragging guns and mortars to their

allotted situations. The party from the Guillaume Tell, under the command of the Captain, first assisted in placing two mortars in battery, and were then directed by the Admiral, who was ever present where work was going forward, to repair to the Oliva, and give their assistance in whatever way it might be required. Four guns, which had been moved up from the depôt the night before, and left in readiness three hundred yards in the rear, were soon placed in the battery; but as the engineers were enlarging it for the reception of two more guns, our party had to wait until it was completed. The spot fixed upon for the mortar battery was so well chosen, that the nature of the ground and some brushwood which grew in its front, completely hid it from view, so that although within less than five hundred yards of the walls, the enemy was not aware of its being constructed, nor offered the least molestation to the workmen.

The battery on the Oliva was more open to view, and the night being perfectly still, the sounds, unavoidably made by the men at work, must have reached the town, for fire-balls, followed immediately by a discharge of grape, were thrown from time to time throughout the night in the direction of the battery, though fortunately without doing any mischief. By dawn of day this battery was finished, and the last gun was rolling to its berth along the platform, when the sailors, a queer set of fellows, who seem swayed and ruled by feelings and impulses distinct from the rest of mankind, and are not much given to reflect or weigh consequences at any time, just by way, I suppose, of giving the Frenchmen on the ramparts a friendly hint that all was ready for them, and they might begin as soon as they pleased, raised one general hurrah that rang through the welkin, loud enough to startle the veriest sluggard within the walls of Tarragona from his slumbers. The Frenchmen were not slow in convincing us that this well-meant intelligence had reached their ears, for in a few minutes a well-directed shot, followed by thud-thud-thud, from every gun that could be brought to bear, made the sand-bags fly, covering the battery and every man in it with clouds of dust; and the ammunition not being yet at hand, before the officer of artillery was ready to reply to this salutation, the enemy's fire had razed the parapet almost even with the platform. The fire from the walls was in a fair way of completely levelling the Oliva battery, and would most likely have prevented its reconstruction for the day, had not the mortar-battery now opened its fire, and with such admirable effect, that that of the enemy soon slackened, and in two or three hours had nearly ceased altogether. This cessation enabled them to repair the damaged battery, and then the two together kept up a most crushing fire on the town for the rest of the day. When it was found that the presence of the sailors was no longer necessary we were directed to withdraw—an order which we were not sorry to comply with; for the music of the shot, when we had nothing else to listen to, and nothing to do divert our attention from it, began to sound any thing but pleasant.

Early on the morning of that day, (the 11th,) reports reached head-quarters, that a column of the enemy amounting to 7000 or 8000 men with artillery, and a small detachment of cavalry, was advancing from Barcelona, between which and the camp before Tarragona, 5000 men of Copons' army were interposed. In order to communicate personally

with General Copons, and gain more exact information of the enemy's movements, Sir John Murray rode that morning to Vendrills, with the avowed intention of choosing a position, and fighting, if the report of their advance should turn out to be true. General Clinton, the next in command, was left in charge of the siege, with directions to make every preparation for storming the Fuerte Real that night, the breach in which had been practicable since the 8th. A fire was again opened upon it on the morning of the 11th, in order to clear and widen the breach more effectually, which was supported by the six Spanish gun boats, under the command of the first Lieutenant B——r, which maintained a vigorous flanking fire upon the fort throughout the day, and also drew upon themselves the fire from the southern works of the town. All now felt confident that the General was in earnest, and that the siege would, in future, be prosecuted with energy and vigour; and when we observed the terrible effect of the two advanced batteries, opened only since the morning, we calculated upon the speedy surrender of Tarragona with that confidence, which such advantages and the strength of the besieging force so justly inspired.

No sailors were landed from the ships, nor were any boats sent away upon service on the night of the 11th, and being aware that the Fuerte Real was ordered to be stormed, the officers collected on the quarter deck of the Guillaume Tell soon after dark, watching with strained and eager eyes for the rocket which was to signal the advance of the storming party. About 10 o'clock, or a little after, a dropping desultory fire was heard on the north side of the town, where the divisions of Clinton and Whittingham were stationed. This we knew to proceed from a false attack, meant to distract and divert the enemy's attention from the real point to be assailed, and we became, in consequence, if possible, more on the *qui vive*, expecting momentarily to see the concerted signal. All, however, remained quiet to the south of the town. No rocket went up; and soon the firing to the north ceased, when every thing around became once more perfectly still. The patience of some became now exhausted—they went below, but a few lingered still upon deck, hoping that the hour only was changed, and that the attack would yet take place. About midnight, when we were still conjecturing what could delay the assault of Fuerte Real, the Admiral came on board. Without a word of observation he descended immediately to his cabin, and sent for the Captain and First Lieutenant. When the latter came on deck we all crowded around him to learn the news, when we heard with mingled feelings of astonishment and indignation, that the assault of the Fuerte Real was not only given up, but that the siege of Tarragona was to be raised, and the army forthwith embarked! Such then was to be the reward of our labours—the realization of all our visions of credit and renown! But no time was given us then to brood over our chagrin and disappointments. One was instantly dispatched to the agent of transports, and others to the different men-of-war, with orders to have all boats on the beach by daylight for the purpose of embarking horses, artillery, stores, &c. The boats were all ashore at the appointed time, and the work of embarking guns and stores from the depôt commenced—but in its performance one could not help contrasting the downcast look, and dejected expression of officers and men, with the bold, and confident,

and cheerful demeanour of the same people a few days before, when busy in landing the same *matériel*—and instead of the manly port, and erect and haughty carriage which distinguished them heretofore, the officers of the staff, in the execution of some necessary order, now moved about dispirited and crest-fallen, and in place of mutual congratulations for the success of last night's work, a shake of the head with "It's a bad business," was the only salutation that passed between us.

At 8 o'clock that morning (the 12th) the General commanding the army went on board the Guillaume Tell. He staid but a short time, the purport of his visit being to tell the Admiral that, "he had staid too long, and that he had made up his mind to embark the men immediately, to leave the guns in the batteries, and his cavalry and artillery behind." The Admiral was terribly mortified, and at breakfast the officer of the morning watch, who partook of that meal with him, had an opportunity of observing how much hurt and distressed he seemed. For a long time he remained silent, apparently absorbed in deep thought. At length he exclaimed, "I fear all is over, but I will make one effort more. I will try and get all the Generals together, and go and represent to him their opinions of the measures which he is pursuing." Then suddenly desiring his secretary to bring pens and paper he dictated the following note:

"Sir,—It being your determination to raise the siege of Tarragona and embark your army at this place, at the risk of losing your artillery and cavalry, I hope you will not be offended at my suggesting a plan for their safe retreat and embarkation. It is, that they, with a column of infantry, shall be immediately put in motion for the Pass of Balaguer, and I will answer for their being got off."

This letter was immediately dispatched, and the Admiral soon after went on shore. The General adopted, in part, the suggestion offered by the Admiral, and the field artillery, and the most part of the cavalry, marched for Balaguer. He then assembled some of the General Officers, and the officers commanding the artillery and engineers, and they all repaired to head-quarters, for the purpose of respectfully representing to the commander of the forces the propriety of marching to meet General Decaen, who was said to be advancing from Villa Franca, or at all events to suspend the embarkation of the troops until night, when all the guns could be brought down to the beach from the batteries, and embarked with safety. To the first part of this representation he only answered by an ominous shake of the head, saying, that "it would not do," but he promised to wait till night in order to save his guns. Having so far succeeded, the Admiral hastened to the beach, where, by his own indefatigable exertions, ably seconded by the zeal and promptitude of his own officers, and those of the other men of war and transport service, and in spite of frequent interruptions from the contradictory orders, and, as the second in command called them, "that endless change of measures to be observed on that il-fated day," he embarked all the heavy guns brought down to the beach, besides a considerable quantity of stores, by two o'clock in the afternoon. While in the midst of this operation what must have been his amazement and mortification at seeing a smoke ascend from all the batteries, which soon convinced him [illegible] so lately made him of staying till night was no [illegible] General had

again changed his mind, and that the guns in the batteries were to be abandoned. And if any doubt existed as to such being the case, it was soon dissipated by the arrival of the first division of troops on the beach. At three o'clock in the afternoon the embarkation of the men commenced, and by midnight the whole army was on board, except the advance under Colonel Adam, the field artillery, and part of the cavalry, which had marched to Salou, and the Pass of Balaguer.

Sir J. Murray, who went on board the Guillaume Tell at eight o'clock on the night of the 12th, left early the next morning and proceeded in the Volcano with a division of transports to Balaguer, and the Admiral followed in the Guillaume Tell soon after, having first seen that the horses and mules, whose embarkation had been stopped the previous day at the western cove in order to have every boat that was possible to embark the men, were all safe on board. Captain Bathurst, in the Fame, was left in the Bay of Tarragona with the rest of the transports, ready to weigh whenever the Admiral should send him orders for that purpose.

FOUR YEARS OF A SOLDIER'S LIFE.

BY A FIELD OFFICER.

I WAS a boy little more than thirteen years of age, when I was gazetted to an Ensigncy, and shall not easily forget the rapturous delight with which I received the information that I was an officer of the Army. At play with my school-fellows when I was told of it, I was, in my own opinion, the greatest man in the world. Long—long years have since passed over my head, yet memory brings back *this*, perhaps the happiest day of my life, as if it were but yesterday. Many have outstripped me in my military career, men who never heard the whiff of a shot in their lives—who never received the honourable baptism of a soldier in the battle-field, now command the veterans of Wellington, many of whom, without even a riband or a medal on their breast, fag on with nothing to cheer them in their path, save those glorious recollections for which, if he cling somewhat too fondly, the old unrewarded soldier may be forgiven. Where is the warrior who has fought at Waterloo and in the Peninsula, who would part with his service, and doff the veteran (were it possible), to be the Boy Colonel of the most favoured corps in the Army? not that I repine,—life is but a lottery, we cannot all draw the prizes. It is an old saying, though not the less true, that Providence has pretty equally portioned out its lot of joy and misery to all beneath the sun; the clouds and storms of to-day may bring forth sunshine and fair weather to-morrow. I, above all, have no cause to murmur,—God has blessed me with a thousand favours, and it were base ingratitude to Him not to be thankful.

But to proceed with my tale: *then* I was secure of the *future*, I was an officer in a light corps, commanded by an uncle who had adopted me as his son, and been all that father could be to me. I was taken from school; and the first day I put on my scarlet jacket, and cased

my little short legs in white breeches and black gaiters, the full-dress costume of the day, (1810,) object that I was! I deemed myself an Adonis; in my own eyes I was perfection. The regiment soon afterwards received an order to join the army under Wellington, then serving in Portugal: here was another brilliant career of happiness open to me. I could not sleep the night previous to our march for Portsmouth; I revelled in dreams of the most perfect and unalloyed delight. We embarked in line-of-battle ships, sailed with the fleet under Sir J. Yorke; and after a long and stormy passage, made the Rock of Lisbon. The next morning (1811) we anchored in the Tagus, crowded with men-of-war and transports, bearing the flag of the mistress of the seas; the splendid river, the beautiful city and country round it, the fineness of the climate, all conspired in my mind to make it appear a perfect fairy land—a scene of enchantment.

Lord Wellington had just broken from the lines of Torres Vedras, and his army was in full march on the footsteps of the retiring French. The regiment, with the 2nd battalion of the 52nd, was soon pushed forward to join him; and I now began to perceive some of the miseries and horrors of war. Putrid carcases of men and horses lay unburied at every two or three hundred yards along the road, villages, towns, deserted, and in ruins; the city of Leyria was in flames as we entered, and a most frightful picture of ruin and desolation it presented. One of its principal churches had been used by the French as an hospital, and was filled with dead bodies. Houses had been plundered, and many unroofed for firewood. The one we occupied—a nobleman's palace, had been stripped of every thing save books: these were useless to the barbarians, but they had wantonly torn them from the shelves of a splendid library, hacked them to pieces, and strewed them on the floor. The next scene of horror I witnessed on this march, was at a bridge over a beautiful, clear, rocky-bedded river, where the French rear-guard had attempted a stand; but hard pushed by the light division, a regiment of Voltigeurs had rushed into the water, and the greater part of them were drowned. When we came up, the peasants were fishing up their bodies, and there they lay on the banks quite naked, three or four hundred corpses of the finest men I almost ever saw. My young blood froze at the sight, and I experienced at the moment a sensation of horror not to be described.

We joined the division at a village called Carripinar, and were bivouacked on the heights above it. Here we suffered most dreadfully from want of food. We were nearly a week without either bread or spirits, having but the lean and tough ration of beef killed and served out instanter to the troops, popped half alive into the pot; and happy was the individual who could add thereto an onion, or the slightest apology for a vegetable, to put into the water in which this carrion was boiled, and miscalled soup: this place the soldiers christened "Starvation Camp."

From hence we moved with our division into cantonments at a small village in the north of Portugal, Villa Mayor, and there remained until the beginning of May, 1811, when Massena advanced with the intention of raising the siege of Almeida. We were th
and took up our position near Fuentes d'Ono
were assembled with the rest of the army, wa

arrived on our ground at night; the deep and dark blue sky was without a cloud, spangled with thousands of stars; there was not a breath of air; the lizards and frogs were alone making themselves heard through the stillness of that beautiful night. My brother-officers all seemed delighted at the thoughts of the next morning's work. We could see the fires of the enemy in the wood, and on the heights in our front. My uncle left me to command the piquets; and as I pillowed my head on a soldier's knapsack to sleep, how I longed for the morrow's dawn. Day broke at last; and I well remember, in the early grey of a summer's morn, as the men stood to their arms, how my eyes stretched to see the French; but they were hidden generally from view by the woods, and I could only just discern two or three dark heavy columns, as quiet and apparently as motionless as ourselves. Soon, however, the musketry began with the attack upon the village, then the deep heavy roar of cannon, and we saw the troops in our front, the 3rd Light Division, smartly engaged. We were kept in reserve all this day, remaining under arms, but doing nothing. During the night we were moved to the right on account of some movement of the enemy; but with the dawn of day we were in our places, and deploying into line, were formed with our left thrown back; a Portuguese brigade was immediately behind us, lining a long broken stone wall, and they began a heavy straggling fire, which would have done us considerable harm, had it not been for the presence of mind and gallantry of our Colonel, (my uncle,) who rushed up, and at the imminent risk of his own life, knocked up their muskets with his sword, and succeeded in stopping (to us) this most dangerous fire. We had not as yet seen the foe; soon, however, a round shot whizzed over our heads, and went bounding away far behind us. I made a most polite bow as it passed: it was the first I had ever heard. I was but a boy, and breathing a short prayer to Heaven, for I was then young and innocent, and such prayers we are told never ascend in vain, I murmured to myself, whilst my heart beat most violently, "Now, I am in earnest in battle;" not that it was fear,—it was a mingled emotion of awe and pleasure, and of I know not what, I have never felt it since, and cannot now describe it. I looked towards my uncle, heard I him steadily and coolly giving his orders; then came the heavy gallop and rush of cavalry, an immense column of horse advancing at full speed; again the deep manly voice of the Colonel, "Steady, soldiers; ready—present—fire!" In a second all this passed; the regiment, all young soldiers, stood in line like a solid rock, poured in a deadly volley; and when the smoke cleared away, horses were to be seen galloping wildly about without riders, and the enemy's column were moving, much thinned, round our left flank, to attack the regiments posted there; from them they met with the same warm reception, and were repulsed with great loss.

We now retired from the right by companies through a small wood, and reformed again in line on some rising ground, exposed to a heavy cannonade. The officer who commanded our brigade, was not to be found; and upon our commanding officer asking the General of Division what was to be done, his reply was, "Do whatever you please, Colonel M——g." This officer then taking the command, retired over a plain, in the presence of a large cavalry force, in the most judicious manner, showing, through the whole operations of the

day, the greatest possible skill, judgment, and bravery, and yet his honourable breast has been denied the medal he so nobly earned on that field, as an action two days afterwards, in which this officer took the greatest responsibility upon himself, and which ought to have reflected credit upon him rather than annoyance, was misrepresented to the Great Duke, who, with all his bright qualities, is said (if report does not greatly belie him,) never to alter an opinion or a resolution once formed, and thus a brave and distinguished old General is deprived of an honour he so justly deserved, since, after fifty years' long and faithful service, after having twice received the thanks of his countrymen, once for his military conduct whilst in command of the Isle of Wight, and afterwards from the whole of the inhabitants of one of our colonies abroad, over which he presided as Civil Governor, having commanded moreover our forces in the West Indies nearly two years, he has retired into private life untitled and undecorated, though he has filled the highest stations, both civil and military, and "ever caused" (as the address stated) "the British Government to be both loved and respected;" he has sheathed his sword upon the poor pittance of a British General*—a sum at which a nobleman's butler would turn up his nose. Well may the British soldier say with one of the Roman Gracchi, "We fight and die to advance the glory of the great, and are called masters of the world whilst we have not a foot of ground we can call our own, or a spot in which to lay our bones when we die."

The operations of the day now ceased; Lord Wellington having repulsed the enemy on all the principal points of attack, threw back his right, composed of our division, on the village of Frenada, and the regiment was strongly posted behind stone walls in its immediate front, with orders to defend it to the last extremity. How well I remember every incident of that day; the weather was most beautiful, the month May, hot as July in England; and when the fight was done, I sat down on the grass in the evening a much prouder and happier fellow, I am sure, than our great Chief himself, although he had achieved the victory of Fuentes D'Onor. But what was that compared to my feats? —I, a boy of thirteen, had been in battle, had seen men killed and wounded by my side; and yet all this joy was speedily turned into sorrow by a trifle, laughable enough now, but at that time, alas! how serious, since it sent me that night to my grassy bed supperless. The night before the action we had contrived by some lucky accident to buy a dozen fresh eggs, upon which we were to have breakfasted next morning, but the French not giving us time for this meal, I unwilling to lose the prize, popped them into my cap, and thought no more of my eggs until about the middle of the day. During a pause, I felt something trickling down my neck; I scarce dared to raise my hand, for I thought I was wounded; but I saw one of the officers near me laughing most immoderately, and I then took off my cap, saw all my eggs smashed to pieces, my head and neck in a most piteous plight, and, worse than all, with this came the bitter thought, that if I escaped the fight, I must lose my dinner and supper, since on these luckless eggs I had depended for both.

The following day we prepared at daybreak for a renewal of the

* Years after this was written, he was placed upon the li
receiving rewards for distinguished services.

attack; but the enemy remained quiet, and I was doomed this day to pay for youth and inexperience. I was on picquet with a knowing old Sub.; we had boiled some milk and biscuit, and were just sitting down with most exquisite appetites, when some shots were fired in our front; I, as the junior, was instantly despatched by old Nol to see what was the matter. I soon returned; but, alas! milk and biscuit had all disappeared, and I was only laughed at. I then was a young soldier —such accidents never happened afterwards. Trivial as all these incidents appear, how vividly and with what pleasure does memory, after the lapse of so many years, bring them back; all that part of my life now seems like some pleasant dream—a dream of youth—passed in that beautiful and romantic land; its woods of olive and cork, its splendid river and mountain scenery, the picturesque costumes of its peasantry, all combine to make Spain and Spaniard pleasant sounds to me; nor do I ever read any book with half the interest that the perusal of Don Quixotte inspires; its description of Spanish scenes and manners, the noble simplicity, magnanimity, and generosity of its mad hero—mad on one point alone, and on all others displaying every virtue of which human nature is capable—then Sancho, our friend Panza; his character never flags, his wit, his selfishness, in such strong contrast with his master, but from whom we can never bear to sunder him for an instant; we see them ever journeying together, the one giving utterance to all the noble thoughts and lofty chivalric feelings of Cervantes himself, and the other stringing his proverbs by dozens, and bringing us back (as it were) at each moment from heaven itself to all the selfishness and all the dross of human nature; so that whilst like the Mahometan we admire, and almost reverence, the noble madman, we cannot help liking and longing for the society of his worldly-minded and simple-hearted follower.

But leaving my friends Sancho and Don Quixotte, I will pursue the thread of my narrative. After the battle of Fuentes D'Onor, the French having retired, and the garrison of Almeida having somehow slipped through our hands, we received orders to move towards the Alentejo, and after a rapid march, and crossing the Tagus by means of a bridge of boats at Villavelha, one of the most beautiful and romantic spots I ever saw, we entered the south of Portugal, where everything wore a more smiling aspect; the country was rich and fertile, the towns were handsome and well peopled; war had not made a desert of the Alentejo, and until our arrival at Campo Major, we found no traces of its footsteps. Here we were within two or three leagues of Badajos, in possession of the French. Here we also found the wounded of the battle of Albuera. Next morning we were ordered to march and invest Badajos, and after fagging away for two or three weeks at the drudgery of a siege, I was sent down to Lisbon. In this attempt we were unsuccessful, and I have neither the talent or inclination to criticise the causes of our want of success. My uncle, then in command of the regiment, was taken ill, and came down to Lisbon, and I was now about to enter on my military career alone. Hitherto, though but a young soldier, I had weathered out all my fatigues and hardships famously; but then I had a strong stay to support me—his counsel and assistance; of that I was now to be deprived, as he was appointed to a military command in England, and I could not accompany him. The sorrows of youth may be short, but they are keen in

proportion. Many a pang and many a cold chill has struck to my heart since, but none have ever equalled the feelings of that evening. They embarked at sunset, and when the boat in which they embarked pulled out of sight, I felt as if the whole world were a desert, and all I cared for or thought about had left me in it to stand alone. The kindness, however, of a brother officer, with whom I went to live for the week I was yet to remain in Lisbon, consoled me, and in his society, and that of the nice people of the house on which he was billetted, I soon forgot all my sorrows, and went three days afterwards to buy a horse and prepare for my journey up the country with the greatest possible glee.

Seven officers, and two hundred men under our charge, started to join the army, and a happier or a pleasanter set of fellows never met together; we laughed, we joked, we buckled no cares on our back, but cast them to the winds. Blessed with health, youth, and strength, poverty even then was no annoyance, though once on that march I was obliged to sell my watch at Coimbra, to raise the wind; but what cared I at that moment for watches or time—the first never went (for I had spoiled it), and the last I never thought about. Old Time, I weened, had a long race to run ere he could catch me, and I set him at defiance. On that journey one of the mess who was caterer, unfortunately for us in this instance, was an East Indian; as we were reduced to our last dollar, we had no bread, and he had gone into the village to forage for some, when back he came, his face beaming with delight, and ours reflecting back the joy of his countenance, expecting to see the well-filled havresack pour forth a shower of nice white loaves, when, to our utter dismay, though he was rubbing his hands and rejoicing at his prize, it turned out to be an immense quantity of green chilies, into which he had turned our cash. Moses and his bargain of green spectacles, in the "Vicar of Wakefield," was nothing to this; for, if I remember aright, the good vicar and his family had dined; we were fasting after a long day's march, and thus saw all our hopes dashed to earth, and naught for dinner save tough lean beef and chili soup. The first burst of disappointment over, we laughed most heartily at poor Mac and his chilies. Poor fellow! he was killed afterwards on the Burgos retreat. Of that party nearly all died in their harness, and were killed in action in the Peninsula. They have escaped many a bitter pang in this cold and selfish world. Providence has wisely ordained that it should be so, but in those days we were knit too closely together; death and danger were too near us; we neither had time nor inclination to be cold-hearted or selfish; the little we had we freely shared with each other. No one thought about the cut of a coat, or the fashion of a boot, or looked coldly on his neighbour because his ragged garment was less fashionable than his own; sufficient was it that he had a coat on his back; and for those of our comrades who fell on the field of battle, if our mourning for their loss was short, it was heartfelt and sincere; the tear that dropped upon their clay, as we shovelled them into their last narrow bed, came from hearts that knew hypocrisy and selfishness but by name. I mean not to say that the Army has degenerated; bring them together again, a Wellington at our head, and
pery and all our nonsense would speedily vanish; we
again what that army then was, unrivalled either i
position by any in Europe, fit to march throug

the world's conquerors, and prostrating at the feet of our Chief the energies and talents of the first officers of the day.

Guided by Providence our fields were ever fields of conquest, and the British soldier well knew that the day of battle was to him the day of victory; such was the army of Wellington; has the country ever, or will it ever see its equal? But I write, perhaps, somewhat too warmly, and feel, even now, too much the enthusiasm of my boyish days, and lest I should grow censorious, will resume my tale. On our reaching the army we all parted to join our different regiments; mine was cantoned in one of the miserable villages in the north of Portugal, on the frontiers of Spain. I was received with more than kindness by every one, each one vying who should treat me with most attention. I perhaps was never happier in my life, for on account of my youth I was indulged in any and every thing, and all my boyish pranks were laughed at and encouraged by my kind-hearted brother officers. Soon afterwards we moved to the front, but nothing of any consequence occurred, except a very brilliant affair at El Bodon, in which the 5th and 77th Regts. greatly distinguished themselves; the army then moved quietly into winter quarters; our division was quartered at Penamacor, a town in the north of Portugal prettily situated on a high hill. Here for some time we led a most agreeable life; the neighbourhood abounding with game our days were passed in coursing and shooting. In the evenings there was always a party at some one's quarters, where cigars, egg wine, and good humour generally sent half of us tipsy to bed; three times a week a division club, established by the German Light Brigade in an empty convent, added to our amusements and brought us all together—here was music, dancing, and cards—a pharo bank for those who were disposed to lose their money—two military bands for the youngsters to dance to—and a sutler's room, where was every species of refreshment at most moderate prices. Many a wild mad scene have I been witness, and perhaps partaker of, at this club, but all was in perfect good humour, no arguments or strife, nothing but the ebullition of health and youth; our Generals and superior officers joined in and added to all our pleasures and amusements, as in the field they shared all our privations and hardships. During our sojourn here we were annoyed by some dreadful murders which took place; for several mornings successively, the bodies of some male and female peasants were found immediately outside the town with their throats cut; this, at last, became so serious, that it was imagined there must be a banditti in the neighbourhood, though neither individually, nor in parties, as officers, had we ever been molested or annoyed in our rambles or walks, and frequently returning as we did unarmed at all hours of the night. Our regiment with another was ordered out to scour the country, which was mountainous for leagues round the town, and these mountains were beautifully wooded with gum cistus and the arbutus—we remained out two days, but discovered nothing, not even a robber's cave; we had our stroll and two beautiful nights in the open air, and nothing more—however, it intimidated the horrid perpetrators of these murders, for nothing of the sort ever occurred again whilst we remained there.

Wearied with inactivity our clubs and other amusements began to lose all their attractions, and it was with the greatest possible delight, although in the month of January, that we received orders to move to

the front, and cover the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. We were cantoned in the village of Pago in Spain, from whence we gave four officers' picquets to the front; the two most advanced were about two Spanish leagues from the village, posted on the top of mountain passes covered with snow six or seven feet deep; we suffered most dreadfully from cold, having to dig deep into the snow to make our fire, and then sitting crowded round it with our toes burning and our backs freezing; these picquet nights were most dismal and dreary, and the constant howling of wolves, though they never approached or molested us, added not a little to their horrors and gloominess. The duty was rather severe, for we came on every third night, and I well remember the agreeable feelings and cordial welcome I used to give the officer who came to relieve me, and the look of utter despair depicted on his countenance when he looked round on the wintry and gloomy scene where he was destined to pass the next twenty-four hours; these were two strong passes in the Sierra de Gata, through which the enemy might have advanced to raise the siege. When not on duty we had good woodcock shooting, which, besides the amusement, added considerably to our fare, not always the most sumptuous in the world, and when at night, when in the miserable hovels of the village, we gathered round a cheerful fire, we ate, and drank, and laughed away, we envied not kings in their downy beds, sleeping as soundly on our muddy floors, as princes in their marbled palaces.

The bravery of our fellow soldiers at Ciudad Rodrigo at length released us from this cold duty, and we returned to Penamacor, from whence we soon again started for the south of Portugal, crossing the Tagus as before at Villavelha. The bridge of boats is here thrown over a most beautiful part of this fine river, which rushes rapidly and clearly between the most magnificent towering cliffs, on which were always perched some eagles; the road to Niza, on the south side, winds up a mountain in the most romantic manner, and when covered with troops as I then saw it, the sun gleaming on their arms, the scene was beautiful. We made no halt of any consequence until our arrival at Elvas, where we were bivouacked in an olive grove, outside the town, and immediately beneath the famed Fort La Lippe, renowned as one of the strongest in Europe; the city of Elvas is large, and finely situated, with a magnificent old Roman aqueduct in its neighbourhood which supplies it with water. The army was here concentrated previous to undertaking the siege of Badajos, and after remaining a few days the 3rd Light, 4th and 5th Divisions, moved to drive in the French outposts and break ground; the 1st, 6th, and 7th Divisions, with all the cavalry, started at the same time, crossing the Guadiana by a bridge of boats above Badajos, and moved into Spain to prevent the advance of Soult to raise the siege. Sir T. Graham commanded this force, which remained inactive for a short time, and we were quartered in some villages distant about eight leagues from the city of Llerena, then occupied by the enemy. One morning the light infantry regiment to which I belonged received a sudden order to move on this place and endeavour to surprise and capture the French troops quartered there. Our Colonel commanded the party, consisting of ourselves, a hundred German Rifles, and two light guns; the day was a splendid one for such an attempt, raining in torrents, and there is no doubt, that b[illegible] the main-road, moved through the country, an[illegible]

halted until dark, we should in all probability have succeeded, instead of which, the Colonel obeying orders, (as I have since heard,) moved upon the high road, halted at mid-day in a village, thus giving time for some false peasant to apprize them of our approach. At night we marched again, intending to rush into the place at day-break and catch them in their beds, but when day dawned and we reached our destination, we found, as every one expected, that the birds had flown, and we had had a long and fatiguing march for nothing. We consoled ourselves, however, in most delightful billets, with the idea of a good long halt: but just as we were preparing to go to bed at night the bugles sounded the assembly, and orders were given for our instant departure, news having arrived that Soult was advancing in force, and away we were obliged to trudge. We marched all that night, which, joined to the fatigue of the preceding one, was almost too much. I moved mechanically along, stumbling and dozing at every step, and even now remember the exquisite misery I suffered; worn out with fatigue and want of rest, I scarce could keep up with the column. The night, fortunately, was a beautiful one; but there is no fatigue equal to that of night marches. Give me heat, dust, what you will, but let me sleep if possible at night; nature, one's own inclination, all, say it is the hour of man's rest, both from his bodily and his mental labours, and none but bats, and owls, and deeds that shun the day, should be stalking forth at night. After this unsuccessful business Sir T. Graham permitted us a few days' quiet, and then determined, with his whole force, to make another attempt upon Llerena, occupied by Soult, and about 5000 French. We assembled the morning before at a village about five leagues from the place; and though then too young to think at all about it, and now old enough to be careful how I criticise the conduct of others without knowing their motives, yet, even at this distance of time, it appears to me extraordinary to suppose for an instant that an officer like Soult, or an enemy so cautious and vigilant as the French, could be ignorant either of our vicinity or intentions. In the morning we were bivouacked, and I thought more of my own miseries than of the movements of the army. I had a horse with a sore back, and, despairing of his cure, here, though I never smoked in my life, I sold my poor sick steed, for two bundles of cigars, to a Spanish muleteer, thus relieving myself of a bundle of care, although in these days care companioned not long with me; and when night came, and the army moved, I travelled along with my company, and my brother officers, happy and thoughtless as the happiest and least thinking amongst them.

We marched all that night at a rapid pace, through a flat open country, with the cavalry on one flank and the artillery on the other. Just before dawn, when it is darker than any other part of the night, Sir Thomas, who with his Staff had been out in front unknown to the troops, was fired at by a vidette, and came galloping back amongst us; the men, imagining that it was the French cavalry, began a heavy straggling fire, and for a few moments such a scene of confusion, panic, and disorder I never witnessed. Several men were killed and wounded; our Assistant-Surgeon was killed, our Paymaster shot through the arm. Strange that these two non-combatants should be the only victims amongst the officers of the regiment to this melancholy mistake. Order was at length restored, and, day breaking, we found that the French

had escaped; however, to make matters worse, previous to entering the town we formed hollow squares, and our artillery fired several shots into the hopeless place, where there was not so much as the shadow of a foe, and where the only triumph we achieved was the death of an old woman, who was unfortunately killed by a round shot. This accident, joined to the disappointment at the escape of the French, together with rather a sharp order of Sir Thomas's, at what he was pleased to call the unsteadiness of the troops, threw a gloom over us for some days, more especially as our two sufferers were great favourites in the regiment, and the Doctor's untimely fate was regretted by all.

We soon left Llerena, and the French, having assembled a force, advanced to relieve and raise the siege of Badajos. We retired to the field of Albuera, with the intention of fighting, and took up nearly the same position which Beresford's army had occupied. Here were yet traces of the battle, and we bivouacked on the ground still strewed with fragments of old French and English uniforms, cap-plates, rusty old firelocks, bones, and balls. It seemed well adapted for a fight, and we made sure in a day or two of trying its strength; we should have fought with minds made up to conquer, for we knew that Wellington would command us. That evening, however, Badajos was stormed and taken. The night was beautifully serene, the sky above us studded with stars, the ground beneath, far as the eye could reach, covered with the fires of the tired soldiers, who gathered round them, and talked in high spirits of the coming fight; for it was known that the French were within a day's march of us. We had all lain down to sleep, and the fires that gleamed on our piled arms were all, save those of the picquets, fast expiring, the bivouac was hushed in silence, when suddenly the deep heavy roar of cannon burst upon the stillness of this lovely night. In an instant we were all roused, and the hum and buzz of thousands of voices were to be heard: "There they go,"—"They are at it now,"—"I trust they will succeed," was in every one's mouth, and with feelings of the deepest interest and anxiety we listened to the now heavy roll of musketry, broken at short intervals with the frequent loud deep reports of cannon which continued to come from the same quarter. We knew of what importance the result of that night must be, and were consequently all most anxious, still we were sanguine, for *He* was there, Wellington himself. And where is the British soldier who ever saw him on the field of battle that felt not within himself, though ten times his number stood in his front opposed to him, that that field must be one of victory? Wherever he was, with his calm countenance, on those occasions always with a smile upon it, the soldiers would say, "Ay, there he goes, boys. All's right." And forward they rushed, careless of danger or numbers, and thus driving the French out of the strongest and most impregnable positions,—such was their confidence in his talents and good fortune. And these were not the sentiments of the private soldier alone, but the deep-rooted feeling of every individual in that army. We followed,—we fought for him; but, though he won our confidence, he never gained our love. What has he done for us? Let five-and-twenty years answer that question, for I dare not.

But to proceed. At daybreak next morni
with the news that reached us of the su
had fallen. The French army, now so

of course retired, and we moved into very pleasant quarters, and were stationed for about three weeks in a pretty Portuguese town, Borba. This beautiful place is surrounded with groves of olive and cork, and is like all the other towns in the Alentejo, clean and well built; indeed, the people seem altogether a different race from those of the northern provinces. But not long were we suffered to enjoy the comfort of clean houses and good beds, for orders were received to march, re-cross the Tagus at Villa Velha, and, retracing our steps to the north, we halted at Castello Branco,—a very different place from Borba; for, although this town is large, and beautifully situated, yet, occupied as it was by the whole division, about 5000 men, we could not be otherwise than much crowded, and consequently our quarters were small and bad. We, however, contrived to amuse ourselves, in the morning with shooting and coursing, and our evenings were generally passed together, when a little wine, and a great deal of fun and good humour, made time move along very pleasantly and swiftly.

Notwithstanding all this we were not a little pleased at receiving our orders to move forward and concentrate in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo, previous to Wellington's advance in the year 1812. For some time back our quarters had been so miserable and bad that I must say most joyfully did I find myself gipseying, and again bivouacking in the open fields; the season spring, the air mild and balmy, the climate pure and healthy, and the spot where we assembled a country covered with dwarf oak trees, and the wild thyme and herbs we trod upon quite perfumed the air, and heightened the spirits so much that existence itself was pleasure enough; the thought, besides, that we were about to penetrate into Spain, and meet the enemy, whom we had not now seen for some time, all conspired to make us quite happy: and at the review which Lord Wellington made of his army a few days before we commenced our march, every one's heart beat high with hope and expectation. He looked remarkably well, and seemed in equal spirits with ourselves.

We were now set in motion for Salamanca. The country between that place and Ciudad Rodrigo is thickly wooded with evergreen oak. We met with no opposition, and did not even see an enemy till the day before our arrival in its neighbourhood; and I shall never forget the interest and anxiety I felt to see this celebrated place; and that evening, when we halted on some hills about three miles off, and it burst upon my sight, the Tormes washing its walls, and meandering through the plain before me, with patches of blue smoke rising occasionally from the guns of the forts, which were shortly to cost us so much blood, together with that soft sunset so often seen after a day of summer rain, the scene was beautiful, and almost exceeded what my boyish fancy had pictured. I gazed at it with delight, and when night fell could scarcely sleep a wink, so great was my impatience for the dawn, which was, as I thought, to take us into Salamanca; but in this I was grievously disappointed, for, in consequence of the French having left a garrison in some fortified convents which commanded the bridge over the river, we were obliged to make a considerable detour to our right, and cross at a ford four or five miles above the town. One division (the 6th) was sent in to besiege, whilst we, with the others, were bivouacked in a wood about two miles in advance.

SKETCH OF THE PUNISHMENTS TO WHICH COMMON SEAMEN AND MARINES ARE LIABLE IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

BY A SURGEON'S-MATE OF 1803.

In the 22nd year of the reign of George II., an Act was passed, intituled "*An Act for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the laws relating to the government of His Majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea;*" and in the 19th year of George III. another Act was passed, which modified and amended the Act passed in the former reign (1748). These two Acts of Parliament contain, with the requisite modifications, all the rules, articles, and orders, for the regulating and better government of His Majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea.

In the naval penal code above mentioned, there are nine articles, or branches of articles, which refer to common seamen, and which, on conviction, expressly inflict *death*, without alternative, or leaving any discretionary power to the members of a court-martial to award a milder punishment; and there are about twelve articles which inflict the punishment of *death*, or "*such other punishment as the nature and degree of an offence shall be found to deserve*," and which a court in its discretion may award. In about ten other articles the word *death* is omitted, and the punishment to which a man may be sentenced is left, both in kind and degree, wholly to the discretion of a court-martial; and as these articles are for the punishment of offences not of so flagrant a nature as in the former two classes of articles, it may be presumed that the Legislature meant to exclude the power of a court-martial to inflict a capital punishment for any of the offences therein specified. In these cases it is left wholly to the discretion of a court-martial to discriminate the shades of guilt, and to inflict a punishment, in quality and amount, proportionate, in their opinion, to the offence, not affecting life or limb.

In early times, and even during the last century, it would appear that punishments were more severe and certain than during the last thirty years. It was not then uncommon for an offender, guilty of desertion, to be adjudged to suffer death, or to be punished with five hundred lashes. By the records of courts-martial, it appears that the sentences awarded at one time varied from one dozen to one thousand lashes. The punishments which it is in the power of naval courts-martial to inflict, are various in their nature and degree. They are from death, the greatest and highest, descending in various shades down to mild reprimand and gentle admonition.

By the 36th Article of War it is declared, "that all other crimes not capital, committed by any person or persons in the fleet, which are not mentioned in this Act, or for which no punishment is hereby directed to be inflicted, shall be punished according to the laws in such cases used at sea." For anomalous offences the old standing customs and usage of the Service are directed to be resorted to as a kind of unwritten or common law, which supplies the place of express statutes. A case which was tried in the Court of Common P[illegible]rate the above article. The action was brought fo[illegible]

the person of the plaintiff (a midshipman) in consequence of his disobedience of an order of the defendant, his commanding officer, who ordered him to the mast-head as a punishment, according to the usage of the Service. The Judge observed that the custom of the Service justified the order, and rendered the punishment legal; therefore, the disobeying such legal order, justified the measures taken to enforce it, or put it into execution. The jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict for the defendant.

Early in the month of March, 1797, a mutiny broke out in the fleet at Portsmouth, the principal subjects of discontent among the seamen being the smallness of their pay, and of the Greenwich pensions; the very unequal distribution of prize money, the excessive harshness and severity of the discipline, and the haughty and tyrannical behaviour of many of the officers. The seamen obtained all their demands, and forthwith returned to their duty. Among the officers charged with oppression, and discarded by the men, there were 1 Admiral, 4 Captains, 29 Lieutenants, 17 Master's-Mates, 25 Midshipmen, 5 Captains of Marines, 3 Lieutenants of Marines, 4 Surgeons, and about 13 petty officers. The men refused to receive on board those tyrannical officers, whom they had sent on shore; and Lord Howe, who had been commissioned to settle all matters of dispute, found himself obliged to comply with the decided resolution of the men. How much is it to be regretted, that previous care had not been taken to prevent discontent, by remedying the undeniable evils of which the seamen complained! From this mutiny, however, may be dated the most rapid amelioration in the management and condition of our sailors, with a proportionate improvement in the discipline and spirit of the men, and the gallantry of the officers.

About the middle of May, 1797, a mutiny broke out at the Nore, and the mutineers petitioned against the naval code, the 8th article of their list of grievances being an affirmation, "That the Articles of War, as now enforced, require various alterations, several of which to be expunged therefrom, &c., &c.," thereby expressing an opinion, that the system of discipline and the Articles of War are unnecessarily severe and require relaxation, in order to disabuse seamen in general of the prejudice against the Navy. In the letter which the mutineers at the Nore forwarded to the King, through Lord Northesk, they petitioned or urged, "that no punishment should be inflicted on board a King's ship, until the offender had been previously tried and convicted by a jury of seamen."

Courts-martial are in the Navy ordered either by the Admiralty or by the Commanding Officer of a station. The punishments to which seamen are liable by the sentence of a court-martial are as follow:—

1. *Death;* 2. *Flogging round the fleet.*

The punishments frequently inflicted at the discretion of a Captain or Commanding Officer, and which nothing but the usage of the Service appears to authorize, are—1. *Flogging at the Gangway;* 2. *Running the Gauntlet;* 3. *Starting;* 4. *Keel-hauling;* 5. *Ducking;* 6. *Gagging;* 7. *The Spread Eagle;* 8. *The Wooden Collar;* 9. *The Barrel Pillory;* 10. *Carrying a Capstan Bar;* 11. *The Black List.*

Execution of the sentence of Death.—When the King is pleased to

approve of the sentence of death, the warrant for execution is transmitted by the Admiralty to the officer commanding the ships and vessels at the place for the time being, who issues the necessary orders agreeably to the forms of the Service; and, in pursuance thereof, preparations are made. The fatal morning is arrived—the signal of death is already displayed—the assemblage of boats, manned and armed, surround the ship appointed for the execution. The crews of the respective ships are arranged on deck, and after hearing the Articles of War read, and being made acquainted with the crime for which the punishment is inflicted, await, with silent dread and expectation, the awful moment. At length a gun is fired (the signal to rouse attention), and at the same instant the unhappy victim, who has violated the laws of his country, is run up by the neck to the yard-arm; the whole spectacle being intended as a warning to deter others from the commission of similar crimes. (*Principles and Practice of Naval and Military Courts-Martial, by John M'Arthur.*)

Execution of the sentence of corporal punishment. Flogging round the Fleet.—In carrying the sentences of naval courts-martial for corporal punishment into execution, the Admiral or commanding officer of the station issues orders to the Captain of the flag, or other particular ship, to make the signal for the boats of the squadron to assemble, manned and armed, on the day appointed, to attend the punishment, and likewise orders the other Captains to send a Lieutenant, with a boat manned and armed, from their respective ships, to attend and assist thereat*.

An order is at the same time issued to the Captain or Commander of the ship to which the prisoner belongs (accompanied with a copy of the sentence), directing him to cause the punishment to be inflicted alongside of the different ships, in the manner, and in such proportions, as therein specified. Directions are at the same time given to the Captain to cause the Surgeon of his ship to attend in the boat, with the Lieutenant, as well as one of his mates, in the launch with the prisoner, for the purpose of judging of the prisoner's ability to bear all his punishment, the Surgeon being authorised to recommend that the punishment should be suspended when he conceives the prisoner is not able to bear more without endangering his life.

The Provost-Marshal or Master-at-Arms attends the punishment, and he reads publicly the sentence of the court-martial alongside of each ship respectively.

The delinquent having been put into a launch, attended by a Surgeon's-Mate (now denominated an Assistant-Surgeon), he is forthwith stripped naked to the waist, and tied up with his arms extended upon a

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* Copy of orders for carrying corporal punishment into execution in the Navy:—

"To the Captain of the Flag-ship. By &c.

"A court-martial, held the instant, having sentenced to receive 300 lashes on his bare back with a cat-of-nine-tails, alongside of such of His Majesty's ships and vessels at this port, at such times, and in such proportions, as shall be directed by the Commanding Officer of the said ships and vessels for the time being, you are hereby required and directed to hoist a yellow flag at the fore-topmast-head of His Majesty's ship under your command, and fire a gun at nine o'clock to-morrow morning as a signal for the boats of the fleet to assemble alongside of His Majesty's ship to at punishment."

frame of wood, when he receives a specified number of lashes. The Master-at-Arms stands beside him with a drawn sword, and reckons the lashes as they are inflicted. A drummer and fifer stand in the bow; a Lieutenant and the Surgeon of the ship accompanying the launch in another boat. The whole flotilla of boats then fall into line, taking in tow the launch containing the culprit. The fifer strikes up the "Rogue's March," accompanied by the drum, *muffled*, and the procession moves on at a slow rate, following a light gig, called the dispatch-boat, which goes forward to announce the delinquent's approach to those ships where he is to receive his punishment. The prisoner having reached the ship, the crew cover the sides and channels upon that side where the procession has halted. The sentence of the court-martial is read aloud, after which two Boatswain's-Mates are sent from the ship, who inflict that portion of the punishment which has been directed to be given alongside each ship, the amount of lashes being divided among the number of ships belonging to the fleet. A blanket is then thrown over the man's shoulders, the flotilla of boats again take the launch in tow, the music strikes up, the dispatch-boat proceeds to the next ship as before, and thus the culprit is slowly dragged from one vessel to another, for a period extending sometimes to several hours, till the sentence has been carried into effect, or the punishment suspended by the recommendation of the Surgeon.

I was once officially present in the launch when a seaman was flogged round the fleet; but I think it better to avail myself of an account of this mode of punishment by two naval officers, than to describe my own sensations on the occasion.

"In the year 1811, when Admiral Sir C. Cotton commanded the Mediterranean fleet, a seaman belonging to a frigate was sentenced to be flogged round the fleet, and the punishment was accordingly inflicted at Port Mahon, in the Island of Minorca. This harbour has such deep water, that even the largest ships lie moored close to the rocks and quays. Attracted by the cavalcade of boats, the music, and above all by the cries of the criminal, thousands of the inhabitants crowded to the shore to witness the scene. When these spectators noticed that the punishment was *alternately suspended* and *renewed*, so as to produce more acute pain, they exclaimed loudly against British cruelty. 'You boast of humanity,' said an aged monk to the writer. 'What is there in all the tortures that your nation truly or falsely impute to the tribunal of the Inquisition more protracted or inhuman than this proceeding? Why do you suspend the lashes but to increase the agony? The culprit has already fainted twice, yet your Surgeon authorises a continuance of the whipping. Is not the poor wretch's back entirely flayed from his neck to the loins? Yet the scourging still goes on, and will frequently be suspended and renewed again before the sentence is fulfilled! What worse torture than this could disgrace the prisons of the Inquisition, or even the dungeons of Algiers?' Some attempt was made to deprecate this censure, by explaining that the difference consisted in the British seaman having had a fair and open trial, confronted with his accusers and with the witnesses; yet, whatever advantages might have attended his *trial*, it was impossible to deny that his *punishment* was altogether cruel and indefensible."—(*United Service Journal*, 1830.)

Good men, it is said, have nothing to fear from the severity of corporal punishment—an infliction which is only held *in terrorem* over the heads of bad subjects; but, in the eye of military law and military usage, the terms *good* and *bad* are frequently confounded. When

offences, which are very different in enormity, in popular opinion, are equally subject to severe punishments, the gradations of iniquity are destroyed. Moral virtue may be adjudged and punished as military vice. The following example appears to be a conversion of this kind.

"In the year 1805, an *impressed seaman*, belonging to a ship in the West Indies, received a letter from his father, announcing his being in a rapid decline, and desiring his son to hasten home, if possible, that he might see him before he died. The young seaman determined to run all risks, in order to gratify his dying parent. He accordingly deserted from a watering party, but was retaken, conveyed on board, and slightly punished. He again fled from the ship, was brought back, and received a more severe flogging. Being detected in the third attempt to escape, he was brought before a court-martial, which, according to the Articles of War, might have adjudged the culprit to be hung at the yard-arm. Taking, however, into consideration the youth of the prisoner, and his having been recently impressed into the Service, together with the account he gave of his motive for deserting, the court sentenced him to be flogged round the fleet, and to receive four hundred lashes on board or alongside of such ships as the Commander-in-Chief might appoint. Sir Alexander Cochrane, however, was as merciful as he was brave, and there is not a braver man in the British Navy. Still it was necessary to make examples, to repress the spirit of desertion, if not disaffection, which characterised some of the hastily-raised ships' companies at that period. The Admiral, therefore, remitted one-fourth of the punishment, and the remaining three hundred lashes were ordered forthwith to be inflicted. ['*This tender mercy sounds very cruel.*'—(Proverbs, xiv., 10).]

"The fatal morning at length arrived. The young criminal's back, which had scarcely healed since his former floggings, was quickly laid raw beneath the sharp strokes of the whip-cord. Possibly, the torture might have been endured but for the intervals in which it was suspended between one ship and another. By these cruel interruptions the benumbed flesh was repeatedly restored to sensation, and the miserable culprit frequently fainted under excess of suffering. The attending Surgeon, distressed at the scene, knew not how to determine for the best. It appeared less humane to suspend than to continue the punishment, because, as the sentence *must be executed*, there seemed real mercy in inflicting the whole number of lashes at once*. At length, however, the back became so badly lacerated, that the flesh quivered under every stroke of the whip—the head of the sufferer fell senseless upon his bosom—the punishment was suspended—the criminal removed to the hospital, where the heat of a tropical climate produced gangrene, and in two days after he expired."—(*United Service Journal*, 1830).

In this instance, the author thinks, "blame could hardly attach to

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* The authority of the Admiralty is required to remit a portion of a sentence awarded by a court-martial in this country. The following is a copy of a letter from the Admiralty, authorising the remission of part of a sentence,, half of which had been temporarily superseded:—

"Admiralty Office, May 17th, 1780.

"SIR,—I have communicated to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of yesterday's date, informing them, that as the two seamen, named in the margin, had been sentenced by a court-martial to receive 500 lashes, for mutinous behaviour on board the Invincible, you had excused one half of the punishment to be inflicted upon them, and recommending, for the reasons therein mentioned, as objects deserving their Lordships' pardon, in return I am commanded by their Lordships to signify their direction to you to remit the remainder of their punishment. (Signed) "PHILIP STEPHENS.

"Admiral Sir Thomas Pye."

any person. The Captain did not bring the culprit to trial till his third offence—the court-martial commuted the capital penalty—the Admiral mitigated the severity of the sentence—a skilful and humane Surgeon superintended the punishment—every spectator shed tears of pity—and yet a comparatively innocent being was openly tortured to death, under the authority of an inhuman and antiquated custom." Homicide was perpetrated; but having been accomplished according to law, none of the perpetrators were considered legally responsible. Can anything be advanced in favour of a usage which sanctions so murderous a punishment as flogging round the fleet? It has been said, that death is *of all dreadful things the most dreadful;* but certainly such a punishment as has been described, is much more dreadful than a sentence of death. Montesquieu observes, that "there are two sorts of corruption—one, when the people do not observe the laws, the other when they are corrupted by the laws—an incurable evil, because it is in the very remedy itself." Strange as it may appear, the fact is not the less certain, that in the Army and the Navy, "*les loix auront à punir les crimes qu'elles auront fait naître.*" To enforce oppressive usages, or to multiply laws, is to multiply crime; and although the great majority of military crimes are not breaches of the moral laws, it is considered essentially necessary that they should be punished. To multiply laws is, therefore, to multiply human punishments—in other words, human miseries.

The young seaman in question was, in the first instance, pressed into the service, and then obviously flogged to death; but as the infliction was conducted "according to the laws and customs in such cases used at sea," on board His Majesty's ships and vessels of war, the homicide will not be attributed to the members of the court-martial, or the agents who carried the sentence into effect. But it is difficult to exculpate a court-martial the members of which have complete discretionary power in regard to the amount of punishment, for sentencing a man to receive such a fearful infliction. There is no other authority for the mode of torture called "flogging round the fleet," with studied intervals, introduced to increase the agony, but ancient custom; and if this be admitted as a sufficient reason for its continuance, the same precedent might justify a revival of the punishments ordered by Richard I., whereby, if a man was convicted of theft, boiling pitch was to be poured upon his head, and down of feathers shaken over it;—both practices deriving their existence from the same source,—the ignorance, the barbarity, and the inhumanity of the people who lived in the age in which they originated and were practised.

Sir Richard Steele, who served long as a Marine officer, after stating the circumstance of seven men belonging to the Edgar having been sentenced *to go through the fleet,* thus describes the consequences of that terrible punishment:—

"I believe no man has ever been known to hold up his head after going through the fleet. The heavy launch is fitted with a triangle, to which the wretch is tied, as if to a cross. It takes some hours to row (sometimes against wind and tide) through the fleet. The torture is, therefore, protracted till, to use a sailor's phrase, 'their very soul is cut out.' After this dreadful sentence they almost always die."

Justice towards both officers and men demands, that while our civil

laws are undergoing revision, and gradually being adapted to the more humane spirit of improved civilization, the naval code and naval usages should not be left as monuments of a period of comparative barbarity.

The infliction of corporal punishment a second time, under one and the same sentence, having been declared to be illegal in the Army, the practice has long fallen into disuse, and for some time it has been interdicted; but, so far as I know, second punishments have not been prohibited in the Navy. In the Army a soldier is now considered as having expiated his offence when he shall have undergone, *at one time*, as much of the corporal punishment to which he has been sentenced as, in the opinion of the medical officer in attendance, he has been able to bear. The following account of the infliction of a second punishment for the same offence is given by "An Old Officer" of the Navy, in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine for 1834, page 320:—

"Flogging round the fleet," says our author, "is a punishment which is still in existence, and is evidence that all we hear of the *boot* and other instruments of torture, the horrors of the Inquisition, &c., is not mere fiction. I shall endeavour to give the reader an idea of the horrible transaction, which, in my seventeenth year, made such a lasting impression on my youthful mind, that it can never be obliterated on this side of the grave.

"It was at a few minutes before eight o'clock in the morning when the First Lieutenant of the ship ordered me to take charge of the launch, and see the punishment carried into effect. Had he given me orders to mount the sides of an enemy's frigate, at the head of a launch's crew, it would not have distressed me half so much, as I might have considered that my good luck might bring me a Lieutenant's commission; but here was a service devoid of honour and full of painful consequences, from which, however, there was no chance of escape. I must needs obey; and the heaviest, bitterest hour of my life was when I stepped into the boat to superintend the infliction of *five hundred lashes* on the back of poor Evan Evans, a half-idiot Welshman. The men on board were ordered up to the rigging, so that every person on board might see the whole operation. The Captain, taking off his hat, which was followed by all on board and in the boats, which were lying on their oars, within earshot, then proceeded to read the sentence of the court-martial. This effected, the Boatswain of the ship himself stepped into the launch; the blanket was removed from the culprit's shoulders, and he, the Boatswain, inflicted the first twelve lashes. The poor fellow screamed, and groaned, and struggled; but all this, like the struggles of the dying sheep under the knife of the butcher, passed unheeded. The Boatswain returned on board, and two Boatswain's Mates came down and completed the number of fifty lashes. The blanket was immediately thrown over his shoulders; the people were piped down out of the rigging; I gave the word of command to shove off, and the boats which took the launch in tow began to row towards the Admiral's ship, the drummer striking up the Rogue's March. The origin of this idea of having music in the boat was, no doubt, to drown the groans of the sufferer, lest the ordinary feelings of humanity should revolt against the barbarous practice of so mutilating the body of a fellow-creature. A quarter of an hour elapsed, during which the poor Welshman's groans mixed with the vile sounds of the drum, and we were again alongside of a large two-decked ship, the men of which exhibited themselves in the rigging on our approach. The towing-boats lay on their oars; we hooked on to the ship, and three stout fellows jumped into the launch, each with a new cat-o'-nine-tails ready in his hand, prepared to expend his strength on the back of the sufferer. Th[illegible] ieutenant of the ship came to the gangway. I handed him [illegible] which he read aloud to the crew, and the Boatswai[illegible] ts

ready for the infliction. The cats, as I have just observed, were new; their lashes or tails were made of strong white cord, just the thickness of a common quill, and the glue, or size, which is worked into the cord, had not been removed by soaking in water. They curdled up, and were literally almost as stiff as wires. As officer of the boat I objected to their being used for the first time on the poor man, and others were procured which had told many a tale of suffering. He looked at me gratefully, and said, in a weak voice, 'Thank ye, Sir.' The blanket was removed, and I observed the poor fellow shudder as the cold air struck the bleeding sore on his flesh: the next moment a heavy lash fell upon it, and his screams were agonizing. He received a dozen lashes, and then began to cry out for water. The punishment was stopped till he had taken some. He afterwards told me that at this period the thirst he felt became intense, and that each lash caused a *violent burning pain at his heart*, and seemed to fall like the blows of a large stick on his body, but that the flesh was too *dead* to feel that stinging smart he felt at first and when the flogging was renewed. *The same scene was repeated alongside two other ships*, with the like interval of misery to the sufferer and of disgust and vexation to myself. My reflections, indeed, were painful enough; for I utterly condemned myself for ever becoming one of the many unfeeling wretches who were so seriously occupied in torturing this poor wretch. Perhaps many others felt as disgusted as I did. *Two hundred lashes* had now been inflicted with a cat-o'-nine-tails, or EIGHTEEN HUNDRED STROKES with a cord of the thickness of a quill. The flesh, from the nape of the neck to below the shoulder-blades, was one deep purple mass, from which the blood oozed slowly at every stroke; a low groan escaped, and the flesh quivered with a sort of convulsive twitch, the eyes were closed, and the poor man began to faint. Water was administered, and pungent salts applied to his nostrils, which presently revived him in a slight degree. At this period I gave the Doctor a hint, by asking the Master-at-Arms, in a loud tone, how many lashes the prisoner had received. 'Two hundred lashes, exactly, Sir,' was the reply. I knew this very well, but it answered the purpose; for I saw the Doctor look at me, and then ordered him to be taken down. This was instantly done, and I ordered a fast boat, in the vicinity, to take him on board. The poor fellow was laid on some blankets in the stern-sheets, the sails hoisted, and in a quarter of an hour he was in his hammock in the sick berth, and the Doctors were engaged dressing his wounds. *Five weeks* after this I was again compelled to superintend a further mutilation of the back of poor Evans. This time he looked more miserable than ever; his frame was shrunken and his cheeks fallen, and, when his shirt was removed, *I observed that the wounds were barely healed over*, and that all about the sides of them there were dark discolourations, which indicated a state of disease. I was surprised that the medical men allowed him to be taken out again for punishment. The first six lashes, given by the arm of a herculean Irishman, brought the blood spirting out from his old wounds, *and then almost every blow brought away morsels of skin and flesh.* It would disgust the reader to detail this second flogging. Suffice it to say the poor fellow fainted when he had received another *one hundred and fifty* lashes; but, the Surgeon deeming him still capable of a little more punishment, another thirty-three were inflicted. A second faint and convulsive action of the eyes put an end to his torture. He was removed to the guard-ship, and, having taken *three hundred and eighteen* lashes, the remaining *one hundred and seventeen* were remitted by order of the Admiral. The ship sailed for a cruise in the North Sea; and some months after we heard that poor Evan Evans had been sent to the prison of the Marshalsea, where he fell into a consumption and ended his days. This was just what I expected; for it was clear that the first flogging had given the death-blow to the unfortunate Welshman."

The Old Officer thus concludes,—

"I think that any argument against the system of *torturing* our seamen would have little effect with those readers whose minds are not made up to condemn it after perusing the above account, which is not in the slightest degree exaggerated; and I have no observation to make to those who have, like myself, already determined that it is as offensive to humanity as it is contrary to good policy."

Such is an account of the punishment of flogging through the fleet, by an old officer. To exhibit the true character of the punishment in question he has considered it necessary to describe the mode of its infliction in detail. We may form a very different estimate of a measure when we contemplate it in a general way, and when we examine it particularly. War, for example, in the abstract, is, in popular opinion, considered an honourable and glorious pursuit; but if we examine the subject more particularly, we shall find that practical hostilities consist of one man endeavouring to push his bayonet into the body of another man, of whom he knows nothing, or of shooting him through the head. Viewed in this light, war may make a somewhat different impression.

I may here observe that the punishment of flogging round the fleet has not yet been abolished, nor has it fallen into disuse. A court-martial was held on board Her Majesty's ship Minden, at Hong Kong, on the 5th January, 1844, to try two seamen for desertion, Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, C.B., being President. They were both found guilty, and each was sentenced to receive one hundred lashes.

On the morning of the 9th January the yellow flag, the signal of punishment, was displayed from the Agincourt, the gun was fired, and fourteen boats, manned and armed, assembled to attend the punishment, which was executed in the usual barbarous manner. Notwithstanding the cruel character of the Chinese punishments, the inhabitants witnessed the exhibition with astonishment.

I come now to describe the summary punishments inflicted at the discretion of a Captain or commanding officer, "according to the laws and customs in such cases used at sea;" and, first in order, I have to give an account of flogging at the gangway.

1. *Flogging at the Gangway.*—"This punishment," says Mr. M'Arthur, "is not so severe in the Army as in the Navy." He thinks one dozen of lashes applied to the bare back, by a Boatswain's Mate, furnished with a naval cat-of-nine-tails, is equivalent to at least fifty lashes laid on by a drummer with a military cat. This arises not so much from the expertness of one executioner over another in the mode of laying on his lashes, as from the comparative thickness, hardness, and greater dimensions of the one instrument over the other, aided, no doubt, by the superior strength of the Boatswain's Mate, when compared with that of a drummer.

Mr. M'Arthur thinks the inquiring mind may be apt to ask, whence does this difference of severity in the punishment with a naval cat-of-nine-tails arise? A very natural question certainly. He seems to find no difficulty in satisfying himself that the cause is obvious.

"When we reflect," says he, "that no inferior courts-martial, analogous to regimental ones, are admitted in the Navy, and that a Captain or Commander of any of His Majesty's ships is restricted, by the printed instructions, from inflicting any more than *twelve* lashes upon the bare seaman for any minor offence; and that, if the fault should d

punishment, he is directed to apply for a court-martial. Hence it has been the ancient practice and usage in the *Navy* for Commanders to have the cat-of-nine-tails made of cord of a certain weight and texture, that the same force or power, applied to one lash, is equal to four of the common cat used in the *Army*."

According to this theory a Captain ought not to sanction the use of the large cat when he inflicts a sentence above twelve lashes; and it ought not to be employed when a man is flogged round the fleet; but in practice the large, or navy-cat, is employed under all circumstances. Unlimited and irresponsible power has a much greater tendency to increase than to meliorate the pains and penalties of naval usages,—"the laws and customs used at sea;"—and the enormously large cat of the Navy is only a part and parcel of the discretionary power with which officers are invested, and which has been used sometimes very indiscreetly.

Notwithstanding the prohibition of the printed instructions, Captains frequently inflicted several dozen lashes at a time, especially where an offence could be considered as falling under different articles. Upon this latter construction a seaman may be punished with three dozen for getting drunk, which offence falls under the 2nd article, and in that state may disobey his officer, and quarrel or fight with some person in the fleet, which brings him under the 22nd and 23rd articles. What will ancient practice and usage not justify!

The cat-of-nine-tails in the Navy, according to Dr. William Burney, editor of an edition of Falconer's Marine Dictionary (1816), is composed of nine pieces of line, or cord, about half-a-yard long, fixed upon a piece of thick rope for a handle, and having three knots on each, at small intervals, the first being near the end. The cat which I have seen used appeared to be considerably larger in dimensions than the cat described by Dr. Burney.

By the existing regulations or usage of the Navy, the Captain or Commander of every ship or vessel is authorized to inflict corporal punishment on any seaman, marine, or boy, by warrant under his hand; but until lately he might order a man to the gangway to be flogged, without the formula of a warrant, whenever he thought it necessary to do so; and it was the usage of the Service to direct corporal punishment to be inflicted immediately, sometimes even by torch-light, or within a very brief period after an offence had been committed.

As an example of what was done in the summary way in the Navy, and, by inference, of what might be done with comparative impunity, I may state the following fact:—The late Admiral Cornwallis, who was commonly known in the Navy by the sobriquet of Blue Peter, came upon deck one day after dinner, and having found fault with something which was going on, he ordered the Lieutenant, who was the officer of the watch, to be flogged at the gangway, which was accordingly executed forthwith. Having been informed next day of the circumstance, it was with difficulty that he would credit the statement; but the exhibition of the officer's back was proof irresistible. The Admiral then took a cane, or staff, and, presenting it to the officer, said, "I have disgraced you, and, as the only reparation I can make, I have to beg that you will lay it on my shoulders." The officer declined doing so. Through the

interest of the Admiral the Lieutenant was soon after appointed to a lucrative situation, namely, to be a Collector of Excise in Scotland.

Some very judicious measures have been adopted by the Admiralty, of late years, to abolish cruelty and restrain severity. Ever since 1811 each Captain has been directed to forward a quarterly report of punishments inflicted by his order, specifying the nature of the offence and the number of lashes; and lately a custom has been pursued of demanding special explanations, in all cases where the punishment has exceeded four dozen lashes. The warrant which the Captain issues, before a man is punished, details the nature of the offence, together with the evidence, and all the other circumstances that are necessary to form a judgment of the case.

Another very important rule or usage, for restraining severe or inconsiderate punishments, has been adopted, namely, never to punish a man the same day on which an offence has been committed.

MILITARY LITERATURE.

"Military science is not the growth of a day, nor is there any nation so rich and populous that, despising it, can rest secure."

(Continued from No. 187, page 203.)

In our last Article we attempted briefly to make more generally known the judicious remarks contained in "Lettere Militari," and our attention will now be directed to a French work, printed but a very few years after the former publication; thus shall we be enabled to compare the views and opinions of the two foreign authors; and may their attempts to improve the military systems of their respective nations have some influence on our countrymen, and induce them to study the theory of warfare, instead of blindly satisfying themselves that in the brunt of battle talent will accompany enthusiasm, courage supply the place of judgment, or strategy and tactics meteor-like enlighten the understanding and endow with military knowledge the individual appointed to command a gallant body of men, the success of whose achievements mainly depends on the fiat of one too often unworthy of the high and important post he occupies, and who, by his want of foresight, ignorance of the simplest rules of tactics, and perhaps wilful obstinacy in refusing to acquire science by the experience of others, heartlessly and unnecessarily sacrifices the lives of his devoted followers to cover the errors of his injudicious movements, or to retrieve the fading glories of the day.

The work at present under our notice, as well as "Lettere Militari," necessarily contains much matter that, in consequence of the alteration in the equipment of the troops, and, in some few instances, the improvement in the mode of carrying on the various operations of warfare, may be considered obsolete; we shall therefore endeavour merely to select those passages which may either suggest desirable alterations in existing systems, or, by their very contrast to those now in operation, may manifest the progressive advance of military science.

Taking it for granted that few of our readers are not conv-

with the French language, we shall occasionally make known the opinions of our author (the Marquis of Silva) in his own words, and in the remaining portion of the review of "Pensées sur la Tactique, et sur quelques autres parties de la Guerre," 1768, the various sentiments and views will be conveyed as briefly and perspicuously as the nature of the subject will permit.

ARTICLE I.—*Preliminary Reflections.*

All knowledge acquired by officers will be sterile and unprofitable if unaccompanied by the perception of the true laws on which the result of manœuvres depend, and to which theory is indebted for its most certain data and most extended views. It is therefore clear that those to whom are confided the command of armies, ought, instead of trusting to chance, to substitute these lucid and correct laws for the imbecile experience of a blundering practice, by which partial glimmering but few officers, although grey-headed in the Service, can profit, this being dependent on a chain of events that few individuals can control. How, then, can practitioners devoid of principles, whose only knowledge is derived from what they have seen, and that not clearly,—how, we ask, can these men act wisely on emergencies which they have never previously seen? Some persons discard theory, considering that many of its principles will not be required. The illusion of this idea is evident; circumstances, it is true, will not at all times permit a strict compliance with rules, but perfection consists in approaching this desirable object as nearly as possible, if it is not quite attainable; and errors multiply in proportion to the distance from it. Practice is doubtless necessary, but, abandoned to itself, its sphere becomes very limited; should it endeavour to pass the circumscribing boundaries without a guide, its steps will be wavering and uncertain, seldom advantageous, and more rarely perfect. Another class of men adopt principles, it is true, but only such as are equivocal and delusive, being unable to distinguish the correct from those which they arbitrarily place in juxta-position with their false conceptions. Prejudices, errors, contradictions, and their attendant consequences, ever await these benighted mortals.

ARTICLE II.—*The fundamental Principle of Tactics.*

A nation to whom war, from the example of the Romans, has become a meditation, and peace an exercise, has attracted the attention of all Europe. The reputation of its discipline, and of its victories, the fruit of this discipline, has excited in other nations a strong desire of imitation. It is at length admitted, that troops cannot become well disciplined by mere garrison duty, and by the routine of parades and drills: soldiers thus instructed will always be vanquished by those accustomed to manœuvres and military operations on a more wide and extended scale. All the world has imagined that the discipline and tactics so highly valued must be free from faults; a little attention and examination would, however, have manifested that the above-mentioned boasted tactics were almost as defective, or at least as uncertain, as those of other nations, and that the acquired superiority has been owing to the continual practice of movements, which rendered the troops capable of performing correctly the same manœuvres which other less experienced soldiers did but execute imperfectly, if at all; being more-

over indebted for its superiority to the military genius of its monarch, who, in himself a host, was able to compensate for much that the troops did not efficiently execute.

I shall endeavour to prove my judgment correct, commencing with the assertion that, from the manner in which soldiers are now armed, it is absolutely impossible that tactics can be perfect. We must, therefore, in the first instance, correct the imperfections of the weapons, and render the power to be derived from them commensurate with the principles and effects of manœuvres. To this must all our efforts be directed, this point which, since the time of the Greeks and Romans, has escaped the observation of tacticians: is it therefore surprising that the theory of moderns never accords with the practice? The tactics of the Romans were superior to those of other nations from the perfection of their arms; the form, the temper, the weight, the dimensions of their swords, their darts, their javelins, their pikes, their shields, were improved as often as experience evinced their defects and the superiority of the weapons of conquered nations. The Gauls, on the contrary, no less brave, no less warlike, but much less reflective, have been vanquished on account of their tactical errors—errors originating in the imperfections of their arms, which they have neglected to improve; for years the system of the Gauls has been imitated, no nation venturing to copy that of the Romans.

Article III.—*The Objects of Tactics.*

The aim of the principles of tactics ought to be to enable a body of troops to act with the most perfect order, the utmost celerity, and irresistible strength. It becomes necessary, therefore, to examine the causes which impede the attainment of these three objects. With respect to order and celerity, the fault is owing to the front being too much extended in proportion to the depth; and with reference to the impulse and effect, the errors are to be attributed to the imperfection of the weapons—an imperfection that renders depth totally useless. The formation of the Roman cohorts was superior to that of our battalions; the small extent of the front enabled them rapidly to correct any wavering, and the gradation of arms, being proportionate to the respective depths of the files, gave weight and force to the impulse of the various movements. This enabled them to triumph over the Carthaginians, Greeks, Asiatics,—in short, over the formidable phalanx which appeared capable of balancing the fortune of Rome.

If the heart of the soldier were consulted, we should ascertain that the success or failures in warfare were mainly to be attributed to the disposition of his mind, which renders him either courageous or fearful; and that much of this sensation is dependent on the order in which the army is drawn up, and on the efficiency and quality of his weapon. As soon as he experiences its want of power, he is half vanquished, and incapable of that courageous resolution that can often repair the errors committed by the General. Let us briefly pass in review the ordinary method of ranging troops. Wavering battalions, with widely-extended fronts, having no depth, and without support in their rear; infantry entirely separated from the cavalry; arms which render useless the most judicious formations, and limit altogether impulsive movements; flanks exposed and little capable of defence; inevitable tardiness, and

confusion in manœuvres; lines stretching to such a distance, that their destination is chimerical, they being, as it were, expressly placed so that the defeat of one should ensure that of the others—is there in all this exposition an iota to give confidence and courage to the troops?

It has been endeavoured to remedy a portion of these defects by the formation of bodies of great depth, and the merit of such columns has been highly extolled; they are undeniably of utility in certain cases, and conforming to rules and dimensions, differing a little from those prescribed, but they can only obtain the desired praise by availing themselves of the new constitution which I purpose hereafter to describe. For what benefit is derived from the depth with weapons similar to those now in use, which add nothing to the impulse of the front rank, and render the rear ranks incompetent; from which cause these boasted columns, organized expressly for occasions that require massive strength to carry into effect a powerful operation, attain so inefficiently their object, and serve only to facilitate the destructive ravages of artillery, for their attack, gratuitously imagined irresistible, producing not the effect expected, they are forced either to remain as butts for the fire of the enemy, or to retire with their ranks broken and confused. The soldier who sees around him disorder and vain efforts made to remedy it, loses his high bearing, and accelerates by his timidity the defeat that to him appears inevitable; and thus the formation, considered the acme of order, becomes totally the reverse.

Article IV.—*Corps of Infantry.*

To each division a colour should be attached, and be placed in the centre; moreover, to mark distinctly the front (thirty-six yards), two points of view, at the extremity of the wings, should be selected; at each of which Corporals of wings should be stationed, armed with a species of pike, of the height of the colours, and differently painted for each division. By thus establishing these three points, there would be no difficulty in preserving distances, and retaining the alignement; in resuming it after passing a defile; in rallying, if broken during the engagement; in executing the boldest and most rapid movements, without fear of disorder; and these advantages would be common to the whole battalion, which, composed of lines but little extended, and though distinctly separated, still forming but one front, will have neither wavering, unwieldiness, nor confusion to apprehend. Those who have witnessed the present organization, know well that scarcely have the troops advanced some paces, when the long and weak battalions become shaken, and disorder ensues, especially if the ground is uneven; for the soldiers, ignorant at what distance they are from the colours, and from the flanks of their own division, press sometimes on the right, at others on the left, hurry forward, or hang back, and the ranks soon become curved and irregular—in short, the battalion is broken and obliged to halt. Should the enemy then charge, defeat would follow; for, even supposing that the disordered mass has sufficient courage to attempt to rally, as there is no extent of front clearly defined, the confused body of soldiers can only form themselves around the colours, perceiving which, the enemy has but to break through, scatter, and totally defeat their impotent antagonists.

Article V.—*Arms of the Infantry.*

The best Generals of the present age have clearly perceived the imperfections of the arms, but have made only vain efforts to remedy them, for they have not sufficiently directed their attention to the most important object of tactics, namely, the simultaneous impulse of the ranks, which must be obtained by the gradation of arms. They have only deemed it necessary to have recourse again to pikes, a weapon for some time nearly obsolete; but in thus employing arms, by their length more adapted for resistance than for direct impulse or shock, they have omitted their chief value, and the necessity of gradation in the means of using them. It is only necessary to examine the lances of the Macedonian phalanx and the arms of the legion, to become convinced that the impulsive force which resulted from the mode of organization and attack was the principal object of ancient tactics; in each of these bodies the weapons having dimensions proportionate to the several ranks.

If, therefore, we are desirous to give to our troops similar power, we should endeavour with appropriate arms to produce the desired effect, which can never be obtained by the general adaptation of muskets with bayonets all of the same length. To remedy this, let the arms be made suitable to each rank; in the front rank, the musket being 5 feet long, and the bayonet 2 feet; in the second, the musket being 5 feet 4 inches, and the bayonet 2 feet; in the third, the musket being 5 feet 6 inches, and the bayonet 3 feet. By adopting these weapons, the want of pikes would never be experienced, to which they are far superior on account of their fire for distant engagements, and their equal efficiency for hand-to-hand combats. It may be argued that they would be too heavy; but to this I reply that they would not be equal in weight to the pikes and spears of the ancients. Refer to the period when Roman discipline flourished in full vigour, and you will find that the soldiers, when merely exercising, were in the habit of carrying double the weight they did when facing the enemy; contrary to our system of striving to render the arms light, the Romans were desirous to increase their weight; and in reading the history of these warriors, we might almost imagine they were physically a different race of men to the soldiers of modern times; such, however, was not the case; the nature of each is similar, but the education and discipline totally opposite.

It being my intention hereafter to allude to the strength of artillery required for each corps, I shall now only observe that each division should have posted on its right flank, when in action, a 4-pounder, and on its left a howitzer, or small mortar; the fire from these pieces being oblique, in order to increase the effect.

With respect to defensive arms or armour, the present custom of not employing any appears to be both contrary to the dictates of humanity and the good of the state. I mean not to express my approbation of the contrary excess manifested during the period when men were so encased in armour that they could scarcely move—thus were not the Greeks and Romans armed for conflict; and taking them as our model, the expense would not be great to the Sovereign, or the weight too oppressive to the infantry; let the breast and stomach be protected by

a plate that would be capable of resisting the stroke of swords, &c., and even the fire of musketry at a certain distance; but no guard should be provided for the back, in order that soldiers should have every motive to induce them to face the enemy.

Article VI.—*Impulse, Shock, or Onset.*

Hitherto it is apparent that tactics have been made conformable to the nature of weapons employed, whereas, to render tactics perfect, the arms should be those from which the most powerful impulsive force may be expected, such as we have before alluded to, and which will be further commented on.

Article VII.—*Impulsive Attack of Infantry and Cavalry.*

We have as yet only considered the onset between infantry and infantry, let us now view them relative to the charge of cavalry; which, despised by the Roman infantry, is so much feared by our foot-soldiers, who have long since ceased to know their innate power. Many officers assume that the strength of infantry, when opposed to cavalry, consists only in its fire, although they have themselves often seen that this very fire arrests not the charge of cavalry. They even maintain that there is such a disproportion between the relative power of these two bodies of troops, that it is impossible for infantry to resist cavalry. We do not attempt to deny that this may be correct according to the present mode of arming infantry, whose dread of being broken, and trodden under foot by the horses, is but too well founded. But if this were invariably the case with every nature of arms, and under every discipline, the infantry of the Greeks and Romans, armed with lances instead of fire-arms, that is to say, better armed than our present troops, never could have withstood the enemy's cavalry, whereas the Velites, who had arms equivalent to muskets, &c., would alone have been in a perfect state of defence. Since, however, the ancients were not indebted to fire-arms for the power of opposing cavalry, and that the Roman infantry, undismayed by masses of horses, the violence, and the rapidity of the charge, not only manfully stood its ground, but even ventured to commence the assault, it is evident that the difference can only result from the nature of the weapons and the *modus operandi.*

According to the present system the infantry merely avails itself of its front rank, armed with weapons so short that their impulsive strength can produce but little effect. This rank being, therefore, very inferior to that of the leading rank of the cavalry, it cannot, of course, resist the charge; but let the soldiers be provided with the arms, and act according to the system we suggest, and rapidly would vanish all the erroneous prejudices which have arisen from the imperfection of the arms of infantry combined with the absurd system of modern tactics. Our foot-soldiers would then not only sustain the charge of cavalry, but in their turn would become formidable by their onset when opposed to mounted troops. It has been observed that a horse, wounded by a musket-ball, or shot, becomes more excited, and almost always rushes forward, whereas the very appearance of a pointed weapon causes him to halt or advance with fear: thus seeing distinctly the bristled front of our proposed hedge of bayonets, (opposing six points to each horse,) would the cavalry venture to precipitate themselves on this brilliant

chevaux-de-frize, within which the firm and intrepid infantry stand secure?

It is unnecessary to enlarge on the effect of the fire of the respective troops, we will, therefore, briefly observe that the cavalry discharges are weak, irregular, uncertain, and, in short, little to be dreaded, whereas the fire of the infantry is very destructive to man and horse, by its havoc causing terrific disorder in the ranks, and thus facilitating the effect to be produced by a gallant and resolute charge. Evident, therefore, is the superiority which by our proposed armament the infantry would acquire over the cavalry, not only from its fire, but also from its strength in charges. In conclusion, we will quote the following opinion of a clear-sighted author:—

"Il me semble que plus une nation se rend savante dans l'art militaire, plus elle agit par son infanterie; et que moins elle le connôit plus elle multiplie sa cavalerie; c'est que sans la discipline l'infanterie n'est rien, au lieu que la cavalerie va toujours dans son désordre même."

Article VIII.—*Resistance.*

A soldier in motion having double the power of one halted in column, the most efficacious manner of opposing the enemy's onset is for the infantry to advance to the charge with all possible velocity; and contrariwise, the most certain mode of insuring a defeat is the system of passively remaining stationary, or impotently firing a few shots, instead of gallantly pressing forward on the enemy.

Article IX.—*Firing.*

Had it been proposed to any commander of the ancients to fight at a distance with fire-arms, instead of coming to close quarters with the enemy, would he not have ridiculed the proposition? Our Generals, on the contrary, seriously adopt this method, and, although the most able commanders raise their voices against the absurdity of it, the firing is not less valued. However injudicious may be this custom, the cause of it may be traced to the bad principle resulting from the nature of the arms now in the Service, which are so little adapted for hand-to-hand combat. Needless is it to assert that the enemy should without hesitation be met and charged; the troops clearly perceiving their own weakness and inability successfully to execute this movement, hesitate, and dare not attempt it. Were they, however, armed as I propose, they would feel that their weapons were specially adapted for charging, and would gallantly assault the enemy, with the full assurance that they would instantly penetrate through his ranks. The victory would then be secured; for the effect of cold steel is as certain and as complete as that of firing is dubious and imperfect. Those people who imagine that the Prussians were indebted to fire-arms for the chief portion of their glory, honour not justly these victorious combatants, and manifest that they are themselves more ignorant of facts than any Corporal of the Prussians, Austrians, or French, who were in the various engagements.

Although the manœuvres of troops ought ever to lead to the charge, (the true aim of arms and tactics,) I cannot, however, agree in opinion with those who consider it necessary altogether to refrain from firing in advancing towards the enemy; but though the troops should never

remain stationary in order to fire when they can cross weapons with their opponents, yet I maintain that discharges judiciously poured in during the advance must necessarily destroy some men, intimidate others, check their fire, and cause much disorder, thereby materially adding to the certain and glorious result of the subsequent charge. The best mode of firing is undoubtedly that which is the quickest, the simplest, and the least subject to accidents that may impede it. Thus all concerted firing by divisions and subdivisions, at present so much in vogue, the order of which is so much influenced by casualties, and attendant confusion, is valueless in the field of battle. A good opinion is formed of these symmetrical discharges in field-exercises, where their tranquil execution is not exposed to any accident that may affect it; but in the tumult of action, in the midst of thick smoke, stunning sounds, wounds, inattention of the officers commanding divisions, &c., &c., these, and various other impediments, arise to nullify the effect of such a mode of firing.

Advantages would be gained by causing the ranks to fire alternately, instead of simultaneously; for by observation it appears that soldiers killed by a general discharge are each covered with wounds, many of which would have been shared by the rear ranks, had the volley not been delivered by the whole division at once. The most simple, and most effective system would be to direct the double division (six deep) to fire by ranks. In the advance the light troops should continue firing until within eighty yards of the enemy, when they will retire by divisions; the front being then clear for the remainder of the army to commence operations (being within 140 yards), the five front ranks of the divisions will kneel down, and the sixth will fire; the fifth will then rise and fire; and the remaining ranks will similarly act, after which (the front rank having also reloaded) they will advance rapidly twenty paces, and again perform the same mode of firing; after which they will continue the advance at the double march about twenty yards, and fire as before directed, until within about sixty yards of the enemy, when the three rear ranks only will pour in their fire consecutively (the three leading kneeling down), reload, and the divisions again move rapidly forward about thirty yards, when, should the enemy stand its ground, another similar volley will be fired, this last discharge being the signal for the hand-to-hand combat, when with bristled front and intrepid bearing the gallant soldiers rush forward on the enemy with unflinching bravery.

If, however, instead of passively awaiting the onset, the enemy should advance to meet it, the divisions must in that case halt at a greater distance than the last-mentioned thirty yards, in order to deliver the fire of the three leading ranks, after which the charge must be boldly effected with the full power of massive strength, and the superiority arising from the gradation of arms. All this will necessarily depend much on the relative distance from the enemy, on the nature of the intervening ground, and on the time required to pass over it; "c'est à celui qui commande d'avoir le coup d'œil assez juste pour faire exécuter à tems chaque manœuvre, et pour saisir le moment favorable."

ARTICLE X.—*The March of the Soldier.*

The necessity and importance of continually exercising the soldiers,

to enable them to perform long marches, cannot be too strongly impressed, remembering the assertion of Marshal Saxe, "Que c'est dans les jambes, et non dans les bras que consiste l'essentiel de l'exercise." On the steady and well-regulated motions of the arms much will nevertheless depend, for soldiers who carry their muskets badly will never be able to march correctly, or execute properly those manœuvres in which divisions should appear to be but one homogenous moving body.

Article XI.—*Evolutions and Manœuvres.*

I shall not enter into an analysis of the various evolutions and manœuvres, these being merely the elements of tactics; and my object being to confine my attention as much as possible to the manœuvres of armies on a grand scale. I have already stated the principles on which the theory of manœuvres is founded, the end of which is to gain time in every case, and under all circumstances of warfare, and to simplify, as well as to accelerate, the operations of troops. Those who execute them with the greatest facility and rapidity have an immense advantage over opponents whose movements, and even whose intended motions, they anticipate.

Article XIV.—*Heavy-armed Cavalry and Dragoons.*

Twenty squadrons of heavy cavalry will be sufficient for an army consisting of fifty thousand men, these mounted troops being only adapted for fighting in line; the horses in consequence must be strong and large, the movements solid and simple, and the weapons long and powerful. At present this species of cavalry is as badly armed as the infantry. Montecucoli and Marshal Saxe consider that they should have lances, and armour, and I agree with them in this opinion, especially with reference to the lances. Two thousand of these cavalry soldiers would then be more useful than eight thousand according to the existing system. Heavy dragoons participate in all the advantages derivable from the due employment of cavalry and infantry, uniting lightness with solidity, and possessing all the attributes of both these arms. Should this nature of cavalry be well disciplined, it dreads not the assault of heavy-armed cavalry, despises light dragoons, and, when necessary, acts efficiently as infantry. The Roman cavalry was almost entirely composed of dragoons.

Article XV.—*Marches of an Army.*

It is a general rule, though too little attended to, that an army ought not to occupy more ground on the march than would be required for the battle. One regulation, to which the utmost attention should be paid, is that all the troops composing a column in march should execute similar manœuvres, and precisely at the same points; by this uniformity well-regulated movements would take place, and all unnecessary extension and division of corps would be avoided. The roads leading to the new position should be carefully surveyed, the shortest being assigned to the infantry, these troops generally marching at least one-sixth slower than the cavalry. A commander ought not to be contented with merely examining maps, consulting the inhabitants of the respective localities, reconnoitring by means of his officers, causing plans to be drawn by engineers,—maps may be defective, the inhabitants may

be ignorant, officers may be deficient in ability and attention, engineers and their plans may not be quite correct. All these precautions may be necessary and indispensable, but a General should be cautious how he trusts without personal examination; no man sees clearly aided by the eyes of another: and it appears to me that a blind General is nearly on a par with the commander who confides implicitly to others.

The principal care of a General during the march should be to meditate intently on the various positions which the country offers, in order to impress them distinctly on his mind, to enable him to select the best field of battle in case of emergency. As soon as it is ascertained that the enemy is approaching with the intention of coming to an engagement, every effort should be made to relieve the troops of the various vehicles employed in the transport of baggage, justly named by the Romans *impedimenta;* these carriages, &c., materially retarding and influencing the power and the promptitude of manœuvring. The baggage being guarded and conveyed to a secure place in the vicinity, the troops are then better able to act efficiently and boldly.

Some days previous to a retreat the heavy baggage, supernumerary stores, any artillery not required, &c., &c., should be sent away in advance, under a sufficient escort. In the event of a defile having to be passed by a retreating army, troops should be ordered to occupy and strengthen it by abattis, a retrenchment, and also guns if requisite. The march should be concealed from the enemy, all the difficulties anticipated, and the time required for insuring the security of the army, and for enabling it to arrive at an advantageous position, be duly foreseen. The movements may be masqued by bodies of cavalry or infantry, and any stratagem be resorted to for the purpose of deceiving the opponents. When retiring before a victorious enemy, who is eager in the pursuit, the army should retreat by wings or divisions alternately, the first line, or front, halting to oppose the enemy during the march of the second, who, on arriving at its prescribed ground, halts, and prepares for action, to relieve the advanced divisions, which, passing through intervals in the fronted wing, march forward to occupy another position. Night is the most favourable time for retreating, if the enemy is within range; judicious precautions can then be better carried into execution, and the movements can be more easily concealed, fires, sentries, &c., being left in the encampment to mislead the judgment of the enemy. No military operation is more difficult, or confers more honour on a General, than a well-ordered and successful retreat.

Article XVI.—*Deployments.*

Of all the manœuvres of an army this is the most important, for, of two armies on a march, that which most promptly and efficiently completes this movement, will have a decided superiority over its less practised opponents. Previous to deploying the columns it must be observed whether their heads are in line, and whether the relative distance between each of them is correct. Should they be too much extended or too close, this must be rectified to prevent them occupying more ground than is required for forming line. Another very necessary precaution is, to deploy the army at such a distance from the enemy that it may not be requisite to make any alteration in the disposition, care being taken that the troops may not be liable to be attacked before the

formation is completed, the intermediate ground and the nature of obstacles between the armies being also thoroughly ascertained. A stratagem may be had recourse to by feigning to deploy the troops, which operation being commenced, advantage is taken of any mode by which the movement may be concealed from the enemy, and another deployment is rapidly executed, by which his flanks may be turned. Such unexpected manœuvres disarrange all his intended plans, cause confusion amongst his troops, and oblige him to alter his order of battle. The King of Prussia, having troops capable of executing deployments, almost always availed himself of them, especially at the battles of Prague and Leüthen.

Article XVIII.—*Battles.*

As much ability is manifested in avoiding battles as in carrying them into effect. Those should not be accepted which the enemy is interested in urging, the loss of which would be more injurious to your army than the success would prove advantageous; only offering battle supported by judicious and preconcerted arrangements, by movements ordered and having reference to a certain and fixed design, which engagements should take place independent of the will of the enemy. Forced battles have rarely a good issue, and generally more is lost than gained by actions of this nature, unless they are brought on by errors of your opponents, and advantage is taken of the most favourable moment: for this reason the most desirable battles are those which are forced upon the enemy.

When, after mature deliberation, you determine to bring on a general action, you should endeavour by scientific and unexpected manœuvres to bring the enemy into the position where you purpose the battle to be fought, and as soon as he occupies the intended ground let a general assault be given, without allowing him time to make a reconnoissance. Should your order of march have been conformable to that of the combat, the deployment of the army will be rapidly executed, and the troops will be available for all the dispositions, and for all the manœuvres, that the nature of the ground may demand.

Nothing is more absurd than the system of entirely separating the various natures of arms, which, thus rendered unable reciprocally to assist each other, are often obliged to engage the enemy in positions ill adapted to their respective powers; whereas, if cavalry and infantry are so posted as to support each other, and to alter their situations if required, they can alternately act, combine their manœuvres, and take every advantage of the ground, according to any circumstances which may occur during the engagement. Frivolous is the maxim, true in one sense and false in the other, though almost always imperfectly understood, that an army should be ranged for battle in order similar to that of the enemy; "ainsi l'arrangement d'un ordre de bataille, qui est la chose du monde la plus difficile, parce qu'il depend d'un infinité de combinaisons, et qu'il suppose un génie superieur, une tête pleine de capacité et de sagesse, devient une affaire de coutume fort aisée, qu'on voit souvent exécuter par des imbécilles."

All the troops should be employed during an engagement, that is to say, be available when their services are required: it is a gross fault to place the troops in such a situation that they are unable to act, having

their communication with the remainder of the army cut off. Some Generals have committed this error inadvertently, others by endeavouring to increase the enemy's difficulties, have added to their own, causing their men to occupy difficult posts without considering how they were to retire from them.

Should your strength be very inferior to that of the enemy, it would be advisable to retire before him to a woody or mountainous district, where by the localities you can strengthen your wings, and render useless, and even encumbering, the superior number of his troops. If, however, weak as you are, it becomes necessary to engage in an open country, you should endeavour to derive profit from every favourable point in the vicinity; a gulley, a hedge, rising ground, copses, can often secure or prevent a victory. When you are desirous that the whole front of your army should act against an enemy of superior strength, care must be taken that your order of battle is equally strong throughout, that your wings cannot be separated, and that your flanks are secure. Should you, however, wish to refuse the action at one point, to render another more powerful, the latter should have allotted to it the most open ground, giving the former the benefit derivable from a ravine, marsh, or any other natural obstacle; which may be masked by troops ordered to retire on the advance of the enemy.

If a detachment can be left undiscovered at a sufficient distance from the army, with orders to attack the flank of the enemy during the action, this unexpected assault will astound the opponents, and probably insure the victory. A very essential point in an engagement is the proper management of reserve troops, by means of which the enemy, worn out by repeated attacks, may be overthrown, or your own retreat may be covered. It is customary to post heavy ordnance on heights; but I would advise that these eminences should be occupied by light troops, lower ground being allotted to the batteries when circumstances permit it, merely giving to the guns the elevation necessary; for plunging firing is productive of very little benefit. If villages or houses be at the head or on the flanks of the army, they must be occupied by infantry, and be rendered strong, provided it is possible to retain them; but if these buildings are too distant, or not of masonry, they must be levelled, or burnt without delay, in order that the enemy may not avail himself of them, or that the smoke, during their conflagration, may not impede your motions when the attack has commenced. Some commanders strengthen the front of their positions with redoubts; this system may be advisable if sufficient time is allowed, if you purpose holding the same ground, or if the enemy is necessitated to attack you within your entrenchments. This concourse of circumstances is, however, very dubious, and the utility of constructing these redoubts is, therefore, very questionable, especially if the principles of our proposed tactics are adopted.

A General cannot correctly perform his own important duties on the field of battle, if he attends too minutely to that of other officers, to whom he should leave the execution of the various details, reserving all his chief attention for grand movements and extended views. He should moreover be as calm and self-collected as possible, watching every movement of the enemy to ascertain the satisfactory or unfortunate effect of his own attacks, to support, to rectify, and finally to

seize the most auspicious moment for a decisive blow. His orders should be clear and precise, and be conveyed by intelligent and trustworthy Staff officers. An order carelessly delivered by an Aide-de-camp, may cause the loss of a battle.

The commanders of the second line and of the reserve ought to possess the qualities of promptitude, vigour, and discernment, for they may often be called upon to act solely by their own judgment, to strengthen victorious troops, to reinforce or replace such as are driven back, to turn the flank of the enemy—in short, to take advantage of any success, or to remedy the disastrous effects which might attend a repulse. Seniority alone ought not to confer this important post on an officer who is devoid of talents and merit.

Although you may have the good fortune to break through the advanced line of the enemy, do not imagine that the battle is gained; pause not an instant, but, firm and united, charge the second line even with more vigour; and, vanquishing that also, permit not your troops to slacken their exertions, but continue steadily to drive the enemy before you; for the first line may have rallied in the rear of the second, or may have been reinforced by a powerful reserve. The rout being general, and victory certain, let a portion of the conquerors pursue the enemy, to complete his entire defeat and destruction. "Il faut penser comme César et Turenne, et croire n'avoir rien fait tant qu'il reste quelque chose à faire. Il n'y a que les sots qui fassent des ponts d'or de l'ennemi."

It is scarcely possible that troops armed and disciplined according to my proposed system, can be conquered by others armed and organised in the present manner, provided the former are properly commanded; supposing, however, that such a misfortune should occur, all the exertions of the General, when he feels assured he cannot retrieve the lost glory of the day, ought to be directed to the best mode of preventing a total defeat, by taking advantage of the most favourable time for his retreat, and by retiring with celerity and in good order to the post or defile, which he had selected previous to the engagement, in order judiciously to be prepared for every emergency that might take place. Should he have fought with a river in his rear, he will of course have prepared several bridges, and have correctly calculated the time required to arrive at the intended post, marching very rapidly, if at a considerable distance from the victorious troops, but slowly and cautiously if they are near, and within range of cannon. If the enemy's infantry, by an equally rapid march, advance within gun-shot, his troops must slacken their pace, and deliver their fire should the enemy open a discharge of musketry; and if the advanced guard of the enemy prepares to charge, his troops must, without hesitation, courageously and firmly bring their pieces to the charge, and dash forward on the advancing foe. Similar movements must be executed when pursued by cavalry, troops so much dreaded at the present period, the cause of which, as we have before manifested, is to be attributed to the imperfections of our arms; but the best cavalry in the world would in vain attempt to retard the retreat, or to penetrate divisions, armed as we have proposed.

Whether the retreat is commenced by the second line, or by alternate divisions or wings, a body of fresh troops must be ordered to cover

it; in doing which, every position that may be advantageous, and capable of checking the enemy, should be occupied, stratagems should be used, roads and bridges should be rendered impassable, abattis should be thrown up—in short, no precaution ought to be neglected that may tend to the security of the retreat. Thus, even after having lost the battle, you will retain your honour, and prevent your troops being depressed at their want of success. "Enfin, si la tête ne tourne point, l'on peut se mettre bientôt en état de prendre sa revanche, ou du moins de réduire l'ennemi à l'absurde, et de lui arracher tout le fruit de sa victoire."

MY FIRST SMELL OF GUNPOWDER, OR THE CAPTURE OF ANHOLT.

BY THE OLD MAN-O'-WAR'S MAN.

(Concluded from No. 188, page 418.)

THE Captain now left the deck, and was shortly after followed by most of the officers, while the First Lieutenant, calling the Boatswain's Mate, ordered him to pipe the yawlers away, in order to carry the women on shore.

"Turn them all up, Goff, and be smart about it, for we have not a minute to lose. Sullivan and his Corporals will assist you in rousing them on deck."

"And no more than need, in faith, if you knew them as well as I do," growled the great hulk of a fellow to himself, as he slowly walked forward, preparing his pipe for a powerful blast; "for, however well I may contrive to come on with the men, d—n me if I can make anything of the women worth speaking of. They've so many bewitching ways about them, and can gammon a fellow so easily with their fine sparkling eyes, musical honied tongues, and merry ivories, that they not only completely shut my pan, but put my pipe out altogether. However, dang it, here goes!" He then applied his pipe to his mouth, and made the air ring again, as he sung out, "*Away there, yawlers! All the women away!* D'ye hear, there, forward!" bawled he, as he descended to the main-deck, and bent his way to that favourite resort of the ladies, the galley, "D'ye hear the news, my beauties! Not another minute for a petticoat on board! So bundle up, bundle up, you little devils! On deck with every soul on ye! You can there give your palls a buss and a promise, and then ashore you go to the soldiers! Hurrah!" he sung out, running right in amongst them with extended arms and a wild mischievous eye, made the half-frightened, love-larking damsels instantly jump to their heels, like a covey of startled hares, and seek refuge below, within the precincts of their various messes.

To dislodge them from these,—their *sanctum sanctorum*,—and get them on deck, was a labour of some considerable time, and required to the full all the eloquence, as it tried the patience, of both Sullivan and his well-experienced Corporals; for the laughing beauties had their disordered flowing tresses to regulate, their garments to brace up, and some score or two of pins to employ, before they thought themselves

"summat fit to be seen!" Besides, on the score of small-talk and ready elocution they had a decided advantage over their teasing ejectors; and, as the matter happened, they either doled out in dulcet tones their honied compliments, or hurled their vociferous and reckless anathemas on their devoted heads, with an energy and a prodigality that was highly ludicrous. However, they were at length persuaded, and their van showed its slow reluctant front on deck, prepared to descend, after appropriate farewells, to the boats. This was a scene of excellent sport to most of the junior officers, who thronged the gangways to see these masculine women-kind flounder down the lofty vessel's side with all the easy carelessness of so many well-drilled devil-may-cares, and to hear, in answer to their witty remarks, replies either of such humorous irony and light-hearted gaiety as convulsed them with laughter, or of such pungent caustic severity as made not a few of them retire with a blush.

Everything being at length got ready, the First Lieutenant, who in the mean time had been pacing the quarter-deck with great impatience, directly gave the animating word, *Loose sails*, when the yards were instantly manned with rejoicing topmen, who speedily divested them of their well-blacked gaskets, which they wound up into fancy rolls, and tossed over in front of the yards, while they supported the loosened canvas on the yards with their arms. *Let fall—sheet home!* was the next command; and the pipes screamed,—the canvas fell,—and trotted to the yard-arms, while the yards ascended to their proper altitude with the persevering exactness of a huge piece of mechanism.

"Forecastle there!" sung out the animated officer, "stand by to cast off her bow-lashings, and ease her astern there,—*haul aft the jib-sheet!*"

These orders were immediately obeyed; and His Majesty's frigate, the saucy Whisk, as if overjoyed at her liberation, directly stood slowly out into the stream of the river, as proudly erect as the snow-white swans in the royal ornamental waters of St. James's gardens. The yards were now braced round to the favouring breeze, and away she went at an accelerated speed on her march to the world of waters. The day was beautiful, and the glorious sun, while he shed his effulgence on the neat and numerous villas, church-spires, and rural hamlets, that skirt the river's banks, and often seem to peep out from their surrounding foliage, like sparkling gems from an emerald sea, appeared to shine out this day with additional lustre, in order to remind the many who were taking their last fond look of some familiar and much-loved quarter, of the happy country they were leaving for a time, and generating in numbers of the more youthful anticipators of future renown those proud and spirit-stirring associations embodied in the poet's exclamation,—

"Oh, where is he that would not dare for such a land to fight!"

Having at length got clear of the river, and its numerous retarding craft, the Whisk rapidly made her way to the Nore, and passed through the assembled fleet, and under the Admiral's lee, with an *eclat* not a little enhanced by her new canvas and fresh paint-work, which, while it made some of the idlers in the guard-ship inquire, "What Johnny Newcome that was?" enabled another disappointed sprig of quality to answer, "Don't you know, Millson? Why, it is old ruffy Maccaw,—he

as stands at the capstan, there,—as proud, by heavens, as his feathered namesake. A spanking fine vessel, however, the Welchman has got, and the more's the pity, for, to my thinking, he's one of the spooniest, consequential, little morsels of conceit of all God Almighty's creatures." Fortunately for the speaker all this was unheard, and the Whisk and her commander, not a whit the worse, stood swimmingly on till she cleared the outward vessels, when, giving the Admiral a cracking salute, which was as promptly and smartly returned, she quickly pursued her onward way till the Nore and its shipping sank in the horizon, nor did she slacken her rapid career for an instant until she let go her anchor astern of the Admiral's ship in Yarmouth roadstead. Here, while his rejoicing ship's company luxuriated for a few days in a profuse supply of fresh vegetables, from my hospitable Lady's Garden, the Captain learnt the unwelcome news, that he was to head a convoy for the Baltic, which was then assembling from all quarters for that purpose. We repeat that this was *unwelcome news;* for we firmly believe there is not a more irksome duty in the whole round of the Service which a spirited officer undertakes with more reluctance than the care of a large convoy, which has to navigate for any distance the hostile coast of a bold and warlike enemy; for while, in justice to the underwriters and his own character, he is compelled to use the utmost vigilance in seeing, and even *enforcing*, the most implicit and ready obedience to those precautionary rules with which he has previously furnished every one of them, he often has the mortification of discovering that all this sedulous care for their welfare is far from conciliating the favour of the major part of the shipmasters under him, whose various vessels often vary as much in their degrees of speed as they do in their external appearance, —some of them bounding away ahead, at the signal to make sail, with all the speed and joyous alacrity of greyhounds newly slipped from the leash, while not a few, with their utmost exertions, would be seen endeavouring to follow, and dropping gradually astern, like so many asthmatic turnspits.

In a few days, nevertheless, the Whisk gave the appointed signal for her convoy, to the number of nearly three hundred sail, to get under weigh, in company with two small gun-brigs and the Nambypamby sloop-of-war. As soon as they were all clear of the roadstead the frigate ran up her anchor and followed them, and after stationing a gun-brig on each wing of the fleet to keep them together, and ordering the sloop-of-war to keep a sharp look-out and whip up the stragglers astern, she ran ahead of the whole, when placing herself in the van, and reducing her sail, she bore away with a fine favourable breeze for the Sound, under easy sail.

We thus proceeded favourably enough until one afternoon the Whisk, with the small island of Anholt on her weather-quarter, thought proper to make the signal for the convoy to close, the weather becoming hourly more gloomy and threatening, and the evening fog increasing rapidly.

"I do not know, gentlemen," said the Captain to his surrounding officers, "whether you will altogether approve of this proceeding, on account of the delay it may occasion; and I well know your most hearty good wishes will hail the hour with joy that frees you from further trouble with them. But I have always found it the wisest plan to take

the hint in time, particularly in foggy weather, and place my convoys in such a position that if they did little good they could do no harm."

There was small objection to this common-place remark, and as the headmost vessels unwillingly shortened sail abreast the island, in obedience to the signal, and the Captain and his officers were arranged on the quarter-deck, surveying the others as they came up, the island and its supposed force gradually became the subject of conversation.

"I've often wondered, Sir," remarked the First Lieutenant, in the course of the conversation that ensued, "how our lynx-eyed authorities have so long overlooked this paltry place, which stands a complete bar to our free passage into the Baltic, besides doing a vast deal of mischief among the traders who have annually to pass it."

"I can give no other answer to your remark, Hardy," replied the Captain smiling, "than the one you have yourself already hinted,—for it certainly is, as you say, a poor-looking place,—a complete sand-hill, indeed,—that would never pay the expense and trouble its possession would occasion."

"And yet we are told that its possession by the enemy occasions an annual loss of many thousands of pounds, even despite the most careful and vigilant convoy."

"Indeed! Ah, well, gentlemen, that certainly is news to me," went on the Captain, "for I candidly confess to you I have little practical knowledge of these waters, although my theoretical opinions teach me to expect little good of them. However, I am always ready, you all know, to give a useful hint my careful consideration; nor shall you find me wanting, in the present instance, in adopting any measure for the good of the Service your superior experience may suggest."

Here, however, there was a pause, none of the gentlemen appearing to wish even to hazard a *hint* to their Commander, until the Second Lieutenant, a fine, full-faced, good-humoured gentleman, after scrutinizing the countenances of all around him with an arch smile, suddenly came out with,—

"Well, Captain, since you have been so good as give the word, I do not see why you should not be answered, although possibly that duty might have fallen into better hands than mine. It has often been my luck now, Sir, both boy and man, to be off this island, and, generally speaking, always to be pretty similarly circumstanced as I am at present,—I mean as respects the accompaniment of a numerous convoy,—and upon the whole, Sir, I give you my honour, I consider the plan which Nicholls explained to us the best I have ever heard, and the one which ought to be immediately adopted for the final settlement of every possible disquietude in future. You must see, and every one must see who can form an opinion on the subject, that it every day becomes a question of more and more urgent importance; and I have not the smallest doubt that it will be taken up and acted on soon by some one or other of our spirited Commanders, who will thereby reap a rich and well-merited reward in the applause and approbation of the great mercantile interests of his grateful and admiring country."

"Heyday!" cried the Captain, pricking up his ears, "and what may be Nicholls's plan, which is to effect all this so speedily? I know Nicholls to be a very effective and clever officer,—a gentleman, I mean, who wishes to be useful;—but you must pardon me, both him and you,

my good Sir, if I say I think it very unkind of the pair of you in not thinking me worthy of a single word of consultation on the matter. It is, however, probably, not too late even now; and as I have never been honoured by hearing a single syllable on the subject, and you have at last been pleased to mention it, you will possibly deem me now worthy, if I make it my request, to be at least gratified with a sketch of it."

"That you have never heard it, Sir," replied the gentleman, colouring deeply under the excited speech of his superior, "I am not in the least surprised at, since it only came out in an after-dinner conversation, no longer gone than yesterday. I will still repeat, however, and I have thought of it since more seriously, that I think the whole scheme so practicable, and so promising of ultimate good to our extensive mercantile interests in this quarter, that I confess I should like nothing better than to be the lucky one who should be ordered to put it in execution."

"All that may be exceeding good, Sir, and possibly as just as it is good," replied the Captain, somewhat impatiently. "Again allow me to repeat, that it will be very obliging if you will make me master of it, so far as, at least, we may have the honour of passing our poor opinion on it."

"Captain Nicholls is present himself, Sir," replied the officer, bowing, "and I've no doubt will submit his detail to you with much pleasure."

"Well, well, any way you like. I am all attention."

"Why, Sir, my detail of the business is a very brief one," commenced the commander of the Marines; "and, in truth, entirely arises from my having had the honour to be one at the capture of Heligoland, a place which, however insignificant in itself, has since been found of such vital importance to the commercial interests of our Hamburgh trade. On that account I could hardly fail of remarking how essentially useful this island might eventually prove in the same point of view to our numerous traders in the Baltic, and to express some surprise at the great overlook it was in officers, having the power, any longer to allow our enemy to retain quiet possession of it. For my own part, Sir, thinking as I do, that it would be found nearly as useful to the Baltic as the other has proved to the Hamburgh trade, I will at once be bold enough to say, that had I the power, the Danes should not be its masters six hours longer."

"Bravo, Nicholls! Now that is spoken like the brave and accomplished officer I've ever thought you. Although, at the same time, I must confess you're down upon us completely, and very nearly libel the whole Service. Do I understand you rightly to say, Sir, that you *could* reduce that island with the force we have?"

"I did not say I *could*, Sir," replied the spirited officer; "but, I repeat it, I would *try*."

"Well, I assure you, Sir, in the same open manner, and I hope with the same candour and sterling truth, that, under particular circumstances, you have now started a hare you should have the honour of following to the death had I at all a discretionary power. But my hands and mind are bound up, Sir, by my public duty; and pardon me if I say that these alone are the only obstacles which oblige me to decline the kind offer you have now made me of your gallant services.

The time may come, however, Captain Nicholls,—Heaven knows, sooner than any of us at present expect,—when I may as anxiously look for your best services as they are now cheerfully and freely offered; for it never was custom of mine, I assure you, gentlemen, to show any backwardness in any enterprise which had for its object the strengthening or upholding the righteous cause of our common and beloved country. Before I go below, my good Hardy, I think you might as well despatch the two yawls round the fleet, to tell both them, the gun-brigs, and sloop-of-war, that I shall expect them all, now the haze is so rapidly increasing, to keep both their eyes and ears open, and pay the strictest attention to the night-signals."

Saying which the Captain made his bow and retired, followed shortly after by the other officers, leaving none on deck but the commander of the Marines, very busily employed in scrutinizing the fortress and doings of the people on the island, and the First Lieutenant, who, having despatched the boats in obedience to the Captain's wishes, kept still pacing the quarter-deck, in conversation with the officer of the watch.

In this composed state matters remained for a short time, until the curiosity of the two gentlemen was at length seriously attracted to the spot from whence Nicholls still continued his silent, but eager and steady survey. After observing him for a few moments in silence, the First Lieutenant suddenly burst out with a—

"Why, zounds, mate of mine, you certainly are not counting your chickens before they are hatched,—particularly after what the Captain told you?"

"Ha, ha, ha!—by my honour, but he *is* though, Hardy," cried the merry laughter-loving officer of the watch. "Ay, and more than that, I'll bet you a trifle, is at present busy chalking down in his mind's eye the exact spots where the future new lines of warehouses, additional barracks, and all the rest on't, are to stand, as well as the openings of the Black Raven's wings* will allow him."

"Well, to be sure, Nicholls," said the First Lieutenant, after a momentary silent survey of his movements, "I must say you show yourself as ardent a lover of the game of war as any gentleman I had ever the honour to mess with; for no sooner is the word of precaution passed, a measure as necessary as it is natural, than that instant your hand is on your sword, and you are all impatience for the commencement of the *melée*."

"Truce, truce, gentlemen, if you please," replied the commander of the Marines, for a moment relinquishing the glass, "since I must seriously tell you that I am certain there is a something going on ashore here that I would give a trifle to be able properly to explain either to you or to myself; but what with the increasing fog, and these cursed intervening sand-hills, I can neither succeed in getting them properly under the glass, nor of making more of it, than that the people are in strange commotion, while those in the fort, I can plainly perceive, have both loaded and pointed their guns."

"All which is very natural, Nicholls," replied the First Lieutenant, "with such a prize in view as our present convoy. Our old friend,

* Cant nautical phrase for the Baltic or Belt fogs.

Klaas Dansky, is somewhat of the spider species in his actions at present,—he spreads his snares, and hangs out his decoys, but he'll never show fight until he gets almost sure possession, when he will resist to the death with the tenacity of a bull-dog."

"That he will," echoed the officer of the watch, "and bury the blade of his two-edged sharp-pointed fish-knife in your carcase, with all the dexterity, and as little remorse, as the most accomplished bandit of either Rome or Naples."

"Well, well, gentlemen," said the commander of the Marines, replacing the glass on the capstan, "have it your own way, with all my heart. It shall not prevent me, however, from ordering my fellows to get all ready without delay; for so certain am I that they are preparing for a midnight foray through some portion of the convoy, that the moment the wind goes down, which at present it threatens to do speedily, I shall be on the *qui vive* for an immediate commencement of the squall."

"By my honour, Nicholls," cried the First Lieutenant gaily, "but you are as oracular and full of omens to-night as a Norwood gipsy. Pray which of the Norse Sagas is the pet subject of your studies at present, that you are so full of 'coming events casting their shadows before.' I sincerely trust, my dear fellow, without disputing your pretensions to augury, that nothing of what you expect will occur, but that, after a quiet and tranquil game at chess, both you and I will pass a pleasant night, be off by break of day for Wingo Sound, when I hope we will get rid of the convoy with honour, I should not care though for ever. Come, Nicholls, let us below; we can be of no further use here, even were we willing,—the fog increases, and is actually annoying. Armitage, keep you a bright eye and an open ear, my dear fellow, in the mean time. I will be ready to spring to your side at the slightest notice."

"Oh, as to that, and the likes on't, gentlemen," replied the officer of the watch, as they turned away to descend to the gun-room, "I would fain flatter myself I will have no occasion,—for, to tell the truth, I of all things detest nocturnal rows. Give me a clear stage, and daylight for it, and I can stand as good a quilting as many; but I abhor darkness as I do the devil, who they say is the father of it. Good night, and pleasant dreams, gentlemen." Then, walking forward, he sung out to the weather-gangway, "*Keep a good look-out forward, there!*" and the response was immediately returned, with an "*Ay, ay, Sir!*" while the same challenge went from the weather-gangway to the forecastle, and from thence all round the frigate, when all again sunk into the most complete silence.

Time thus stole on amid the greatest tranquillity, only occasionally broke in upon by the clear and stern voices of the merchantmen around, adjusting or hauling taught their well-stretched stays and laniards, and still the boats had not returned. As the first watch was approaching its conclusion, for the seventh bell had been struck and gone, Lieutenant Armitage could not help betraying a little anxiety, which sufficiently showed itself in his frequent applications to the night-glass, his repeated visits to the forecastle, and earnest exhortations to the look-outs to keep both their eyes and ears on the alert. Thus went matters on until the voice of the marine below had bawled, "Strike the bell eight forward,

there!" when the look-out in the stern-boat almost immediately rejoined, in a louder key, "*Quarter-deck, there, a light astern!*"

"Where,—where is it, my good fellow!" cried the eager officer of the watch, jumping up on the arm-chest, glass in hand. "Point to it."

"Why, Sur, it be's there!" returned the seaman, pointing astern of the vessel, where a pale and flickering gleam of light was struggling through the haze, "it sprung up of a sudden all at once, a moment before I sung out. To my thinking, Sur, it's a blue-light."

"Nothing more likely, my fine fellow," returned the officer of the watch, again examining it more closely. "Keep a sharp look-out for the boats."

"Ay, ay, Sur!" was the brief reply; and all again was silent.

While Lieutenant Armitage was intensely endeavouring to examine a quarter which the fog rendered completely inaccessible, the Quartermaster and Boatswain's Mate had in their usual way succeeded in rousing up the relieving watch, when all hands were thus, in a manner, put upon the alert by the hollow boom—boom—boom, of three guns, fired at intervals astern,—the agreed-on signal that some one or other of the convoy was aground, or at least in distress. This was enough, and created a sensation in the frigate, which brought the Captain and every officer on deck in a twinkling.

"Get lights in the top and mizen-rigging, Mr. Hardy," cried the Captain, in his night-dress, "and bring-to the cable without a moment's delay! We must get under weigh, and see, if we can, what's the matter. See about it instantly. I'm going below, but I'll join you again in a few minutes."

Much to the mortification, therefore, of the poor fellows of the starboard watch, which had just expired, they found themselves at once commingled with the fresh and well-slept larbollians, and as near their wished-for hammocks as they had been at eight o'clock of the preceding evening. But Jack comes of a philosophic race, and a few shrugs of the shoulders, with an accompanying execration or two, uttered in the excitation of the moment, together with the aid of a fresh mouthful of tobacco, is generally all the length his disappointment carries him. And, in truth, it is as lucky; for in general, as in the present instance, he is too busy to have time for more. The lights were instantly sent aloft, the cable unbitted and brought-to, the capstan went round, and the anchor was run up to the bows, and with all sail set, in the short space of fifteen minutes the saucy Whisk, quite lively and awake, was on her way to inquire into the cause of the disturbance.

In a very short time she had rounded the convoy, and rapidly approached the scene of the turmoil, where she found the two gun-brigs and sloop-of-war already congregated, and all their boats vainly employed in endeavouring to haul off a large brigantine, heavily laden, which had got hard and fast on an immense reef, or shoal, which runs out from the north-west edge of the island. The frigate's remaining boats were immediately manned, and sent to aid in the useless labour; but every effort which their united strength or ingenuity could devise proved alike useless and vain,—and at long and last, when the morning was pretty well advanced, and the wished-for streaks of heaven's blessed daylight were beginning to break through the murky atmosphere, the disappointed and care-worn commanders of the men-of-war came on

board the frigate, as Commodore, to receive their final orders of what was best to be done.

"Something effectual must be done, and that speedily," said the commander of the Nambypamby sloop-of-war to the assembled officers, "for recollect, gentlemen, even now, while we are talking here, the work of pillage is proceeding with astonishing, nay, alarming alacrity. The rascals ashore have already stripped her of her canvas and most valuable rigging, and ere another hour go by will succeed in removing the best part of her cargo into their own possession. For my own part, I think it would be most conducive to the Service, as well as to the safety of the rest of the convoy, that we immediately proceed to destroy her, and then forward the others to their place of destination."

"And I think," broke in Lieutenant Armitage, "with all deference to Captain Wilson's excellent advice, that there never was, nor will be, a better opportunity given to put my friend Nicholls's scheme into instant execution. Pillage! why let them pillage,—it is a thing we cannot altogether prevent; but a thing that may lose them a footing in the island for ever. Let Captain Wilson give us all his most effective marines, and as many of his blue-jackets as he can spare, and then let him and one of the gun-brigs stand as close in to the reef as they can with safety, and drive these pillagers on shore, or at least hinder them so far in their work of destruction as may give time for the immediate execution of Nicholls's attempt. I, for one, will cheerfully volunteer to be his companion, and I have no doubt but the issue will be successful to His Majesty's arms. The vessel and her cargo, which is said to be valuable, will thus in a great measure be saved to the rightful owners, and an end at once put to a nest of pirates, who have thriven and fattened at the expense of our suffering merchandise, whether from the inclemency of the weather, or the effects of ignorance, carelessness, or accident."

"You have spoken my sentiments so completely, my dear fellow," said the First Lieutenant, "that I have little to add, further than to say that I and my division of boarders are ready at a minute's warning to jump on shore and lend a hand at the good work."

"And what says Captain Nicholls to all this?" was the next expression of the Commodore, as he wheeled round in front of the marine officer; "I trust he is as ready to execute as to plan?"

"Quite so, Sir," replied the intrepid Nicholls; "and to *execute* with pleasure."

"Then, gentlemen, we will understand the business as finally settled. Captain Wilson, I know your diligence when it is within your ability; therefore you will please to consider what Armitage has said as my orders, and send us all the aid you can spare as smartly as possible. You will then proceed to the unfortunate vessel, in company with one of the gun-brigs,—take which pleases you best,—and protect her all you can from these marauders, while we hurry back to put the rest of our plan into instant execution. Away, then, gentlemen, to your posts, and success and good luck attend us!"

A brief but mutual salutation now took place among the assembled commanders,—the wine went round, and after pledging one another with much affection, and indeed gaiety, they parted like men determined on doing their duty.

In an inconceivable short space of time the marines of the Nambypamby, led on by their Serjeant, and a select band of her boarders, commanded by her First Lieutenant, a vain young coxcomb, flaunting it gaudily in full naval uniform, came on board the Whisk, which immediately bore away for her old station at the head of the convoy, accompanied by the other gun-brig, a smart little craft, which carried sixteen heavy carronades. As we bore up to take our respective positions, the Commodore, as I must now distinguish him, hailed all the largest vessels we passed to send him without delay their largest boats properly manned; so that the frigate had scarcely dropped her anchor within point-blank shot of the fort before she was surrounded with them, all eager for service. There was little of idleness all this time on board the frigate; under the able direction of Captain Nicholls and Lieutenants Hardy and Armitage, the marines and boarders in a very short time stood all ready to jump into the boats as soon as the order was given,—while the remaining officers and men stood to their guns, all impatience to begin. Plainly dressed in blue jackets and Montero fur caps, Lieutenants Hardy and Armitage, with their pistols stuck in their belts, and their keen sabres in their hands, looked something like gentlemen prepared for duty; and while the latter, in the excitation of the moment, was all life and spirit, the former, more grave and resolute, seemed to behold the gay and giddy First Lieutenant of the Nambypamby with a look that seemed an equal mixture of pity and contempt.

"Were it not for fear of giving you offence, Mr. Macdonnel," at last he broke out with, "I should say you are more fit for a ball-room than the service we are about to encounter. Take my advice for once, Sir, and at least throw aside your cocked hat and weighty coat,—they make you far too remarkable,—at any rate, in my opinion, you will be able to do your duty all the better without them."

"I thank you, Sir, for your precaution," answered the conceited young gentleman, drily, "but I'd have you to know I am no coward, and seek no subterfuges in the execution of my duty. No, by heavens! such doings I despise!—I'm a true Macdonnel every inch of me, determined to fight, aye, gentlemen, and to die, like a Briton, in the garb my Sovereign commands me to wear."

This answer was conclusive enough to any gentleman of far less gravity than Lieutenant Hardy, who returned no reply, but immediately turned on his heel, and busied himself in examining the appointments of the boarders under his command. At length the cannonade of the sloop-of-war and gun-brig came booming on the wind, and told all assembled that at least their part of the work was commenced with spirit; all were in the extreme of impatience, and Lieutenant Armitage, with his usual bluntness, even went the length of bursting out with what was anything but respectful on what he thought the dilatoriness of his wary Commander, who had been all this while carefully noting the motions of the enemy. It is at such moments as this that a person who has never been in such a position before has the queerest and strangest feelings of what may be the final result to himself; at least, I know it was my case; but, thank God, the time allowed for such serious considerations was brief indeed,—mercifully so in my humble opinion. The cannonade had now rung in our ears for some time, and was momently increasing in vivacity, when the Commodore, at last, laying the

glass aside on the capstan, and drawing his sword, advanced towards us, and said,

"Now, my lads, we shall go to work with spirit. Signalman, telegraph the Banetickle to stand more clear of the fort, and as close in-shore as she can, that she may be able the more effectually to sweep the beach. Are you all ready below?"

"All ready, Sir, and all impatience," answered the officer from the main-deck.

"So much the better," said the determined Commander with a grim smile. Then, turning round to us, he continued, "Come, Hardy, and gentlemen all, get your fellows into the boats as fast as possible. I leave the assault to your own management—it cannot be in better hands. Get in, get in, therefore, as fast as you can; for the instant you shove off I will commence, and do my best either to silence the fort, or at least make it too hot for its present occupants."

A momentary bustle now took place, but we were soon on board, and ready for a start, while the Commodore, standing on the gunnel, close to the main-rigging, gave us his last instructions,—

"And I say, Hardy, whatever you do, in God's name, no manœuvring or soldier's tricks,—you understand what I mean, I know, Nicholls,—but short and smart work of it. It must be a bold, straightforward *coup de main*,—all depends on that. I will cease firing the moment I see you within grapple of the fort. Farewell, and good luck."

The boats had now shoved off, and his voice was drowned in the roar of the frigate's long twenty-fours, which sent their British hard dumplings a spinning over the barricades into the very vitals of the wooden fort, with a celerity actually astounding. For my own part, finding myself in the same boat with my commander, Nicholls, I braced my resolution up to the very sticking point, and succeeded so well in coolly and gravely answering the brief instructions he was pleased to give me to stand close by him, that I actually believe, if there is anything in looks at all, I astonished the gentleman himself.

The boats had no sooner grounded,—which they almost all did at the same moment, each boat's-crew vieing with the others not to be behind,—than out we all leaped, and quickly forming up, gave the Danes waiting to receive us a smart and destructive volley, by way of prelude to more serious work. In truth, there was little occasion for the Commodore's philippic on manœuvring and soldiering, for there was none of it there. Ably backed by Lieutenants Hardy, Armitage, and Macdonnel, and loudly calling, "Forward, my lads! follow them up!" the gallant Nicholls, sword in hand, dashed smartly after the Danes, fighting and retreating on the fort, now kept in full play and occupation by the heavy and galling fire of the frigate and gun-brig; the commanders of which no sooner saw us closing upon it than they ceased firing and stood out to sea. It was then that the last and most murderous struggle ensued; for the Danish commander now concentrating all his force before the entrance of the fort, determined there to make his last and most vigorous stand. Front to front we stood there for a short time, giving and receiving a close and well-sustained fire of musketry; until the untutored patience of the boarders being completely exhausted, they suddenly relinquished their muskets, and with a loud British cheer rushed upon the enemy, with a determination and

an impetuosity that seemed to paralyse them. Captain Nicholls no sooner saw the cutlass at work than he immediately shouted out to us, waving his sword, "Give them steel for it, my heroes!—Forward!—Charge!" and upon them we rushed, and speedily drove them at the point of the bayonet within the outer barricades of the fort. The Danes, however, still maintained a heavy fire, and disputed any further advance with an obstinacy and a desperation only to be overcome by that innate bravery and coolness our fellows have ever exhibited both at sea and ashore, to the admiration and wonder of all the world. Indeed, so strongly were the enemy now in a manner intrenched, that for a short time the final issue of this fearful struggle was actually exceedingly doubtful. At length a simple incident, as often happens, turned the nicely-balanced scale in our favour, and finished the conflict.

At the moment of landing the cocked-hat and epaulettes of the unfortunate Macdonnel had attracted the notice of the enemy, and their very first volley was all that he required, being shot through the heart, and dying in a moment. This circumstance throwing the boarders of the Nambypamby completely out, as they thought, they were determined to go to work in their own way, and get into the fort after their own fashion. So one of the most daring amongst them having succeeded in clambering over the ruined pallisades, was followed by the whole of his shipmates, and the whole then surmounting, even while the shot of the shipping was screaming past and around them, the inner wall of the fort, immediately with cheering shouts closed with the Danish gunners, hewed down the very fellows at their guns, levelled their flag, and turning their own guns upon the remainder, made them fly before them like so many frightened hares. They were closely followed by their noisy conquerors, sweeping with their cutlasses all before them, until, all in disorder, and many even unarmed, they joined their comrades most determinedly defending their outer works, and disputing our entrance, and thus occasioned such a crowding, such a commingled mass of inextricable confusion, as speedily brought the matter to a close; for the Danish Commander, seeing himself thus unexpectedly attacked in front and rear,—his troops completely disorganised, and rapidly falling around him,—and, above all, his national standard no longer curling in the air, but torn and trampled in the dust,—immediately called out for quarter, ordered his men to ground their arms, and, delivering up his sword to Lieutenant Hardy, surrendered himself and all that remained of his party, prisoners of war.

The moment the prisoners were properly secured no time was lost in hurrying to the rescue of the stranded vessel; but, though we marched as rapidly as the soft and sandy soil would allow us, we had the mortification of discovering we were a stage too late: for so industriously had these marauders improved the time they were unavoidably allowed, that they had contrived, despite the shot of the shipping, to carry off across the island a vast quantity of the vessel's cargo, with which they had not only loaded three of their largest row-boats, (now discovered for the first time lying snugly alongside a long sand-ridge,) but one of which, now that she saw our approach, had actually put to sea, and was now at a good distance, snugly, as she no doubt thought, on her way to Zealand. For the other two, after waiting to receive a flying score or two of the more daring and greedy pillagers, who had lingered till the

very last moment, they immediately, by way of giving us a cordial reception, greeted our hasty advance with a close and spirited fire of their musketry, and the contents of their long 24-pounders, which, thanks to the invincible sand-hills, did us no greater damage than the killing of our Serjeant-Major, whom no one regretted; then, taking to their sweeps, they pulled out after their companion, singing lustily some one or other of their not unpleasing choruses, as if in derision of our utmost power. But what a cruel disappointment awaited these poor devils, after all their toil! At this very moment what should be seen by the whole of us rounding the end of the island but the Whisk and Banetickle, under every stitch of canvas they could carry. The discovery was hailed by a true British cheer by us all; while it had the directly contrary effect on the freebooters, who now bent to their sweeps in silence sturdily. Their exertions were quite unavailing, for the breeze freshening, the nimble frigate's bow-guns in a very short time began to speak, aye, and to speak fatally,—for her shot told so effectually on the row-boat that was furthest ahead, that she shortly after went down with all hands. Meanwhile the little lively Banetickle, having at length succeeded in rounding the eastern reef of the island, was now to be seen standing confidently towards the other two boats, which had hitherto rather kept in-shore to avoid the frigate, but who now, seeing things hopeless, before the brig could come up within gun-shot, suddenly slued their heads round and swept for the shore, where they surrendered to Mr. Hardy, who was, indeed, waiting to receive them.

Affairs having now come to a satisfactory conclusion, we returned with our prisoners to the fort, where no time was lost in hoisting the Union, on a fresh staff, to a royal salute of his Danish Majesty's late guns, amidst a jolly cheer from the whole party. An immediate muster afterwards took place, and happy were our officers when they discovered it was so trifling; as, excepting Mr. Macdonnel and the Serjeant-Major, the whole amounted to only three marines and six seamen killed, and about twenty of both arms more or less wounded. Having now more leisure, we discovered that the fort, though completely riddled with the frigate's shot, was by no means in such a ruinous state as was at first supposed. Nor had her opponent, the frigate, been allowed to come off scathless, numbers of the shot having pierced her broadside, several below water-mark, and much of her standing-rigging being materially damaged.

As in less than a couple of hours the Whisk and Banetickle had taken up their old positions, the prisoners, and all the wounded that could be removed, were immediately sent on board the frigate; the more desperate cases being at the same time carefully looked after, and safely and as comfortably stowed away as circumstances would admit; for the Doctor and his mates came ashore next day, bringing with them all the requisites the wounded usually require; and the party being joined at the same time by the Carpenter and his mates, the fort, by the diligence and aid of all hands, was soon once more in not only a habitable condition, but, in the opinion of some, much more difficult of access, and stronger than ever. The Commodore, after giving Captain Nicholls and Lieutenant Armitage the command of the forces and the *island, ad interim*, and supplying them as far as he could with powder, *shot*, and provisions, shortly after sailed, short-handed as he was, for

Wingo Sound, leaving the Banetickle to look after the stranded vesse. and its cargo, and arrived there in safety with his whole convoy.

Having made his report to the Admiral there, both of his success, his damages, and the present position of the island, he was very flatteringly allowed to be the bearer of his own exploits to the Lords of the Admiralty; and accordingly in a few days afterwards sailed for England, calling at Anholt as he passed, and taking the letters of the party, and other despatches which the officers thought necessary for Lloyd's, as well as the owners and underwriters of the stranded vessel.

I have at last come to a conclusion of my story; and I will only add, that however insignificant the cause, My First Smell of Gunpowder was not without its beneficial effects;—Captain Morgan Maccaw being not only shortly after Posted but Knighted; both his Lieutenants promoted; Captain Nicholls elevated to Brevet-Major; and the arm of your humble servant's jacket forthwith adorned with a couple of stripes.

THE MILITARY DEFENCE OF RIVERS.

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THERE have been numerous instances in the history of all nations, where a small army, well commanded, have beaten a superior numerical force, when meeting them in the open field, or when, choosing a strong position on fortified heights, they have waited for the approach of the enemy. On many other occasions, mountain passes have often witnessed the destruction of numerous armies. The Straits of Thermopylæ and the Passes of the Kyber, have, in various ages of the world, enabled a brave and determined race of people to defy the utmost efforts of disciplined armies. It is therefore of great importance that the position in which masses of men, composing armies, are placed, should be such as to render their strength available in the highest possible degree. But it is rather a singular circumstance in the history of the wars in which the human race have engaged, that in every instance where a General has placed his army behind a river to defend the passage, he has always been defeated. It is a very important rule in the strategy of war, and has not hitherto been noticed with the attention which it appears to deserve.

Rivers are a bad military line.

Many instances may be exhibited where they have been chosen as strong military positions, but they have always deceived their possessor.

Taya was not so good a barrier against the Scots as the Roman Wall.

The Rhine was a military barrier against the ancient Germans, but would not have been against a civilized power.

The Romans defended the line of the Danube for a few years against

the savage tribes of the north, but at length retired to the true barrier of the Pannonian Alps, leaving the interval a desert.

Rivers are more an apparent than a real obstacle in war.

The battles of the Po, the Mincio, the Tagliamento, the Rhine, and the Danube, have had similar results in the most distant periods of the history of the world, and from the battle of Granicus to that of Beresina, the defenders of rivers have always been unfortunate.

In the following essay we propose, in the first place, to give an account of various battles in which this fact is exemplified; we shall afterwards endeavour to explain the reason of its occurrence; and, in the third place, we shall endeavour to show that the great Generals of ancient and modern time, who have been inferior to their adversaries either in the number or the discipline of their forces, and who have therefore been compelled to remain some time in defensive positions, have never selected the bank of a river for their encampment. They have, in preference, stationed their army in strong mountain passes, or in hilly countries, where the natural strength of the position, aided by redoubts and artificial defences, enabled them to resist the attacks of their enemy.

Instances of the defeat of armies stationed on the banks of rivers.

Darius, Emperor of Persia, assembled the forces of his extensive dominions on the river Granicus, to resist the invasion of Alexander the Macedonian; but his troops were defeated, and he was compelled to wander as a fugitive over realms which, a short time previous, had witnessed his magnificence and power.

In the first war for the Reformation in Germany, Frederick of Saxony and his Protestant Allies assembled their forces, to contest their rights and privileges against the encroachment of the Emperor, Charles V. After a campaign of some duration, the Elector stationed his army on the bank of a river, considering it to be a place of perfect safety; he was surprised by the Emperor, and a tedious imprisonment, and the loss of his Electorate, were the reward of his bad generalship.

King James II. assembled his Irish forces, and several French disciplined regiments, by whom he was assisted, to contend for the possession of the British crown, with his rival, William the Third. He marshalled his forces on the river Boyne; but the English monarch crossed over with his army, defeated the French and Irish forces, and James was compelled to become an exile from the country over which he had formerly ruled.

When Louis XIV. invaded Holland, the Dutch troops were stationed on the bank of the Rhine to defend the passage; but, after a very trivial resistance, they broke their ranks, and fled in all directions. A medal struck in honour of the event, attested the success of the conqueror.

In the Seven Years' War in Germany the Austrian forces were commanded by two veteran Commanders, Marshal Daun and General Brown. In the sixth year of the war the Austrian forces were encamped on the border of a river in Bohemia, as a safe position, under the command of General Brown. Frederick the Great crossed the river with his army, overwhelmed the Austrian forces, and the conquest of great part of Bohemia was the result.

Montcalm, the Commander of the French forces in their North America, encamped his army on the shore of the river St.

Lawrence, to defend the city of Quebec against the attack of the English. General Wolfe landed with his troops in spite of all opposition, and by a complete victory extinguished every trace of French dominion in North America.

In the war of the American Revolution General Howe, the British Commander, conquered New York and New Jersey. He then stationed two regiments of Hessian troops at Trenton, on the Delaware, to defend the passage of the river against the American forces. Washington crossed over with his army, and inflicted a severe defeat on that portion of the British army.

In the following campaign General Howe assembled his forces, embarked them on board the fleet, and landed at Elktown, in Maryland, from whence he marched to take possession of the city of Philadelphia. General Washington assembled his troops on the river Brandywine, to contest the passage, and save the city from capture; but General Howe defeated the American army, and then achieved the conquest of the capital of the American States without any further opposition.

The misfortunes of the Austrians, in their first campaigns in Italy against Bonaparte, arose in a principal degree from stationing their forces on the banks of rivers as defensible positions, and it was only after repeated defeats that they changed this portion of their military routine of war.

In the year 1796 Marshal Beaulieu commanded the Austrian army in Italy. He attempted in the first place to defend the line of the Po against the invasion of the French army, but was defeated at Valenza. He then attempted to defend the line of the Adda, and stationed his forces at Lodi, to prevent the passage of the French. As this was one of the most celebrated victories of Napoleon, and elucidates in some important particulars the theory which it is attempted to establish in this essay, we shall insert from a contemporary history some of the more important details of this feat of arms.

"Upon the 10th of May, attended by his best Generals, and heading the choicest of his troops, Napoleon pressed forward towards Lodi, where the bridge was left standing, but was swept by twenty or thirty pieces of Austrian artillery, whose thunders menaced death to any one who should attempt the pass of peril. The French with great alertness got as many guns in position on the left bank, and answered this tremendous fire with equal spirit. During this cannonade Bonaparte threw himself personally among the fire, in order to station two guns, loaded with grape-shot, in such a position as to render it impossible for any one to approach for the purpose of undermining and destroying the bridge, and then calmly proceeded to make preparations for a desperate attempt. The cavalry were directed to cross, if possible, at a place where the Adda was said to be fordable; a task which they accomplished with difficulty. In the mean time Bonaparte observed that the Austrian line of infantry was thrown considerably behind the batteries of artillery which they supported, in order that they might have the advantage of a bending slope of ground, which afforded some shelter from the French fire. He, therefore, drew up a close column of 3000 grenadiers, protected from the artillery of the Austrians by the walls and houses of the town, and yet considerably nearer to the enemy's line of guns on the opposite side of the Adda, than were their own infantry, which ought to have protected them. The column of grenadiers thus secured waited in comparative safety until the appearance of the French cavalry, who had crossed the ford, began to disquiet the Austrians. This

was the critical moment which Bonaparte expected. A single word of command wheeled the head of the column of grenadiers to the left, and placed it on the perilous bridge. The word was given to advance, and they rushed on with loud shouts of 'Vive la Republique.' But their appearance on the bridge was the signal for a redoubled shower of grape-shot, while, from the houses on the left side of the river, the soldiers who occupied them poured volley after volley of musketry on the thick column, as it endeavoured to force its way over the long bridge. At one time the French grenadiers, unable to sustain this dreadful storm, appeared for an instant to hesitate, but Berthier, the chief of Bonaparte's Staff, with Massena, L'Allegmagne, and Corvini, hurried to the head of the column, and by their presence and gallantry renewed the resolution of the soldiers, who now poured across the bridge. The Austrians had but one resource left, to rush upon the French with the bayonet and kill or drive back into the Adda those who had forced a passage, before they could receive support from their comrades, who were still filing across the bridge. But the opportunity was neglected, either because the troops which should have executed the manœuvre had been, as we have already stated, withdrawn too far from the river, or because the soldiery, as happens when they repose too much confidence in a strong position, became panic-struck when they saw it unexpectedly carried. Or it may be that General Beaulieu, so old and so unfortunate, had somewhat lost that energy and presence of mind which the critical moment demanded. Whatever was the cause, the French rushed on the artillerymen, from whose fire they had lately suffered so tremendously, and, unsupported as they were, had little difficulty in bayoneting them. The Austrian army now completely gave way, and lost in their retreat, annoyed as it was by the French cavalry, upwards of twenty guns, a thousand prisoners, and perhaps two thousand more wounded or slain. Such was the famous passage of the Bridge of Lodi, achieved with such skill and gallantry as gave the victor the same character for fearless intrepidity and practical talent in actual battle, which the former part of the campaign had gained him as an able tactician."

After the defeat of Lodi, Marshal Beaulieu attempted to defend the line of the Mincio, from which being driven, he finally assembled the Austrian forces on the Adige, but with no better success. The command of the Austrian army was then conferred upon another Commander.

In the campaign of 1797 in Italy, hostilities commenced between the French Republic and the Pope of Rome. The Papal army, consisting of about seven or eight thousand men, was encamped on the river Senio, which runs to the southward of the town of Imola, to dispute the passage. The banks were defended by cannon, but the river being unusually low, the French crossed about a league and a half higher up than the position of the Roman army, which, taken in the rear, fled in every direction. A few hundreds were killed, among whom were several monks.

After the defeat of Wurmser, and the capture of Mantua, the Archduke Charles took the command of the Austrian forces, and attempted in vain to stop the triumphant career of Bonaparte. The Archduke first occupied Friuli and the line of the Piave, from whence being driven, he stationed his forces on the river Tagliamento. There he was defeated, and he finally encamped on the Lisonzo. Again the same fate attended him, and his retreat to Vienna, and a treaty of peace with the victorious French, ended this unfortunate campaign.

In the disastrous year 1807, General Mack assembled the Austrian forces on the river Inn, to dispute the possession of Bavaria and the

upper Austrian provinces against the advance of the French army; but Bonaparte inflicted severe defeats upon several corps of his army, and finally compelled him to surrender as prisoner of war at Ulm.

After Napoleon Emperor of France had witnessed the almost total destruction of his magnificent legions in the cold and hostile provinces of Russia, he assembled the wrecks of his army, and attempted to secure his retreat from the country which had been so fatal to his ambitious career. The Russian Admiral Tchitchagoff, with a numerous army under his command, stationed them on the Beresina, to defend the passage; but the Emperor crossed over with the greater part of his army, in spite of all opposition. His rear-guard, together with the numerous followers of his army, were surprised and cut off on the eastern bank of the river, but he succeeded in effecting his retreat into Poland with the remainder of his force.

After Napoleon had been defeated in various battles in Germany, in the campaign of 1813, he assembled his beaten and diminished forces in order to return to France. To prevent the accomplishment of this purpose, General Wrede, Commander of the Bavarian army, collected several corps, together with some Austrian auxiliaries, and stationed them on the river Hanau, to contest the passage. Napoleon defeated his army, and effected his retreat in safety to France.

In the commencement of the war in Portugal, the French army had possession of the whole northern portion of that kingdom. On the landing of General Wellesley to command the English army, Marshal Soult assembled his forces on the northern bank of the Douro, to defend the city of Oporto and the adjoining territory, against the advance of the British. Wellington crossed over with his battalions, inflicted a severe defeat on the enemy, and drove them as helpless fugitives from the country.

We will now notice two or three battles which may be supposed to prove a contradiction to the above examples, but which on examination will be found not to possess that character.

After the possession of Vienna by the French in the year 1809, the Archduke Charles assembled the troops of the Austrian empire on the Danube, in order to stop the further progress of the French, but he did not attempt to contest the passage of the river. He stationed his forces on the heights of Aspern and Wagram, two small villages, about four miles from the bank of the river. He allowed the major part of the French army to pass over, and deploy on the plains, and then attacked them with the whole of his forces, and gained one of the greatest victories the Danube had ever witnessed.

When Wallace, the champion of Scotland, had liberated his native country from the yoke of the English monarch, he assembled all his forces at Stirling, on the river Ayr, to defend the independence of the country against the attack of the English army. He allowed great part of the troops under Cressingham to pass over without opposition, he then attacked them, and gained a complete victory.

The British forces, under the command of General Brock, in Upper Canada, were stationed near the river Niagara, to defend the frontier from the invasion of the Americans. They allowed the latter to cross over in some force, and then put them to the rout, and pursued them with great slaughter.

Thus, in the three instances last adduced, we perceive that so far from there being any attempt to defend the passage of the river, the enemy were encouraged to pass over, and were then attacked and defeated.

What is the reason that troops stationed behind rivers never make the same resistance they would display in any other situation?

It probably arises from the fact of their being taken by surprise. An army, encamped in the open country, and expecting to be attacked, will display the usual amount of courage, which may be expected from their natural disposition, their discipline, and the skill of their commander. But troops placed behind a river do not expect to be attacked, the river appears to them to be an insurmountable obstacle, and they gradually begin to consider it in that light. The river is also frequently passed at a place distant from that which is expected, and thus the arrangements for defence at the particular point where the army is stationed are frustrated.

Let us now notice some of the campaigns of the great Generals of various periods of history, and from their example, trace what was their opinion of the best ground for encampment for an army, which was inferior in numerical or physical force to its adversary.

When Hannibal, the Carthaginian General, had exterminated two or three of the Roman armies which came in contact with him in Italy, and the Roman Republic, which had hitherto been so prosperous in its ambitious career, seemed to be on the point of falling under his power, the Senate of Rome conferred the office of Dictator on Fabius, who took the command of the remaining Roman troops, and set out to oppose the dreaded Carthaginian. What was the policy he pursued on this occasion? his troops were dispirited and unable to cope with the victorious army of Hannibal. Italy is intersected by numerous streams, but instead of placing his army on the banks of any of those rivers as a defensible position, he placed his camp on the range of the Apennines, from whence he constantly watched over and harassed his formidable opponent.

In the seven years' war of Germany, when Frederick the Great of Prussia was contending at the same time against the armies of the Empire, of Austria, of Prussia, of Sweden, and of France, and made war in a country intersected by various rivers, the Elbe, the Oder, the Muldaw, the Saale, and their numerous tributaries, he seldom placed his camp upon the border of those streams.

When Frederick the Great of Prussia invaded Bohemia, he defeated the Austrian forces in a great battle, and laid siege to Prague, which was on the point of surrendering. In this extremity the Austrian Government conferred the command of their army on Marshal Daun, and well did he repay the confidence reposed in him. He was a worthy competitor of Frederick in the art of war. His troops were superior in number but inferior in discipline to the Prussians, but by great judgment in the position of his camp, which by redoubts and batteries he rendered impregnable, and sending various parties of his soldiers to the relief of the besieged city, and finally, by obtaining a victory over the Prussians when they attempted to storm his camp, he compelled Frederick to relinquish his conquests and return to his native dominions.

General Washington, in America, commanded a provincial force' which, in the first years of the war, was totally unable to contend in the open field against the disciplined armies of England. He, therefore, chose for his encampment, some strong hilly country, which was unassailable with any prospect of success, from whence he sallied out to various parts of the continent, where the services of his army were required. The highlands of the State of New York, and the mountainous region in the vicinity of Morristown, were his usual headquarters; he thus disciplined his army, and finally achieved the independence of his country.

The Russian Czar Alexander assembled the forces of his empire, under the command of the German Barclay de Tolly, on the river Dwina, where several fortified camps were erected to resist the invasion of the French; the choice of the position proves that General to have been unequal to his task. At a subsequent period the destinies of the Russian army were committed to the charge of Kutusoff, and he selected with much better judgment the heights of Borodino as his final battle-ground against the enemy.

When Blucher commanded the Prussians he was frequently inferior in force to the French by whom he was opposed, but he never took refuge behind a river as a secure position, which would confer safety upon his army, and where he could not be attacked. The strong country of Silesia was his usual "point d'appui," and selecting his encampments with consummate skill, and giving battle on all occasions where there was any prospect of success, he was finally successful in freeing his country from the yoke of the foreigner.

In the campaign of France, in the year 1814, Bonaparte commanded an army, whose numerical force did not probably exceed 60,000 men, with whom he had to resist the attacks of armies of greatly superior force. In this extremity of his fate he never stationed his forces behind rivers, but choosing his fields of battle, and in some measure making up by his extreme activity for the smallness of his battalions, he inflicted many severe defeats on his enemy.

When Wellington, with a far inferior force, defended Portugal against the numerous and disciplined armies of the French, commanded by Massena, he did not attempt to defend the line of the Tagus, the Douro, or the Minho, but he chose a position on the heights of Busaco, and, finally, on those of Torres Vedras, where he took up an impregnable position, from whence he defied the utmost efforts of the French to dislodge him.

We have thus given many examples, from various periods of history, from different continents, and from several nations, where the armies attempting to defend rivers have always been defeated; we may therefore consider that we have established the proposition that rivers are indefensible in war.

THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO.

BY ONE WHO FOUGHT IN IT.

On the 19th day of April, 1836, a courier crossed over from Virginia Ferry to Galveston Island, (then without sign of town, and only having the sick, infirm, and women and children upon it, in addition to the members of the government, fled here for protection against the invading forces of Santa Anna,) and informed us that General Samuel Houston, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Republic of Texas, with a force, much short of eight hundred men, was in full retreat before the three invading divisions of the Mexican Republic. From San Antonio de Bexar, the President, after deeds of blood*, which must for ever taint and disgrace his name, sent a requisition to Houston to surrender. The reply of the General was laconic, but firm and expressive. "True, Sir, you have succeeded in killing some of our brave men, but the Texans are not yet whipped." On receiving this answer, Santa Anna marched out of Bexar towards the Brazos, where he divided his troops into three divisions, giving the command of the left wing to General Vicente Filisola, who marched on to Washington to disperse the convention, while General Cos commanded the right, and Santa Anna the centre, with which he had crossed the Brazos, in pursuit of Houston, retreating, with the twofold object of separating the Mexican forces, and giving a chance of his being himself reinforced.

The courier brought further intelligence, that General Sam. Houston was determined to fight Santa Anna at any odds—the force on each side was now 800 to 4000—but would contrive to put off the final contest in order that some slight reinforcement might have a chance of arriving, as well as ammunition, of which the Texan army was most particularly in need.

On the island were nine men capable of bearing arms, including myself, and of these I received the command from President Burnet, with orders to join the main body with all possible dispatch. Never were orders more cheerfully obeyed. Accordingly, providing ourselves with arms, ammunition, and one day's provisions, we manned an eight-oar cutter; and in two hours after the arrival of the courier, were on the Bay of Galveston, my eight companions bending stoutly to the aspen breeze, and I in the stern-sheets steering. We were all full

* I will not here mention more than one, an historical fact. "About four hundred Texan prisoners, including those of Ward's detachment, were at the fort of Goliad, when General Santa Anna ordered their execution. On the morning of the 27th March, these prisoners, (*en donde habian capitulado*, says Urrea, in his dispatch,) with the exception of two or three medical men, who were retained to aid the Mexican wounded, and some privates employed as labourers, were marched out of the fort, ostensibly for the purpose of driving in beeves. They were divided into sections, and each section was under the escort of a strong Mexican guard. After proceeding about three hundred yards, they were ordered to halt and throw off their blankets and knapsacks. Before they had time to obey the order, a fire of musketry was opened upon them, and what the bullets left unfinished, the sabres of the cavalry completed. A very few, who were uninjured by the first fire, leaped a fence of brushwood, concealed themselves in a thicket, and succeeded in rejoining their countrymen beyond the Colorado."

of anxiety and hope, anxious not to be too late, full of the hope of victory,—a hope that was the more flattering and important, when the fearful state of the country at that present moment was considered. Texas for some time past had been but one battle-field, hundreds of our best colonists and volunteers had fallen, not in fair fight, but in cold blood; Fannin, Crockett—poor old David Crockett, Colonel Bowie, and hundreds of slaughtered victims, cried vengeance from their tombs: as much from this, as from any other feeling, were we anxious to meet Santa Anna in the field. Every family was packing up with the intention of leaving for ever; the western settlers were to a man driven into Eastern Texas; from the Rio Grande del Norte to the Rio del Trinidad, all was in the hands of the enemy, whose veteran hordes threatened destruction and annihilation to our raw, undisciplined volunteers. In a word, Texas appeared on its last legs. A decisive battle was alone wanting to renew hope, or shut it out for ever.

Travelling all that night across Galveston Bay, the next morning at dawn we reached the spot where the San Jacinto and Buffalo Bayou are joined previous to their being lost in the bay. Here, to our inexpressible joy, we found the main force under General Sam. Houston, encamped in some timber half a mile from Lynch's Ferry, engaged in slaughtering beeves, having been several days without proper refreshment. Houston, after a forced march of fifty miles, which was effected in two days and a half—in the prairie in April this was tremendous labour—had reached opposite Harrisburg on the west bank of Buffalo Bayou on the 18th, when a Mexican courier, captured by Erastus Smith (from being slightly affected in his hearing, called Deaf Smith,) a Texan scout, who, by his courage, acuteness, and activity, has rendered important services to his fellow-citizens, put Houston in possession of despatches from Filisola, showing the enemy's position, plans, and movements. It was also learned, through the same source, but subsequently, that General Santa Anna, with one division of his choice troops, had marched in the direction of Lynch's Ferry on the San Jacinto, burning the miserable little town of Harrisburg, on the west bank of Buffalo Bayou, as he passed down. On the receipt of this intelligence, Houston ordered the army to be in readiness to march early the next morning. The main body crossed over Buffalo Bayou, below Harrisburg*, on the morning of the 19th, having left the baggage, the sick, and a sufficient camp-guard in the rear, in order that nothing

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*LETTER OF HOUSTON.

Camp, Harrisburg, April 19, 1836.

This morning we are in preparation to meet Santa Anna. It is the only chance of saving Texas. From time to time I have looked for reinforcements in vain. The convention adjourning to Harrisburg, struck panic throughout the country. Texas could have started at least 4000 men, we only have about 700 to march with, beside the camp-guard. We go to conquer. It is wisdom growing out of necessity to meet and fight the enemy now. Every consideration enforces it. No previous occasion would justify it. The troops are in fine spirits, and now is the time for action. We shall use our best efforts to fight the enemy to such advantage as will insure victory, though the odds are greatly against us. I leave the result in the hands of a wise God, and rely upon his providence. My country will do justice to those who serve here. The rights for which we fight will be secured, and Texas free.

SAM. HOUSTON, Commander-in-Chief.

might hamper them, and prevent an engagement with the enemy on their attempting to cross Lynch's Ferry. Of course a passage across the swollen stream was not effected without considerable difficulty; but once over, the march was continued through the day and night, one very brief halt being made towards the morning of the 20th, in the prairie, without any refreshment. At daylight, the onward course was resumed; and after a short progress, the scouts of the enemy were encountered by the Texan scouts, and information gained to the effect, that General Santa Anna was at New Washington, and would that day take up the line of march for Anahuac, crossing Lynch's Ferry. This the Texans wished above all to prevent, as then Eastern Texas would be at his mercy.

Meanwhile Santa Anna, as it appears from his own subsequent despatches, equally eager to bring the contest to a decisive issue, sent out on the morning of the 19th, Capt. Barragan, with some dragoons, to a point on the Lynchburg road, three leagues distant from New Washington, to ascertain the exact position of Houston.

On the morning of the 20th, Santa Anna received intelligence that the enemy had just reached Lynchburg, thus rendering a defeat of the Texans necessary, to enable him to gain Anahuac. A march was therefore ordered, and the news, according to the Mexican General, "heard with the greatest joy by all the individuals of my corps." Such was the state of things when we arrived; and though so few in numbers, nine rifles were no mean acquisition, and six kegs of powder, which we brought, very serviceable to the artillery company. Immediately on my landing, I repaired to the General's tent, and delivering my despatches, looked around me to observe our position. A scene singularly wild and picturesque presented itself to my view. Around some twenty or thirty camp-fires stood as many groups of men, English, Irish, Scotch, French, Germans, Italians, Poles, Yankees, Mexicans, &c., all unwashed, unshaven, for months, their long hair, beard and mustachoes, ragged and matted, their clothes in tatters, and plastered with mud; in a word, a more savage band could scarcely have been assembled; and yet many—most indeed, were gentlemen, owners of large estates, distinguished some for oratory, some for science, and some for medical talent, many would have, and had graced the drawing-room. But here, oppressed and trampled on, their homes made desolate, their wives and children driven from the fair habitations which were rising in the wilderness, all had turned out, determined, even desperate, to defend their country, and avenge the Alamo, Tampico, and other horrible atrocities. Their guns of every size and shape, rifles without bayonets, no two perhaps of the same calibre, a few muskets, some with, some also without bayonets, were piled at hand, and each man was striving to warm a piece of meat for his morning meal. The position occupied by Houston was excellent, when the value of trees to bush-fighters is considered, having in our rear a long belt of timber, which skirted the Bayou, before us the prairie dotted with islands of wood, with here and there a gentle eminence.

Just as my eye had taken in all the details of the scene, and many local advantages had been examined, the advanced guard of the Mexican *army* came in sight, having marched from Clopper's point, their last *encampment*. In an instant all flew to arms, and preparations were

made to receive them with all due honour. Each of our companies formed rapidly under cover of the wood, and stood still awaiting orders. Santa Anna, meanwhile, took up a position with his infantry and artillery in the centre, occupying an island of timber, his cavalry covering the left flank. The artillery consisting of "one double fortified medium brass 12-pounder*" then opened on our encampment. A column of infantry also advanced in gallant style, looking exceedingly grand in the picturesque costume of Mexican soldiers, with the intention of charging our lines, but were repulsed by a discharge of grape and canister from our artillery, consisting of two 6-pounders, the only cannon we had, and for which we were indebted to the liberality of the citizens of Cincinnati, in Ohio. The artillery were ably seconded by a charge of our cavalry, supported by four-and-twenty picked riflemen, before whose deadly fire the Mexican column retreated precipitately, carrying off their dead and wounded. To this superiority, vast and incomparable, in rifle practice, has always been owing the apparently incredible disproportion of casualties during this war. The enemy, meantime, had thrown in a detachment into a piece of timber within rifle-shot of the left wing of our army, where I was posted with my company, and here a warm discharge of small arms took place, without, however, any very serious effect. I waited impatiently for the signal for close engagement, but it was not given. Santa Anna evidently wished to draw us into the open prairie, where the tried discipline of his old soldiers, veterans who had served in every revolutionary contest, would avail him much, but such were not the views of "old Sam," as our general was familiarly called. Discovering that we were not to be drawn into a pitched battle-field, and that he must attack us, if at all, firmly entrenched on the skirt of the wood, Santa Anna drew off about one thousand yards' distance, took up a position on the bank of the San Jacinto, and commenced fortifications on an eminence, with abundance of water in his view, a thick wood on his right, and a plain on his left. While he was executing this movement, our artillery kept up a constant fire, doing much damage, and, in particular, wounding, as is learnt from Santa Anna's very egotistical despatch to his own Government, one Captain Fernando Urriza.

A brief cessation now ensued, when our cavalry, in number eighty-five, under the special command of Colonel Sherman, marched out for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy, and attacked the escort of the military President of Mexico, which was posted on the left, causing it to fall back and wounding a dragoon. While advancing our gallant little corps received a volley from the enemy's infantry, and after a sharp *rencontre* with the cavalry, and two companies of cazadories, in which our men acted extremely well against a great disparity of numbers, and performed several daring acts of chivalry, they retired in good order, having had two men severely wounded, and several horses killed under them. One incident, which I remarked, while leading on my own little company to support the cavalry in case of need, was much talked of afterwards. Mirabeau B. Lamar, then a private volunteer—afterwards President of the republic—was left, during a furious charge and subsequent retreat, in the rear of his companions, between whom and

* So says General Houston's report; my impression is, that it was a 9-pounder.

himself were a detachment of Mexican cavalry. Dropping his carbine to his side, and drawing his heavy dragoon sword, Lamar determined not to be made a prisoner, waved it over his head, and alone dashed headlong into the midst of the startled Mexicans, cutting to the right and left, and in the end, despite every effort to kill or capture him, regaining his companions. Meanwhile, Lieut.-Colonel Millard had led on one party of infantry, and Colonel Burleson another with the artillery, to cover the retreat of the cavalry, under strict injunctions not to be led into a general engagement, a very wise precaution considering the fatigue and starvation so recently undergone. The Mexicans drawing off we fell back in good order to our encampment about sunset, and the army took rest and food, for several days having been most scantily supplied with either; engaged in forced marches, exposed to excessively heavy rains in the swampy prairie, and the additional inconvenience of extremely bad roads, badly supplied with rations and clothing, beef without bread or salt forming their sole support for a long period; many barefooted, and none with a change of clothing. What wonder, then, that General Houston was desirous of giving as much rest and repose as possible before the final engagement. It was an unfortunate necessity, however, giving Santa Anna time to gain reinforcements. The enemy, meantime, extended the right flank of their infantry, composed of three companies, so as to occupy the extreme point of a skirt of timber on the bank of the San Jacinto; and secured the left by a parapet or fortification about five feet high, constructed of packs and baggage, protected by the cavalry and a column of select companies (*de preferencia*) under the orders of Lieut.-Colonel Santiago Luelmo, which composed the Mexican reserve. In the centre of the breastwork was an opening, where was placed their artillery, and in the centre of the line the permanent battalion of Matamoros formed their *corps de bataille*. An army double our numbers fortifying against us!

About eight the next morning, being the 21st of April, I commanded a small body of observation, on our extreme right, when I saw advancing from the direction of Harrisburg, a dense column of men. I immediately summoned the General, who was soon at my side, and we had the satisfaction of witnessing the entrance into the enemy's camp of 500 choice troops under the command of General Cos, increasing the effective force of Santa Anna to upwards of 1900 men, whilst our aggregate force for the field numbered 783! I expressed my regret that the enemy should thus be reinforced, and my fears that Siesma and Filisola would arrive and make up 4000 men. Houston's reply was, "My men have suffered three weeks of the most frightful fatigue and starvation. Twenty-four hours' rest will better enable them to fight 4000 than they would have fought 400 last night or this morning." This was quite true, and yet it seemed a pity, in a military point of view, to see 500 picked men added to an already largely overwhelming force. I am aware that Santa Anna, in his report to his own Government, gives another version, but the result explains and excuses the prevarication and the motive. While emphatically denying the truth of his statement from positive knowledge, and the assertion of General Cos, that these *were* the picked men of the army, we yet give the Mexican President's account, as published by that chivalric

defender of the various atrocities of the Napoleon of the West, "Doran Maillard, Esq., Barrister of Law of Texas." "On the 21st, at 9 o'clock in the morning, General Cos arrived with 400 men belonging to the battalions of Aldama, Guerrero, Toluca, and Guadalaxara, having left 100 men under the orders of Colonel Mariano Garcio, with their loads in a swampy place, near Harrisburg; and these never joined me. I then saw that my orders had been contravened, for I had asked 500 select infantry, and they sent me raw recruits who had joined the army at St. Louis Potosi and Saltillo. I was highly displeased with this act of disobedience, and looked upon the reinforcement as trifling, whereas I had, before its arrival, entertained well-founded hopes of gaining some decided advantage with the new succour which was to have given me the superiority of numbers. I disposed myself, however, to take advantage of the favourable disposition which I perceived in our soldiers on the arrival of General Cos; but the latter represented to me, that having made a forced march in order to reach my camp early, his troops had neither eaten or slept during twenty-four hours, (six hours was the truth,) and that whilst the loads were coming in, it was indispensable to grant some refreshment to the soldiers. I consented to it, but in order to keep a watch over the enemy, and to protect the loads which were on the road, I posted my escort in a favourable place, reinforcing it with thirty-two infantry, mounted on officers' horses. Hardly one hour had elapsed since that operation, when General Cos begged me, in the name of Don Miguel Aguire, the commander of the escort, that I would permit his soldiers to water their horses, which had not drank for twenty-four hours, and let the men take some refreshment. Being moved by the *pitiable tone* in which this request was made, I consented, commanding, at the time, that Aguire and his men should return to occupy their position as soon as they should have satisfied their necessities; and his disobedience to this order concurred in favour of the enemy. Feeling myself exceedingly fatigued from having spent the whole morning on horseback, and the preceding night without sleep, I lay down under the shade of some trees, while the soldiers were preparing their meal. Calling General Castrillon, who acted as Major-General, I recommended him to be watchful, and to give me notice of the least movement of the enemy, and also to inform me when the repast of the soldiers would be over, because it was urgent to act in a decisive manner."

The blame is here unsparingly lavished, but with little credit, in my opinion, to Santa Anna. However, to continue my story. About half-past three o'clock in the afternoon General Houston gave orders for the officers of the Texan army to parade their respective commands, having in the mean time despatched a little party to destroy a bridge, the only one communicating with the Brazos, and thus cut off all possibility of escape should the enemy be vanquished. And yet Santa Anna says this bridge was destroyed by the Texans to retard his pursuit, when he crossed it on the previous day entire! The gallant little army paraded with alacrity and spirit, all impatient for the contest. Rest and food had done wonders; each man felt able for two or three Mexicans, and loudly declared this feeling. Their great inferiority in numbers,—less than one-half,—appeared only to increase their enthusiasm and confidence, and render them more anxious to begin. "Re-

member Crocket," said some bosom-friend of the murdered hunter. "Recollect Fannin," whispered some *ancien ami*. "Aye, and Bowie and the Alamo," chimed in others; and teeth were set, and looks of vengeance passed along the impatient ranks. Our position afforded the General every facility and opportunity for making all necessary arrangements preparatory to an advance, without our designs being exposed to the enemy. To the first regiment, commanded by Colonel Burleson, was assigned the centre. The second regiment, under the command of Colonel Sherman, formed the left wing of the army. The artillery, under the especial command of Colonel George W. Hockley, Inspector-General, was placed on the right of the first regiment, and four companies of infantry, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Henry Millard, sustained the artillery upon the right. Our cavalry, sixty-one only in number, so many horses having been killed and wounded on the previous day, were commanded by Colonel Mirabeau B. Lamar,—to this position he had attained in consequence of his daring gallantry of the previous day, his comrades insisting on being led by him to the charge. I had exchanged my company for a command under Lamar.

To begin the action, we were despatched to the enemy's left, in front of which we rode, as if to tempt them out, but in vain; all was still and quiet, though the sentinels were carefully observing us. This should be remarked, as many call the battle a surprise,—none, however, but the paid servants of Mexico. Meantime an extensive island of timber enabled Houston to concentrate his forces, and to deploy them thence in gallant style, agreeably to his design. Everything succeeded admirably, the troops showing an unexpected regularity and discipline. Every evolution was performed with precision and alacrity, and then, at the word of command, advancing to meet the trained bands of the hero of so many victories. The whole hurried forward in regular line, through an open prairie in the face of the enemy, unsheltered from their fire, trailing their arms to within sixty or seventy yards. The musicians meantime played a welcome to Santa Anna,—

"Will you come to the bower I have shaded for you?"

The artillery meanwhile galloped forward, and took station within two hundred yards of the enemy's breastwork, and poured on them a volley of grape and canister, which caused great confusion, the Mexicans never once venturing from behind their breastwork. Colonel Sherman, with his division, was the first to engage, commencing the action on the left wing, the whole body advancing in double quick time, shouting, "Remember the Alamo, Goliad, and Tampico." The enemy, in the interval, had given us volley after volley, we, however, coming within point blank shot before we raised a gun. Then each man took cool and steady aim, and seven hundred rifles and muskets rent the welkin. It was our first and last volley; charging without a halt, we were in another moment in possession of the woodland and the enemy's breastwork, the remaining veterans of Santa Anna, mostly in disorder, endeavouring by flight to save their lives. The right wing of Burleson's had taken possession of the breastwork, the artillery had charged up within seventy yards of the enemy's cannon, when it was taken possession of by Millard's company. The whole contest lasted about fourteen minutes, from the time of action until we were in complete possession

of the Mexican camp, taking one piece of cannon loaded, all their colours, camp-equipage, stores, and baggage. Never was victory more complete and decisive, more truly creditable to the conquerors, and more overwhelming to the defeated. We (the cavalry) had charged and routed that of the enemy upon the right wing, and we now gave pursuit to the fugitives, which chase did not cease until our arrival at the bridge before mentioned, when the greater part surrendered, and returned with us, Santa Anna, however, escaping for the time, in what manner will be seen below.

The struggle on the breastwork had lasted but a few minutes, our deadly fire having paralysed the Mexicans. Many, however, engaged hand to hand, and we, having no bayonets, used the butt-ends of our muskets and rifles, like the war-clubs of the Indians, many paying for it by having their shooting-irons break off at the breech. The rout commenced at half-past four o'clock, and the pursuit continued until dark.

Now let us hear Santa Anna's version, in which he would make out a case of surprise by 783 men against 1900, the former advancing some hundreds of yards through the open prairie, under the fire of the Mexicans.

"I was in a deep sleep," says Santa Anna, "when I was awakened by the firing and noise. I immediately perceived we were attacked, and had fallen into frightful disorder. The enemy had surprised our advanced posts; one of their wings had driven away the three companies (*de preferencia*) posted in the wood on our right, and from the trees were now doing much execution with their rifles. The rest of the enemy's infantry attacked us in front with two pieces of cannon, and their cavalry did the same on our left. Although the mischief was already done I thought I could repair it, and with that view sent the battalion of Aldama to reinforce the line of battle formed by that of Matamoros, and organized a column of attack under the orders of Don Manuel Cespedes, composed of the *permanent battalion* of Guerrero, and the piquets of Toluca and Guadalaxara, which moved to the front with the company of Lieut.-Colonel Luelmo, in order to check the advance of the enemy; but my efforts were in vain. The line was abandoned by the two battalions who were covering it; and, notwithstanding the firing of our cannon, the two columns were thrown into disorder, Colonel Cespedes being wounded, and Colonel Luelmo killed. General Castrillon, who ran to and fro to re-establish order in our ranks, fell mortally wounded; and the new recruits threw everything into confusion, breaking their ranks, and preventing the veterans from making use of their arms, whilst the enemy were rapidly advancing with loud hurrahs, and in a few moments obtained a victory, which they could not some hours before even have dreamed of."

Instead of this there was not, I believe, one man in our whole camp who did not feel certain of the very defeat which Santa Anna takes so much pains to explain away. A guard being left to take care of the enemy's camp, our army returned to quarters with their killed and wounded, of whom a particular mention cannot but be made in this place:—

Major-General Samuel Houston, wounded severely.

1st Regiment Texan Volunteers.

Company A.—Geo. Waters, private, slightly wounded.
B.—J. Cunly; W. S. Walker, privates, badly wounded.
C.—Capt. Jesse Beillingsly, slightly wounded.
Lemuel Blackely, private, killed.
Logan Vandeveer, private, badly wounded.
Washington Anderson, private, slightly wounded.
Calvin Page, private, slightly wounded.
Martin Walker, private, slightly wounded.
D.—Capt. Mosely Baker, slightly wounded.
C. D. Anderson, private, slightly wounded.
Allen Ingram, private, slightly wounded.
F.—Levy Wilkinson, private, slightly wounded.
James Nelson, private, slightly wounded.
Mitchell Putnam, private, slightly wounded.
H.—A. R. Stephens, private, slightly wounded.
J. Tom, private, badly wounded.
J.— —— Cooper, killed.
K. B. Brigham, killed.
Total killed, 3; wounded, 15.

2nd Regiment Texan Volunteers.

Company D.—Second Lieutenant Lamb, killed.
G. W. Robinson and W. Winters, wounded severely.
First Serjeant Albert Gallatin, wounded slightly.
E.—Wash. Lewis and E. Gector, wounded slightly.
F.—Alphonso Steel, wounded slightly.
K.—First Lieutenant J. C. Hale, killed.
J.—Capt. Smith, slightly wounded.
First Serjeant T. P. Fowl, killed.
W. F. James and —— Trask, severely wounded.
Killed, 3; wounded, 8.

Dr. W. Mosely, wounded severely; died since.
A. R. Stevens, wounded severely; died since.
Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Neil, artillery, wounded severely.
W. A. Park, artillery, wounded slightly.
Devereaux J. Woodriff, cavalry, wounded severely.

On the side of the Mexican: killed, 630, among whom were 1 General Officer, 4 Colonels, 2 Lieut.-Colonels, 7 Captains, and 1 Cadet. Prisoners, 730—President Santa Anna, General Cos, 4 Colonels (Aides). About 600 muskets, 300 sabres, and 200 pistols were collected, several hundred mules and horses, and nearly 12,000 in specie. Generals Santa Anna and Cos were captured on the day succeeding the battle of San Jacinto. A party despatched from our camp discovered the former, alone, unarmed, and disguised in poor clothing, on Buffalo Bayou, and were ignorant of his name and rank until they brought him to General Houston, to whom he announced himself as President of the Mexican Republic, and Commander-in-Chief of the army. But let him relate his escape and capture himself; no one can do so better. "All hopes being lost, and every one flying as fast as he could, I found myself in the greatest danger, when a servant of my Aide-de-camp, Colonel Don Juan Bringas, offered me his horse, and with the tenderest and most urging expressions, insisted upon my riding off the field. I looked for my escort, and two dragoons, who were hurriedly saddling their horses, told me that their officers and fellow soldiers had all made their escape. I remembered that General Filisola was only seventeen

leagues off, and I took my direction towards him, darting through the enemy's ranks. They pursued me, and after a ride of one league and a half, overtook me on the banks of a large creek, the bridge over which was burned by the enemy to *retard our pursuit* [to prevent their flight]. I alighted from my horse, and with much difficulty succeeded in concealing myself in a thicket of dwarf pines. Night coming on, I escaped them, and the hope of reaching the army gained me strength. I crossed the creek, with the water up to my breast, and continued my route on foot. I found in a house which had been abandoned some articles of clothing, which enabled me to change my apparel. At 11 o'clock, A.M., while I was crossing a large plain, my pursuers overtook me again. Such is the history of my capture."

General Samuel Houston, whose conduct and courage in the field were above praise, had been severely wounded in the ankle, and was slumbering on a blanket at the foot of a spreading oak on the morning in question. I, Lamar, and Karnes stood near in conversation, when a man, meanly dressed, and bespattered with mud, was ushered before us. Guessing the rank and character of Houston, he approached him, squeezed his hand, at which Houston awoke, and General Santa Anna then announced himself, in a state of great nervous agitation.

"Sir," said the Texan Commander, pointing to a medicine-chest close to his head, "be seated. Such accommodation as we have is at your service."

Santa Anna did as he was requested, and then demanded some opium, which having been furnished him, he appeared somewhat more composed, and said to Houston, "You were born to no ordinary destiny —you have conquered the Napoleon of the West!"

We could not forbear smiling, though regarding the vauntee with such vast hatred; for though ready to sympathize with any brave but vanquished warrior, the massacres of the Alamo, Goliad, and Tampico had filled our bosoms with sentiments so bitter towards this man, that pity had no abiding place. Houston turned the conversation to these subjects, when Santa Anna defended them, on the ground of expediency and having *received* strict orders from his Government! This was quite as absurd as if Cæsar, or Cromwell, or Napoleon had spoken of orders; every one knowing that he was, and still is, military despot and dictator in Mexico, ruling people and parliament by the sword. Houston then resigned his tent to him, placing a guard of officers around to prevent the vengeance of the soldiers, who, furious at the cold-blooded slaughter of their companions, cried aloud for him to be put to death. While all felt he deserved any fate which might befall him, yet were all well aware that, as a prisoner of war, he was entitled to our protection, and that his having violated every divine and human maxim would be no excuse for our doing the same.

Next day a convention was signed between Houston and Santa Anna, who ordered Generals Filisola and Saona to retire to San Antonio de Bexar, and Urrea to Victoria. A final treaty was on the 1st of May entered into between "His Excellency the General-in-Chief of the army of operations, President of the Mexican Republic, Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, for one party; and His Excellency the President of the Republic of Texas, Mr. David G. Burnet, for the other party;" by which the former bound himself "not to take up arms, nor to influ-

ence their being taken up, against the people of Texas;" and thus ended the first war of independence.

Generals Filisola and Urrea then commenced a retreat; a retreat disastrous in the extreme, and attended by every dismal circumstance which could add to its natural *désagréments*. The Mexican Generals in the first place monopolized the wagons to carry their own private plunder, the baggage of the troops being left behind. Rains pouring down upon the rich alluvial soil between the Brazos and the Colorado, had changed the green prairies into seas of mud, in which an Indian canoe might have floated. At one place, called Atasquito, says one writer, "they suffered the most. Here they were overtaken by dreadful cold rains, in the middle of a swamp, through which with the utmost difficulty the progress of a day was about three miles." By dint, however, of great exertion and courage, they succeeded in dragging the artillery and wagons through these dismal swamps. General Filisola, in a dispatch (of this retreat I rely wholly on Mexican authority, having been dispatched to Galveston directly after the capture of Santa Anna) to his own Government, speaking of the 30th of April says, "*La noche fué horrorosa.* Artillery, cavalry, sick, baggage, mules, everything that accompanied the army, was a chaotic mass, buried in mud." There was no wood to cook, no provisions to be cooked, except a few beans and a little salt; ammunition wet, muskets rusty, men sick and dying, no doctors nor medicine. "Had the enemy," says Filisola, "met us under these cruel circumstances, on the only road that was left, no alternative remained but to die or surrender at discretion."

Such was the battle of San Jacinto and its results. The fate of Santa Anna is well known. Liberated by the Texan Government, he returned to Mexico, under a pledge to obtain the recognition of our independence. His first act was to fit out expeditions against Texas, again to be defeated, and finally destroyed. The war continued without intermission until May, 1843, when an armistice was entered into between the two republics, which, it is expected, will end, thanks to the mediation of Great Britain, in the recognition of Texan independence. Whether in the mean time Texas will commit the suicidal act of merging into the North American Union, remains to be seen*.

* Those who seek a detailed account of the whole Texan war, will find it in two books—one furiously anti-Texan, "Maillard's History," full, to my certain knowledge, of errors and mis-statements; the other, a glowing panegyric on Texas, equally erroneous on the other side, "Kennedy's Texas." A careful examination of the two may give some slight idea of the real state of the question.

REMARKS AND OPINIONS OF MAJOR MUFFIN UPON MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS APPERTAINING.

BY HENRY CURLING.

MAJOR MUFFIN was an eccentric individual of the old school. In early youth he had served in a regiment of dragoons with considerable distinction, credit, and renown. In the Major's dawning time of day (a few years before those glorious fields, which were fought, followed, and won in the Peninsula), the dragoon regiments were generally officered by fox-hunting Esquires, whose arduous duties were for the most part comprehended in an occasional review or field-day, in which the eye of fashion and beauty rewarded the efforts of the powdered and pig-tailed heroes as they set their squadrons in the field.

If the Major, however, had been unlucky enough to quit the Service before those glorious campaigns under the Great Captain of the age, in which the Army became re-modelled, and fox-hunters became fire-eaters, he had done his devoir as a true knight in those hard-fought campaigns at the mess-table so peculiar to the period, and at which it was considered equally disgraceful for a man to decline his three bottles after dinner as for him to refuse a five-barred gate in the field. These hard-fought contests, in which the Major had seen as many officers put to bed with a shovel in his regiment in a twelvemonth as perhaps it would have lost in an actual contest with the enemy, the Major delighted hugely to descant upon. He was a jovial, good-hearted, eccentric, old gentleman, whose great delight consisted in hearing himself talk—

> "One whom the music of his own vain tongue
> Did ravish like enchanting harmony."

He could discourse "scholarly and wisely" too upon most matters, but his most favourite topic of conversation was the profession he had served in. It was his glory, his delight. He had watched the Peninsular struggle, and, Gazette in hand, and spectacles on nose, fought with those he read of, in the summer-house of his garden in Derbyshire, same as my Uncle Toby.

Having a nephew, who was to be heir to his large property, in a regiment of the line, he used to spend much of his time, when the corps was in England, with this youth, and, albeit the old gentleman in figure and dress was a perfect specimen of a former style, he was a favourite amongst the juveniles of the corps, being as much of a boy as the youngest Ensign there. In his own estimation, he was a sort of oracle upon military subjects, and in his discourse was wont occasionally to indulge in a sort of rambling soliloquy, interlarding his conversation with various dialogues invented for the nonce to carry out his meaning.

"Various as erroneous," said the Major, one afternoon, "are the ideas and impressions of those youthful and aspiring heroes of the present day, who are candidates for military renown, regarding military life.

"From the first moment the spirit-stirring drum strikes an answering chord upon the heart of some Squire Gawky, just emancipated from the school-boy spot, up to the hour he finds his hopes crowned by a

Horse-Guards epistle and appointment, all is ambition and chivalrous excitement—all is expectation, and imagination of the glories of the profession he has chosen.

"His spirit," continued the Major, utterly regardless that his auditors had been lulled to sleep by the monotony of his tones, "being imbued with high notions and military pride, he walks Regent Street with a sort of cavalry strut, throws his head in the air without the aid of a Drill-Serjeant, forgets the stoop he had learnt whilst poring over Latin and Greek, and feels he has letters patent of nobility conferred upon him, since he hath chosen to follow no other trade but the trade of war, no other profession but the profession of arms. Nay, he becomes great in his own esteem, and begins to practise the cut direct upon his youthful companions. He feels he has taken precedence of those whose duller and less adventurous spirits have chosen more peaceful occupation." The Major was now fairly mounted upon his hobby. "How few, however," he continued, "of those who are candidates for military renown and a laced jacket, have a proper idea of what the life of an officer is, or ought to be. Nay, how few have the least idea of a regiment of the line.

"The youngster of the town gets his first impression of military life from seeing a regiment of Foot Guards beating their drums through St. James's Park, or the chivalrous appearance of a squadron of Life Guards as they 'give their horsetails to the wind,' and march, to the sound of silver drums and trumpets, along Regent Street, to mount guard. And what can be more splendid-looking, or calculated to excite and fill the breast of an Englishman with military ardour, than the sight of these glorious regiments, thus proudly stepping to their own military music, in the heart of their own unconquered island? Nothing, unless it be when they spread their colours and form their unequalled ranks in an enemy's land.

"The country cousin, again, takes *his* impression of military life, and desire to don weapon and harness, from the depôt of some regiment whose service companies are on duty perhaps in the hot East, the sugar islands of the West, the frozen regions of the North, or in any of those states and stations where the unwearied and indefatigable British Infantry are wont to unfold the banners of their 'white-faced shore.'

"The first impressions of the youngster, thus taken, are usually, we affirm, erroneous; and to those who are thus caught with chaff, disappointment and an early retirement frequently ensue. The votaries of the trade of war, albeit they are all soldiers from choice or inclination, since hardly any man is forced by his parents to make choice of the profession of arms, are frequently self-deluded; they expect too much, and looking upon the life they are about to lead more in the light of a continued round of jollity, victory, fresh quarters, new scenes, and uncommon adventures, they are often surprised to find there are really duties and callings in the life of an officer, even during peace, which they never either calculated upon, or had any conception of.

"'Strike me ugly,' said the son of a Manchester millocrat, one winter's night, as he was seated in a turf-built hut, situate in a wild Serbonian bog in Ould Ireland, and after a heavy march in search of a whisky-still—'Strike me ugly, if I can stand this sort of thing much longer, Capt. Chacot. I thought when I entered the Hundred and

Fifty-first, I was about to enjoy a glorious round of jollity—one continued revel.'

"'Ha!' said the Captain, an old Peninsular hero, who had seen many a field, and brought away more than one scar in token. 'Ha! doubtless, Ensign Crotchet; and you find the profession not altogether what you thought it, eh? Let me see—how long is it since you joined?'

"'A whole year,' returned the Ensign, 'and in all that time, I take it on my damnation, I have not had opportunity of showing my dress-coat in the eyes of the fair sex three several times.'

"'Good,' returned the Captain, 'better days will come, Crotchet, my dear. We're first for the West Indies, and shall sail in the spring. You'll have an opportunity there, my friend, of dancing, I trust, at many balls, and those rings on your fingers will sparkle in the hot sun of the tropics, Ensign, "like the jewels in an Ethiop's ear." If not food for the land-crabs, ere another summer, you'll pick up a rich wife in the west, and return with the corps to Old England, minus your liver, but accompanied by half a dozen olive-coloured piccaninnies. My service to you.'

"'Perish the thought,' said the juvenile, 'and perdition catch the piccaninnies. I detest the Service, Captain, I find it's not to my taste. I'll send in my papers soon as I return to the head-quarters; I'll retire, doff my regimentals, and sell out altogether.'

"'Do so,' returned the Captain, 'I, for one, give you leave and licence to return home to your friends, since you neither suit the Service, nor the Service you—the Service will benefit by your retirement. You've mistaken your profession, Crotchet; with your ideas of comfort and luxury, you should have joined the clergy, settled down on some fat abbey lands, with a goodly living, and a palace for a parsonage.'

"'Positively no!' returned Crotchet, 'I could never away with a black coat and a country life.'

"'Then follow the calling of your fathers before you, take to "beams, thraddles, and shuttles," as Sir Walter hath it. Turn weaver, man,' said the Captain, winking his eye at his senior Subaltern, who at that moment entered the shed, ''tis a thriving trade, and will suit your disposition, Crotchet.'

"'With an allowance of two thousand a year,' said Crotchet, disposing his person at full length upon a straw bed in one corner of the hut, from whence he was quickly driven by the myriads of fleas which assailed his body, 'with an allowance of two thousand a year,' said the Ensign, 'I don't exactly see the urgent necessity of *my* following any profession, least of all one that is likely to give me as food to the land-crabs of the West Indies, Captain, during peace, and make a target of my body in time of war.'

"'And what says Courtall,' said the Captain, addressing himself to his other Subaltern, who after the march had been looking to the comfort of the men of the party, and enforcing a sort of accommodation for them by appropriating a quantity of loose straw in a sort of cart stable, adjoining the hut, 'what says Courtall upon the subject? He also is a monied man, younger brother to an Earl, and junior Sub to yourself in the Hundred and Fifty-first, Crotchet. Have these excursions amongst

the fens and fastnesses of the Emerald Isle given you also a disgust to Service, Courtall?'

"'Quite otherwise,' returned the youngster, who having clutched an old hen from the smoky rafters of the cottage, and wrung its neck, was busily employed in swaddling its carcase, feathers and all, in a hay-band, and depositing it amongst the red hot embers upon the hearth, 'quite otherwise. I like these midnight excursions myself; they are pleasant hours, Captain, snatched from the dull stream of life. This is quite a bivouac, so hand me the full-proof, and toss me a cigar. My service to you, Crotchet; you look dismal as the night, man; kick that grunter out of your way, and make yourself happy. I love the Hundred and Fifty-first, dote on the Service, and if I live to be as old as the number on my cap, may I be fillipped with a three-man beetle if ever I leave it.'

"'Except for promotion,' said the Captain, 'eh, Courtall!'

"'That's another matter,' returned the juvenile. 'Come, Crotchet, throw off this "unprevailing woe," light up a cigar, and fill your glass. To me there's more music in the clatter of the fixed bayonet, the roll of the sheepskin, and the bray of the shrill trump, than all the Italian Opera can supply.'

"'I'm free to confess you're both eccentric individuals,' said the dandy. 'Excuse me, I abominate tobacco, it's a filthy habit, only fit for carters; full-proof whiskey, too, disagrees with my head as much as the weed nauseates my stomach; I hold him unfit for the society of the ladies, who indulges in these things.'

"The junior Subaltern and the Captain exchanged glances, whilst the exquisite, wet, weary, and discontented, once more disposed himself upon the truckle-bed of the cottage, and endeavoured to coax himself into forgetfulness of the hardships of the situation he had brought himself into by entering the Service.

"'Twas in vain, however, that Ensign Crotchet drew up his legs from contact with the hen's nest at the bottom of his bed, and tried to woo 'tired nature's sweet restorer.' Sleep, which the immortal Panza blesses the inventor of as covering a man all over like a cloak, refused to steep the senses of the soldier in forgetfulness. Stung by the vermin that left the geese and chickens of the hovel to visit his couch, and disturbed by the chorus of a song his more lively companions trowled out over their cups, he leant his cheek upon his hand, and gazed upon them 'with lack-lustre eye,' as seated before the turf fire, enveloped by the steam from their saturated habiliments, and the smoke of their havannahs, in the intervals of their jollity they attended to the cookery of the potatoes and fowl, which was to furnish forth their supper.

"'I know not,' he said, as he looked upon his more mercurial companions, whilst they laughed, sang, and conversed, with hearts as light as the Black Knight and the Clerk of Copmanhurst, 'I know not which is the most disagreeable, the horrible reek of this squalid cottage, the smell of your bad cigars, or the villanous odour of burnt feathers from the fowl you are cooking. May I crave to know the process by which you propose to render that feathered biped fit for mastication? In the moral north I have been told of such things being served to table, as a haggis, and a singed sheep's head, with the wool on; nay, I am sufficiently sharp set, after this day's work, to adventure upon either of

those dainties; but methinks an old hen roasted in her feathers will require a better glass of claret to wash down than our present quarters is likely to afford. The Art of Cookery, by Mistress Glass, hath no such article as a singed fowl—how do you mean to dish it up?'

"'Thus,' said the Lieutenant, drawing his sword, thrusting it into the bird, and hoisting it into a dish upon the table, after having with a fork peeled it of its skin, and which, by operation of the embers upon the hearth and the hayband it had been swathed in, came readily off, and left the delicate white body of the fowl hissing hot, and dressed to a turn. 'Thus,' said the Lieutenant, dishing up the roast potatoes. 'Supper is upon table, gentlemen; let me help you to the gizzard-wing, Crotchet; and if ever you tasted a better-dressed bird, I'll consent to lose my commission as cook to the detachment.'

"Perhaps in all his former life, and pampered in the luxury of a splendid home, Ensign Crotchet had never really enjoyed a meal as he relished his present supper, consisting, as it did, of a singed fowl, and a dish of roast potatoes to eke it out. Hunger and fatigue are marvellous relishers. 'Twas the first night-excursion he had taken amongst the mountains, and ere day dawned he was fain to confess there was virtue in whiskey-toddy and solace in a cigar.

"This is no overdrawn picture. Many a youth who has entered the Army with the most extravagant ideas of the pleasures and gaieties he was about to enjoy, hath found it uncongenial and unsuited to his habits and tastes; and it is somewhat extraordinary that those persons who might be supposed to enter the Service as a profession are often the first to cry out.

"'Devil take this life,' said the son of an officer of great merit, who had risen from the ranks, and whose services had procured the speaker his commission also, the moment he was old enough for appointment, 'Devil take this life; it is one of continual drudgery and drill. Banishment to dull villages at home, and embroilment under tropical suns abroad. I'm sick of it, and would rather be apprentice in a chandler's shop in the metropolis, than go out to the West again. I'll sell out!'

"And the youth did sell out, married the widow of a rich trader, and throve.

"This was a man who had no soul above buttons. The pomp and glory of the profession was lost upon him. There was no chivalry in his soul; the spirit-stirring drum and ear-piercing fife found no answering chord upon his heart. Soldiership had been thrust upon him by the circumstances of his case. He was a dull, mechanical, money-getting individual, totally unfitted by disposition and taste for the profession he had chosen; he had as little idea of the chivalrous and the noble as he had of the beautiful and the picturesque. Nay," said the Major, "I once heard him remark upon the annoyance of being stationed in that splendid fortress, Edinburgh Castle, an ugly remnant of barbarism, he affirmed, which would be made much more useful by being converted into a cotton-factory.

"It has been observed, however," continued the Major, "by campaigners, that actual service in the tented field soon modifies the sort of affectation I have before spoken of. Once on service and the fastidious soon forget their follies, and go through their work as well as the rough and ready chaps. 'Pleasure and action,' Iago says, 'make the

hours seem short,' and as the army which is healthy in the field, becomes sickly as soon as in winter quarters, so it is, perhaps, with the minds of men, as with their bodies. Idleness is the root of all evil. The enemy once in view and all minor wants and wishes are merged in the one great desire of the jolly Briton, 'Only let me get at him. That's all.' "

The barrack-room in which Major Muffin was visiting his nephew, whilst he ran on in this somewhat original style, was so filled with the smoke of the havannahs of his somnolent auditors, who, however they might doze over his discourse, sleeping or waking, kept up a continual file fire with their cigars, that he quite failed in discovering they were wholly inattentive to his discourse. A plaster bust of the immortal bard was on the chimney-piece before him, and supposing the wondrous expression of genius and beauty contained in that countenance was called forth in one of his auditors by the discourse he had favoured him with, he continued his dissertation without remorse or dread.

"It hath pleased," he said, "various great men of other great nations to affirm that *we* of *the little island* are essentially an unmilitary nation; that we are, indeed, *no* soldiers, but merely shopkeepers; that we comprehend nothing of the art military; hardly the division of a battle know; have borrowed what few manœuvres we practise; have scarce a military school for the instruction of our youth, nay, scarce a book upon the art of war in our language; and, more than this,—than these,—than all,—that we are not even capable of having the fact beaten into us, when we are really and truly *well beaten*.

"To spare ourselves the trouble of disputing these several points with our adversaries, we will at once jump to the conclusion that the very circumstance of their truth would proclaim our 'sceptered isle,' our

> 'Water-walled bulwark,—still secure
> And confident from foreign purposes,'

to be, what Shakspeare terms it, 'The royal seat of Mars.' And if, without education, training IN, or knowledge *of*, the art of war, we have invariably done our devoir, and succeeded in polishing off our adversaries in most of those countries where we have had the honour of meeting them,—granting, I say, we are no soldiers, nor understand even the tactics, manœuvres, or etiquette of soldiers, it must be conceded that we have somehow an unsoldierlike way of making those who profess so much knowledge in the military art look mighty foolish in the field sometimes.

"Talking of tactics and manœuvres," continued the Major, "reminds me of an anecdote of my friend, General ——. I cannot vouch for the truth of it, as I was not present; but, like Matthews' story of the old Scotchwoman, it made a great noise at the time. My friend was, I believe, the first introducer of something like the present system of drill in the British Service, and was fond of descanting upon the subject of his *peevot* system. Nothing, indeed, but pivots would serve the turn with the General for some time,—he could converse of nothing else. On the first occasion, however, on which he had an opportunity of trying the effect of his new system, from being overmatched, or some other cause, his force *turned* upon a *pivot*, and found it necessary to make off to the rear in double-quick. As the flying battalion came

past the General in their haste to advertise him of the failure of his system, an old Scotch officer, who was by his side, considerably astonished at the event, could not help remarking upon it.

"'Eh, God Almighty, Davy, mon,' he said, as he prepared to wheel his own charger, 'where are all your peevots noo, mon?'"

"I am fond," said the Major one day, as he was taking his evening walk of meditation, and airing his pigtail upon the common before his house, "I am fond of taking the impressions made upon my fellow men whilst in situations of imminent peril, and during the excitement of action, so that whenever I spy an old campaigner I always cross-examine him, in order to come at his real feelings whilst in the field, and the particular impression of what he saw, whilst blows, blood, and death were everywhere around him. The answers I have received have been sometimes sufficiently descriptive. Although given by uneducated men, and in few words, they told the tale, perhaps, better than a volume. Like the reply of the young Ensign, (whose regiment at Waterloo had been the whole day assailed in square by continued charges of Cuirassiers, and torn to pieces by round shot, till it was reduced to an unconquered handful,) if they found themselves unable to give a very elaborate description, they have in a few words conveyed, perhaps, more than their most laboured efforts could have effected. When the young Subaltern was questioned as to what had happened on the part of the field where his corps had been engaged, he was quite unable to describe the scene of confusion and carnage. 'All I know upon the matter,' he said, 'is that I have been ridden over all day long by every fellow who owned a horse.'

"'What did *you* think of Waterloo?' I inquired of an old fellow I found one morning digging in my garden, where he had been hired to assist by the lazy head gardener.

"'Think of it?' said the old crab, stopping and leaning upon his spade; 'I thought it hell upon earth. I was utterly deaf with the continued roar of the artillery on one side or the other, and the sound of the musketry of the men beside me. I could not see my companion's face for one minute, (as he stood next me,) for the thick smoke; and the next I found him choking, retching, and vomiting in the agonies of death, and clutching my very feet. Sometimes a shot went tearing through our ranks, and almost shaking the part of the square where I had been for some hours standing, seeming to loosen our files as it knocked the poor fellows head over heels, like ninepins on a bowling-green; and then we heard the familiar tones of the old Colonel, to prepare for cavalry, as those devilish cuirassiers poured upon us, and we were wedged together into a wall of iron again to receive them. That's all I know about my feelings, Sir,' said the old soldier. 'It was a terrible sight, and awful to look upon. It was hell upon earth,' he muttered, as he resumed his spade, and commenced digging with fearful energy.

"All the tradespeople I employ," continued Major Muffin, "are men who have served (if I can find 'em). One of the finest fellows I ever knew is my shoemaker, a little quiver fellow, who did his country service in the Rifles during the Peninsular struggle*. This is, without

* Benjamin Harris, a shoemaker, residing in Richmond-street, Soho. This man

exception, one of the best specimens of a British soldier it ever was my fortune to fall in with. I have often cross-examined this man in regard to the scenes he has gone through; and as I knew he was a dare-devil, who scarce feared anything, I was anxious to hear his impressions and feelings during the trying hours.

"'At first,' said the old soldier, 'when drawn up before the enemy, and looking upon their formidable lines, whilst waiting for the game to begin, the eye rests upon the dark cannon, and all the preparation for slaughter, with a feeling of awe. I often observed men grow pale and serious when they came within sight of the enemy, however joyous and anxious for the fray before. "This will be the last day of my life," I remember one of my comrades saying, the moment we got a glimpse of the French; and the presentiment was almost instantly fulfilled by his being the first man killed. For my own part, whilst drawn up before a battle I always felt my stomach more or less affected. I felt, indeed, as if I had no bowels for a few moments,—I don't think I should have relished the daintiest morsel that ever was served up to table. Then came the sound and concussion of the first great gun, at which the heart seemed to leap, and the spirits to rise. Peal upon peal soon followed; the battle began in earnest; and those who were not instantly in the agony of death, or wounds, seemed alive to nothing but the anxiety of dashing at their adversaries, and winning the game. They were imbued with the spirit and ferocity of tigers when once let slip upon the charge; but the interval before the dreadful scene commenced was always to me a most uncomfortable period, and I judge, from what I myself felt, the feelings of other men. 'Twas a hideous sight, Sir, after all, to look upon. The cannon planted all ready, and the forces of the enemy preparing to play a part which in a few moments would be sure to send torture and death among us by wholesale. 'Twas like something unreal, when you reflected that thousands, there standing, would be ere sunset mangled with instruments of war, and dead upon the earth's surface.'

"Here," said the Major, "was an exemplification of the words of the great bard, when he says that,—

> 'Between the acting of a dreadful thing
> And the first motion, all the interim is
> Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream.'

"'Muffin,' said a friend one day, 'what various sayings and doings are given to men in your profession which have no foundation except in the excited brains of the romantic.'

"I'd take a bet that one-half the things which great heroes are reported to have given utterance to in times of extreme peril or great excitement of action, they themselves would smile at as unreal. Napoleon has had many of these things thrust upon him which have no foundation whatever; but Napoleon was vain, and fathered the spurious brood with a smile and a shrug, when he heard of some quaint saying which he was conscious he had never given utterance to.

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is an extraordinary specimen, even of the riflemen who fought under the Great Duke. During his service, although incessantly engaged, he was never reported, or punished for a single offence. The services of this man, both with his rifle, and his shoemaking implements, when the fight was done, would fill a volume.

"The words of the Great Duke to the Guards at Waterloo, which have been handed from mouth to mouth for so many years, have lately been said not to be *the* words used by him on that occasion. 'Ha,' he is reported to have said on their being related to him, 'I did say something or other at the moment, but I forget what it was. People are fond of putting speeches into my mouth.'

"In most of the descriptions of that battle the Duke is said on more than one occasion to have taken refuge in one of the infantry squares. In a recent publication, however, it is denied that he ever did so. An eye-witness, however, of the contest has rather led me to believe that he was once or twice obliged to put into port, by running for the nearest square at hand.

"'Had you an opportunity of observing the Duke,' I said, 'on that day?'

"'Yes,' returned my friend, 'I saw him in a situation of extreme peril, and yet as cool and unconcerned as you or I at the present moment.

"'He rode swiftly down in front of the line where I myself was stationed. At that time he was quite alone, having, I suppose, dispatched every one of his attendants in different directions. After riding a short distance he suddenly reined in his steed, threw the bridle upon his neck, and putting his spy-glass to his eye gazed intently upon a distant part of the field. At that moment he was joined by one of his Staff, and the next they were aware of the approach of the enemy's cavalry, who came upon them like a whirlwind. The Duke had but just time to gain the shelter of his own battalion ere the charging squadrons were upon them. The confusion was great; but, if I recollect rightly, the Duke rode into the nearest square of infantry at hand.'

"The most trivial anecdote of one so illustrious," said the Major, "is worthy of notice. This I considered a very characteristic one. It shows the coolness with which the Great Chief moved the springs of the battle, and the calm sagacity with which, having dispatched all his squires on different missions to the several parts of his power, he himself galloped amidst the thickest of the fray, in order to give his personal attention to something of moment in another part of the field."

The Major here finished his discourse, and, rising from his seat, bowed to the bust of Shakspeare upon the mantelpiece, and wishing the sleepers good night, walked off to his hotel in the town.

At some other time we may, perhaps, give another specimen of his eccentric opinions and manners.

THE NAVAL CHAPLAIN'S NOTE-BOOK.

CHAPTER II.

[Continued from No. 187, page 224.]

"Qualis sermo meus esset, si unà sederemus, aut ambularemus, illaboratus et facilis, ... Hæc sit propositi nostri summa: quod sentimus, loquamur: quod loquimur, sentiamus. Concordet sermo cum vita."—SENECA.

"Ma foi, sur l'avenir bien fou qui se fîra;
Tel qui rit vendredi, dimanche pleurera."
RACINE. *Les Plaideurs.*

THERE are many reasons which may be assigned for the strong propensity which English children so generally feel for a sea-life. The brilliancy of our naval achievements will naturally create in the minds of our youth a predilection for embarking in a profession which holds out to them such bright prospects; connexions engaged in so honourable and hazardous a career will induce others to select it for their choice; the songs which portray its vicissitudes with such truth and such pathos, as to render even its most imminent risks and dangers the object of a boy's fondest desire; the Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, which is sure, notwithstanding all the anxious care of the doting mother, to fall into the hands of her favourite as soon as he can master words of two syllables; the sight of some tiny Midshipman at the village church, in all the pride of a cocked-hat and side-arms, may each serve in some measure to account for this universal eagerness "to tempt the faithless sea." And as our insular position requires that we should look for protection from wooden walls rather than from those of any other material, all this would seem to be very wisely ordered. The contrast in this, as well as in many other respects, between ourselves and our neighbours on the opposite side of the Straits of Dover, may be accounted for on somewhat similar grounds: there every boy would be a soldier. And this difference of taste, from their being a continental power, and, therefore, not so urgently in need of the superiority at sea, is no less wisely ordained; though, doubtless, the victories of Napoleon, dazzling like the brilliancy of meteors, may be assigned as one prominent and immediate cause of this Gallic predisposition.

But with respect to my own early yearnings for a sea-life, none of the reasons above assigned can be said to have been the proximate cause of them. The dashing exploits of fleets, and squadrons, and single ships, "in the time of my childhood," the hottest period of the war, resounded in every nook of the three kingdoms, and did not fail to "flutter my wings," though, by reason of my tender years, I could comprehend nothing more of what the newspapers told about them than the brief sum total, that the day was our own; naval connexions I had none; the Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, Sinbad the Sailor, and Philip Quarl, had each in turn afforded me a world of amusement; and before I was twelve years old I had perused Anson's Voyage round the World, hugged it under my pillow, and almost literally devoured its contents. Whatever I might perchance have heard of the existence of such a being, I had certainly never seen anything in the shape of a little

Midshipman strutting in uniform through the street of the village. It was none of these things which created within me a desire for the sea; this desire was innate, imbibed with my mother's milk.

When I grew old enough to be sent to a public school, my ruling passion became stronger than ever. Cæsar's Commentaries gratified my incipient predilection for antique lore, by making me acquainted with the actual state of Old England at the period when its peace was disturbed by the first foreign invasion of which any account has come down to our times. I had already sense enough to feel that there was more of the sublime and beautiful in Homer than in the writings of a hundred modern poets put together; and "the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle" was a greater favourite with me, because he repeats so often the same lines, which, however, all told separately in the stated number appointed for the lesson. Gil Blas, in the original French, tickled my fancy so exceedingly, that, as a work of supererogation, I read through his two octavo volumes for my amusement. But the book of books was a Latin translation of my old friend Robinson Crusoe! In this, the plain unvarnished style of De Foe, his "well of English undefiled," even to the nautical phrases themselves, was so closely and so patly rendered, that I was perfectly enchanted with the transcendent powers, as they then appeared to me, of the genius which had accomplished so difficult a task. "*In hoc eunt dies, in hoc noctes; hoc opus meum est, hæc cogitatio;*" and I was soon better known among my playmates by the appellation of "the Middy," than by the prænomen, cognomen, nomen, or agnomen, which belonged to me either by right of birth and baptism, or by the ancient custom of adoption. So little value did I set upon the doubts which some of my playmates, in their wisdom, were pleased to express of this my choice ever being carried into effect, that, in order to prove the perfect sincerity of my assertions, I, in numerous instances, backed my opinion by betting the long odds of ten to one in favour of my cause. Though, to confess the truth, even at the risk of tarnishing the fair fame of some of my quondam companions, who have since risen in the world, and of exposing them to the imputation of not being over-scrupulous in matters which concern debts of honour, I must need add, that, owing either to the shortness of their memory, or that of their purses, I have never been one farthing the richer for having fairly and honestly won the wagers. The chances, however, in their favour were much greater than I had reckoned on, and even perhaps more so than they themselves had calculated; for when, during the ensuing vacation, I ventured, with a palpitating heart and faltering tongue, to disclose the secret of my wishes to my father and one or two friends who chanced to be staying in the house, the clamour raised against me was loud and deep. Nor were the strong objections which they urged without reason, for they told me nothing but the plain truth. Neither would the arguments which they summoned to their aid, have failed to convince any one who was not obstinately and doggedly bent on having his own way, and all such as

> "..... convinced against their will,
> Are of the same opinion still."

They urged, as powerful motives of dissuasion, the weakliness of my constitution as unfitting me to undergo the hardships and privations of

the profession I had so unwisely chosen, even allowing me to be fortunate enough in the earlier part of it to be sent to a favourable station; they bade me bear in mind, that they had not one particle of interest with any one connected with the Navy, who by their solicitations might be induced to exert himself in furthering my promotion; they told me frankly, that the little which might hereafter fall to my inheritance would not admit of my leading an idle life, and that they had marked out the bar as my future vocation, where, if I exerted proper application, though my abilities should not eventually prove brilliant, they hoped by their connexions to be able to ensure me a competent share of practice.

All this train of reasoning, however conclusive it might have been deemed by any impartial listener, was entirely thrown away on me, and my inflexibility of purpose was set down by those who had adopted a line of argument fraught with so much good sense and the best intentions, as an undeniable proof of the sullen obduracy of my temper. Perhaps such a conclusion was a hasty one, for the renunciation which they had so anxiously endeavoured to win from me, was presently extorted in a way which they had little dreamt of; otherwise they would not probably have wasted so many words "upon the desert air." Or, perhaps, if my feelings had not been strongly affected by their entreaties, though in appearance I betrayed no symptoms of any inward workings of the mind, no other method of pleading the cause they had in view, of however different a character the arguments employed might have been, would have succeeded in the attainment of its object. For though I looked upon myself with some degree of foolish complacency, as having come off the conqueror in this conference, my conscience told me that there was a something not altogether right in my clinging to what I would fain have looked upon as a pure, manly, and praiseworthy resolution.

Such was the fruitless termination of this conclave. Yet, though I had put a bold face on the matter, could the recesses of my mind have been laid open to the public view, a very different scene would have presented itself; for I was in reality staggered by the arguments of those who had just left me to my own thoughts. My pride, however, I believe, would soon have rallied, and have kept me firm to my purpose, had not a strange impulse, for which I could never exactly account, led me immediately after the conclusion of this affair, and before I had given myself time to allay the bewilderment of my thoughts, to the boudoir of my mother. This was a small room, with a cheerful south-eastern aspect, opening into her bed-chamber, and where "in happier hour of social pleasure" we had often held sweet converse together. Its walls were enlivened by a series of oil-paintings, appropriate to the size of the apartment, and arranged with all the superiority of female taste. At its upper end stood a green flower-stand, whose ledges were occupied by choice yet simple plants, to which the subdued light of the sun, shed upon them through the opposite window of stained glass, imparted a beautifully delicate freshness of look. They appeared to be smiling with one of nature's softest and most winning smiles.

On entering this lady-bower, once my favourite haunt, I found my my mother, poor woman, one of the gentlest and kindest of her sex, listlessly occupied in re-arranging her flowers; for the very mode in

which she was busying herself at her task, and even her very attitude, showed that her thoughts were far otherwise employed. She had not dared to be present at the consultation in which my future occupation had been so warmly canvassed over, fearing that her nerves might prove unequal to such a trial, or that her feelings might so far have betrayed her as to have proved the occasion of future regret.

As the effect of any line of conduct is not always that which is expected to be the result, so, in the present case, her having been deterred, by the apprehension of a display of feminine weakness, from taking a personal share in the proceedings just terminated, proved the cause of that object being accomplished in which her heart was the most intensely interested. Though she spoke not a syllable on my advancing towards her, her looks told, more than any words could have done, what she would have said, if she could have given utterance to their meaning. The extremity of sorrow was depicted in them, but they were not repulsive looks of chiding and rebuke; tenderness, agonizing disappointment, and concern, were the only feelings of which they bore the deep impression. Her heart was overcharged, and the big water-drop hung on her eyelid. This, to me unexpected, proof of her unutterable woe, mingled with such intense anxiety, which would not, if it could, have relieved itself with a word of reproach, altogether unnerved me, and laid prostrate my strained resolution. We fell into each other's embrace; and each, with quivering lips, while thus clasped, found a vent for grief in a flood of tears.

A weight was thus lifted from my heart, and in its present fulness, with a thousand acts of kindness on the part of so fond a parent rushing at once into my mind, urged by a feeling which no pen can adequately describe, that now was the moment to show that I was not entirely insensible of them, I bade her be of good cheer, for that for her sake, and her's alone, I now solemnly assured her, that while her life was spared, I would no more think of embarking in a naval life.

Her smothered grief had been intense before this assurance was given her; the intensity of delight, which this disclosure of my change of disposition wrought upon her, was no less vivid; and if ever the poetical adage, that "Sudden joy, like grief, o'ercomes at first," or that saying of the Roman philosopher, "Res severa est verum gaudium," wanted confirmation, no stronger testimony to their truth could be required than was exemplified in this instance. She essayed to find words to express her joy, but they heeded not her bidding, or at most it could only be said that

"Words interwove with sighs found out their way."

Nor was it till she had passed through a fearful hysterical paroxysm, a struggle between smiles and tears, that she recovered the mastery of her faculties. But several days intervened before her spirits returned to their wonted serenity.

With the consent of all parties concerned, it was now agreed that I should be sent to college; and, accordingly, at the proper age I was duly matriculated at Oxford, and spent there the allotted period of four years before I obtained a degree. During my abode within the walls of this ancient seat of learning, I was initiated into all the subtleties of the art of logic, had at my fingers' ends, and could readily apply, the

quaint rules for testing the various forms of syllogism so ingeniously expressed by the significant letters in the jargon of the dog-Latin hexameters, *Barbara Celarent Darii Ferioque prioris*, &c.; and, like the doughty hero in Hudibras, I

> "Could run in debt by disputation,
> And pay with ratiocination."

I moreover read the Greek and Latin historians, the tragedians of Athens, and the poets of the purest period of the Augustan age. But though I might be said to have read hard, yet my course of study was too desultory to lead me to look forward to the attainment of any very high honours at the final examination. The fault was, that I read more from an innate and somewhat singular curiosity to discover what the ancient authors had thought and said, than from any intention to apply my acquired information to a definite object. So that though my cotemporaries gave me due credit for a stock of general knowledge, yet they not unfrequently told me, without the least disguise of their real sentiments, that if I could not prevail on myself to direct it steadily to one fixed point, the only sure method of distinguishing myself at the university would be thrown away.

If, however, I had entertained any serious thoughts of rising to eminence in my own college, I had palpable proofs before my eyes that the possession of deep learning was not essentially necessary to the acquisition of such an object. And the instance in point was that of the head of the college himself.

No one was a better judge than he was of the varied excellencies of the culinary art, nor was his discernment in testing the quality of the iuice of the grape at all less remarkable. To do him justice, it is but fair to add, that his good-humoured look and portly bearing were ample proofs that these, his reported qualifications, were carried out in practice, and in his post-prandial convivialities he would be free to confess that the first book of the Iliad and a smattering of the Greek Testament were somewhere about the ultimatum of his knowledge of the Greek language. Nay, it was positively asserted by some of his friends, that, when among "a choice few," he would give, instead of a toast, as his favourite sentiment the verse of the song sung by that numskull Tony Lumpkin, in Goldsmith's admirable comedy—

> "Let schoolmasters puzzle their brain,
> With grammar, and nonsense, and learning,
> Good liquor, I stoutly maintain,
> Gives genus a better discerning."

Notwithstanding these pleasantries which would escape him in some happier hour, his library, which was the never-failing reception-room when we undergraduates went to pay our respects to the Don, at the beginning and end of each term, was lined with shelves, ranged according to the exact principles of proportion, and loaded with elegantly bound "paper furniture," from the ponderous folio to the pigmy 32mo. Yet it would seem that some works, which usually find a place among the stores of those who, whether deservedly or not, it is not our present business to decide, are supposed to be competent judges as to what authors are absolutely essential to the formation of anything in the shape of a library, had never been dreamt of in this sage's philosophy;

for, on one occasion, when Mrs. Siddons was spending a short time at Oxford, she, as might be expected, was invited by the different heads of the colleges to partake of their hospitality. Among others who were eager to evince their respect for the unrivalled talents of this ornament to the stage, was the worthy of whom I have just been speaking. After the cloth had been removed, and the gentlemen had rejoined the ladies in the drawing-room, Mrs. Siddons, with her usual condescension, offered to read a passage in Milton for the gratification of the guests, who were all in ecstasies at the thought of the heroine's recital. A servant was accordingly dispatched to the library for a copy of the work. An awkward silence, broken at intervals by a few commonplace remarks, reigned meanwhile throughout the drawing-room; and this awkwardness was still more augmented by the lengthened absence of the lackey, who at last returned with the tidings of not being able to find the work. At this piece of intelligence the looks of the Doctor became exceedingly glum: he muttered some scarcely intelligible rebukes to the servant on his stupidity, and was waddling, with the best haste he might, towards the door of the room, under pretence of going himself to search, when Mrs. Siddons entreated him not to give himself so much unnecessary trouble, as Shakspeare would suit her purpose equally well. The man, therefore, who probably knew the contents of the catalogue better than his master did, was ordered on this second errand; but from the manner in which he left the room, those who knew how inappropriately the epithet, *musis deditus*, could be predicated of their host, more than half suspected that this second search would prove equally fruitless. And these suspicions were too well verified; for the luckless domestic returned with a message precisely similar to the one he had before announced. The dignified actress, therefore, under the escort of two or three of the most literary of the party, repaired to the *bibliothèque*, and by a piece of great good fortune found some other author, with whose verses, by her incomparable expression and sweetness of tone, she so enraptured her hearers, that they were lost in present admiration at the transcendent power of her elocution. The next morning, however, when they had recovered from their rapturous enthusiasm, and resumed their usual reasoning powers, it was matter of astonishment with no few of them, as they canvassed over the evening's entertainment at the breakfast-table, that Shakspeare and Milton should both have been so strangely mislaid, that neither the one nor the other could be found even at so peculiar a juncture!

Nor was the portly, good-humoured, rosy-faced head of the college the only instance in point which fell under my personal observation; for, unfortunately, the college tutor under whom I was entered, though vastly superior to the Principal in acquirements, yet had but a flimsy pretension to the appellation of a scholar; at least

> "We grant, although he had much wit,
> He was very shy of using it."

During the term or two in which I attended his lectures, it seemed to be a work of supererogation with him to trouble himself to explain the cramped passages of the author we were perusing, or to discuss the peculiar idioms of his language. No one, when he listened to the suavity of language with which this gentleman wended his way smoothly

through the intricacies of a passage, could have fancied for a moment that he had anything to thank but his own stupidity for not having been able to unravel the apparent mysteries of the sentence, which vanished, as it were, by the touch of Aladdin's wand, when the polished inanity of this pedagogue's verbiage was brought to bear upon it. This charlatanry, however, could not palm itself off long as sterling stuff, at least among those of his pupils who were anxious to search into the derivation of words, and to know the why and the wherefore of the construction of a clause; so that though we were thus "upon compulsion" constrained to waste an hour or two every day, the impudent pomposity of the worthy soon afforded us marvellous delight. At such a charming rate, for instance, under the guidance of this charioteer, did we gallop through the strains of Pindar, that at the end of the term I, and I believe not a few others, knew just as much about the matter as we did when we started. When the college examination, therefore, came, at the end of the term, I was not at all surprised to hear myself right manfully abused by the conclave of examiners, among whom was my good tutor, who took care to lend an aiding hand to help the lame dog over the stile. I smiled inwardly all the while these strains of vituperation were going on, but was prudent enough to look extremely abashed, and refrained from uttering a syllable in the way of defence; though it ran strongly in my head that, had I chosen so to do, and my judges had been perfectly impartial, the fault might possibly have been found not to rest entirely on my side.

It must not, however, be inferred from these instances that the tutors of the college were all to be classed under the same category. One was a splendid exception. No one ever paid more unremitting attention to the duties of his office than did this indefatigable instructor. By unceasing application he was ever adding to his rich store of learning; and it was impossible to sit at his lectures without drawing much from the pure fountain of knowledge. He traced everything to its source; neither the meaning of a word, nor the construction of a sentence, was left unexplained. While by the collation of kindred passages from different authors and different languages, by the elucidation of subjects, where they admitted of such elucidation, by means of diagrams traced by his own hands, he imparted a charm to his matter, which otherwise, from the minute attention bestowed on particulars, might sometimes have seemed tedious. And though I did not at the time fully appreciate the value of the pains-taking method he pursued, I unhesitatingly attribute to his industrious efforts the high gratification I have since felt in being enabled to taste with a real relish the varied beauties of the classics, when I have prevailed on the muses to leave "Pieria's happy plain," and roam with me for awhile over the expanse of "the faithless main."

But whatever tendency all this, or any part of it, may have had in preventing me from obtaining any lucrative honours at the University, or whether my failure was rather owing to my own Bœotian intellect, or to my too desultory course of reading, for experience has all along hitherto justified the dictum of Seneca, "lectio certa prodest, varia delectat," a circumstance occurred at the close of my third year's residence within the walls of Alma Mater, which completely unhinged all my plans, and threw a gloom over the prospects of my future life.

This was the sudden death of my mother, which occurred at this critical period of my studies,—a woman who, if not endowed with any brilliant qualities of the mind, by the amiability of her disposition, and the even tenor of her life, "fallentis semita vitæ," had secured the respect and esteem of all who knew her. The blow fell heavily on me, and it pierced the deeper from my endeavouring to check the full flow of grief, which, thus restrained, fed for awhile on my very vitals; and the sequel was moreover bitter in the extreme; for owing to some peculiar arrangement in the marriage settlement, the landed property, which my mother brought with her at the time of her nuptials, was now submitted for sale, and with it went the larger portion of my father's estate, which had been supposed to be entailed in my favour.

Uninitiated as I yet was in the ways of the world, I was not so entirely ignorant of them as not to have suspected long ago that his affairs were in no very thriving condition, though his outgoings were by no means lavish, and his income was equal to that of the gentry in the neighbourhood. But the disclosure of their actual state, when the matter came now to be investigated, was lamentable. No actually wasteful expenditure could be laid to his charge. He was a man of ability above mediocrity, and of exceeding quick discernment in every thing, except where his own pecuniary interests were concerned; in these he was a perfect child, and became so strangely and so entirely unnerved whenever the subject was seriously mooted, that no previous entreaties of his friends could ever induce him to examine thoroughly into their condition. The old Elizabethan hall, therefore, with its oriel windows, its stacks of ornamented chimneys, its manor and lands, were transferred by the fall of the hammer into the possession of others; while he himself, with the wreck of his fortune, fixed his residence at Bath, where, happily for his comfort, the easiness of his temper, and the quiet society he there moved in, prevented him from feeling acutely the alteration in his circumstances.

It was not merely the reflection that every nook and corner, every haunted stream and gnarled oak, among which "in the time of my childhood 'twas sweet like a dream" to wander, was thus wrested from me for ever, which brought over me a fearful depression of spirits, but my resources were now so much straitened by this turn of fortune's wheel, that I had scarcely sufficient coming in to support the absolutely necessary college expenses. I had never in my palmy days doffed my gown and trencher-cap and mounted a scarlet hunting-coat, either within or without the walls of the quadrangle; I had contracted no long bills with any wine merchant or pastrycook, nor had I any lengthened account with the upholsterer, or any enormous debts due to any other of the trading gentry of Oxford, who are so pressing in their attentions to undergraduates till the period of their probation is drawing to a conclusion, when the *semper amari aliquid* is sure to be prominently introduced to one's notice in the shape of a bill of an astounding sum total. "Ratio quidem apparet, argentum οἴχεται."

But though I could not accuse myself of extravagance in my academical career, yet I had some few outstanding debts; and, what was ten thousand times worse than this, I had not the least prospect of being able to liquidate them; and as the sound of Fame's trumpet generally reaches farther than we calculate on, so I have reason to suspect that it

was owing to this busy babbling messenger, that the report of my crippled condition was echoed into the listening ears of my creditors. At all events, though I have no positive proof that such was the fact, it is certain that as the time of my closing my studies drew near, so much the more urgent were they, each protesting that he had so heavy an amount to make up by a fixed day, that the payment of my small account would confer an especial obligation; pressing his petition with such demure, puritanical, and pitiable looks, that before I was thus an eye-witness of such dejection, I never dreamt that his poverty could have been a tithe part so pinching as his woful countenance betokened it to be.

When, however, these appeals to my charity had been made two or three times without any satisfactory issue, their manner and the tone of their voice became marvellously altered. There was no longer any *suaviter in modo*, but I was imperatively called on to fix a date when it would be convenient to me to take their trifling demand into consideration, a point which I unfortunately was no more able to reply to than the man in the moon; otherwise, they went on to observe, they should find themselves under the disagreeable necessity of transferring the arrangement of the matter to some one who was conversant in the settling such affairs as these by an appeal to a court af law. And though, to ward off the evil day, I continually *sported oak*, as the phrase runs, that is, closed my outer door, and made no reply to any knocking thereat, though it were louder than the battering of a London footman, or the hammering in a trunkmaker's shop, yet this manœuvre was soon of no avail. My mornings, therefore, being so frequently disturbed by these unwelcome visitors, and though no *entrée forcée* was actually made, yet as my apprehension that such an occurrence was more than likely to take place at any moment of this critical time, every hour of which was of tenfold the value that the same space would have been at an earlier period of my residence—all these harassings totally incapacitated me from fixing my attention on my books; and it was only by the light of the midnight oil, with a mind racked and debilitated by the struggles of the day, that I was able to rally my thoughts, and direct them, still half bewildered, to the subtleties of Aristotle, the terseness of Thucydides, the learned gossip of Herodotus, or the smooth and even thread of Livy's history.

Though I was now in the very buoyancy of youth, and in society could contrive to command so great a flow of spirits as to be astonished at the success which attended my efforts to assume an appearance of gaiety, yet when left to my own meditations, I frequently became so distracted in thought, that I would suddenly close my books, and by a kind of involuntary impulse seize my trencher-cap and gown, and betake myself to some secluded college-walk, and there endeavour, by the aid of fresh air and exercise, and the application of what little botanical knowledge I possessed to the examination of the few simple plants which casually fell in my way, to shake off the weight of my despondency. If I was not always completely successful, in general my mind found relief from these attempts to lull its pain.

In spite of all these sore hindrances, I was fortunate enough to succeed in obtaining my degree; and by dint of fair promises, afterwards honestly carried into effect, and draining my purse to almost its

last shilling, my dunning friends were hushed for a time, and I bade adieu to my Alma Mater with mingled feelings of joy and regret.

From the unfavourable turn which my prospects in life had thus taken, the idea of adopting the Bar as a profession was laid aside, in consequence of the additional expenses which must necessarily have been incurred before I could commence practice; and in its stead the Church was selected as the condition of life in which I was to fix myself. Accordingly, as soon as I was enabled to obtain Deacon's orders, I entered upon all the miseries of a country curacy. The house in which my lodgings were established, for no others were to be procured in the village, had been in other days the residence of the Lord of the Manor; but now, like many such in different parts of the kingdom, it had fallen a step in the scale of dignity, and served for the habitation of one of his respectable tenants. As far as appearances went, it had an imposing effect; and any true lover of "hoar antiquity" would probably have travelled full ten miles out of his way to gratify himself with a sight of it; for though many of its former appendages, its malt-house, its brew-house, and its dove-cote were gone, there was yet to be seen its projecting porch, its clouted-nail entrance-door its Tudor-mullioned windows, and its stacks of ornamented chimneys in short, in its better days, when its festive board groaned under the weight of smoking viands, and its hearths were illuminated by the blaze of the huge logs piled high between the andirons, there must have been as much comfort in it as our ancestors could by any possibility have conceived. But such was the present state of the wainscot panelling of the apartment which I occupied, that it seemed a perfect focus for alluring every draft of wind to force a passage through its innumerable crevices. So that to keep myself in anything like a state of genial warmth during the severity of the winter season, was a consummation much more devoutly to be wished for than likely to be carried into effect, even though I had expended the whole amount of my pitiful salary in supplying myself with the best coals which issue from the Newcastle collieries.

The gentry in the neighbourhood, who were few and far between, treated me with every possible kindness and hospitality; but this kind of society was not to my taste; for though I had been brought up in the country, I had never eagerly betaken myself to any of its peculiar amusements. I therefore found myself under the somewhat awkward constraint of being obliged to observe silence when these, the more usual topics of discourse, were brought upon the carpet. And though I derived inexpressible satisfaction from devoting myself to the active and, as I conceived, essential duties of my parish, and was amply repaid by the marks of gratitude which the parishioners universally manifested in return for these exertions, yet I had no kindred soul near at hand to communicate with; nothing, "when my day's work was done and all over," to fall back upon, but my own thoughts and the chill of my comfortless wainscoted apartment. "Lonely and wearily life" wore "away."

But though it was by no means a difficult matter to perceive the wretchedness of my present position, it was not so easy to devise any plan for extricating myself from its poverty and loneliness. Had I been bred in the busy world of the metropolis, and accustomed to watch

the opportunities which there offer themselves, under a thousand different forms, to those who are entering into the turmoil of life, I should not possibly have found myself so much at a loss how to make the attempt to better my condition; for it is inconceivable how much a city life sharpens the intellect, and how many resources it throws open as a lure to enterprise, which never enter into the heads of those who are living remote from its vortex; or if they do cross their imaginations, are apt to be regarded as mere visionary schemes. But as my life hitherto had been spent entirely in the country, I knew not how to devise any plan by which the energies of a restless spirit might be employed, with a better prospect of ultimate success than they now were.

It was on a winter evening, as I sat, *more solito*, "musing all alone," that the idea of obtaining the appointment of a Chaplain in the Navy came into my head. This sudden thought struck me forcibly, and I dwelt long upon it. I summed up, as well as such a novice could be expected to do, all its disagreeables and privations; and, on the other side of the account, I placed all its supposed advantages—the getting rid of domestic care, and the opportunity which it offered of seeing the world. The anxious parent, who had watched over my childhood with a mother's tenderest care, was released from all her earthly troubles, and, therefore, the vow made to her was no longer binding on me. In short, before the hour of bed-time had arrived, I had resolved that this should be my fixed object. But how my resolve was to be carried into effect I was altogether at a loss to conceive. Naval friends I had none. Some of my connexions had no little weight with several influential Members of Parliament; but my pride scorned to ask them to become my petitioners. In his brighter days they had looked up to my father, but since the tables were turned, his son had fancied, perhaps without just cause, that they had given indications of feeling no concern in his welfare; and, therefore, though poverty was bad enough in itself, to urge it to them as a reason for their exerting themselves in his behalf, was more than he could bring himself to; and rather than make them the almoners of a boon, he was willing to forego the object he had in contemplation.

While absorbed in these reflections, I remembered that within some five or six miles of my dwelling there resided a Captain in the Navy, a gentleman of considerable fortune and influence in the neighbourhood, and of great popularity. He was distinguished for a manly frankness of character, and was never known to say one thing and mean another. Though it was reported that he sometimes yielded to the passion of the moment, yet his hastiness never made him an enemy; and if any felt pained at the severity of his remarks, the smart of the instant was sure to be healed by some spontaneous expression of kindness, which showed that the offence was anything but intentional, and sent the party away fully satisfied that, however rough the exterior occasionally might be, the core of the heart was perfectly good and sound. And what served as a convincing proof of the high value in which his integrity was held, was, that the poor in their difficulties always resorted to him for advice in his magisterial capacity, rather than to any other gentleman in the neighbourhood holding a commission of the peace.

I had never been fortunate enough to have been more than casually

introduced to the Captain; yet, from what I had understood to be his character, I trusted that his reception, though perhaps it might prove bluff, would not be harsh. Accordingly, the following morning, after having lain awake the greater part of the night, sometimes full of courage, sometimes with strange misgivings, I screwed up my resolution to the necessary pitch, mounted my cob pony, and, "with a heart rather sad," sallied forth on my errand. The poor animal appeared anxious to do his best to confirm my resolve, by trotting more glibly than usual along the quiet country road; and brought me sooner than I expected to the turn in it which disclosed to the view the gallant officer's residence. But when I thus stood on the very bank of the Rubicon, I, impulsively as it were, checked my willing steed, doubtful whether I dared yet proceed onward to my destination. By an earnest struggle, however, my waverings were subdued, and I rode slowly on, with a counterfeited boldness of look, though my heart was in my mouth.

The residence of the Captain was secluded; the house itself was on no very large scale, but there was a something in the careful, yet not prim, arrangement of its surrounding pleasure-grounds, which denoted it to be the residence of a gentleman of family. As I was in the act of alighting, for the purpose of opening the lawn-gate, which was shaded by the spreading branches of two lime-trees, the Captain himself chanced to ride up, and returned my bow with the utmost civility, though with something of a quarter-deck look,—as well he might to one who came to him in such a questionable shape as I did. Before I had finished half my tale, the sum total of which was very brief, a smile of surprise, yet of great good-nature, came over his face.

"Sir," said he, "if such be your desire, I will do my best to forward your views in obtaining an appointment as a Chaplain in the Navy. In the course of a week or two I am going to Town, and will then make the necessary inquiries. In the meanwhile, should they turn out as I could wish, you must not expect an appointment quite yet. I can promise nothing, but I will do what I can."

This conversation was carried on as we rode back together along the road I had just come, and before we reached the turn where we parted, from his practical knowledge of the duties of the situation, he endeavoured to impress upon my mind that I must not hope to find it one of perfect pleasure or idleness.

Such was the issue of the first direct favour I ever ventured to ask; and its result might have seemed sufficiently encouraging to induce me occasionally to renew a similar line of conduct. But, unfortunately for my worldly welfare, it had no such effect. Call it "madness, folly, or any other name you may," this indomitable aversion to subject myself to the risk of a refusal has been the bane of my prospects in life. Few others, happily for their own interests, have been cursed with so puerile and absurd a prejudice. Indeed, strange as it may seem, up to the present moment when

"Me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres,"

my surprise is still great, to think that I mustered resolution enough to make this short eventful journey, which decided the future course of my chequered life.

Some five months passed away without a syllable of any tidings of an

appointment. In this interval I will not go quite so far as to say that I had ever given myself up to despair; but, notwithstanding the caution of the Captain, I was beginning to suspect that my hopes were mere empty bubbles, when, on a bright summer's morning, the thrifty old dame, who had walked I know not how many thousand miles in her daily vocation of conveying letters to and from the neighbouring post-town, as I was sauntering listlessly in the garden of my antiquated residence, with a very low curtsey delivered to me an epistle, bearing a large official seal of red wax, which conveyed the welcome intelligence that the Lords of the Admiralty had been pleased to appoint me to the ——— frigate then fitting out at Deptford. And what gave infinitely greater zest to this piece of good news, my naval friend, in a private letter, at the same time informed me that the Captain in command of the frigate was an intimate acquaintance of his, and that the ship was currently reported to be destined for the Mediterranean station. On the receipt of this very agreeable communication I lost no time in repairing to the Admiralty and taking up my appointment, and at the same time had an interview with my future commandant, who was then in London. There was such a frankness, and at the same time so much urbanity in his manner, that I was charmed with the idea of having to serve under him. Moreover, in consideration of my total ignorance of everything connected with my new mode of life, he was obliging enough to give me many very valuable hints, not only on my general line of conduct and the routine of my duties, but also on another no less essential point, namely, as to what outfit it would be advisable I should provide myself with, in consideration of the nature of the climate we were going to, and our triennial absence from the shores of Old England. Before I quitted him he also furnished me with an introductory letter to the First Lieutenant on board the ship, and directed that, after my name had been duly entered on her books, I should be allowed leave of absence, as he intended to make such arrangements that my actually taking up my abode on board would not be required till the frigate reached Spithead.

With my mind thus prepossessed in favour of my new appointment, the same afternoon I threw myself into one of the coaches, bearing on its dingy panels in large letters the words "Deptford, Greenwich, and Woolwich," which were drawn up in a lengthened file before that well-known hostelrie at Charing-Cross, yclept The Ship Tavern. And if the epithet "often-pausing" may be happily applied to the omnibuses of these more modern times, it undoubtedly might be ante-dated, and appropriately employed in connexion with the vehicle, *et id genus omne*, in whose interior I was snugly deposited. We crept "like snail" along Whitehall and Parliament-street, and even this circumspect pace was not a continuous motion, but interrupted ever and anon by our charioteer checking his Rosinantes, who appeared nothing loath to second his wishes, and suited for anything rather than quick dispatch, and at the same time elevating his whip over the head of any pedestrian who seemed by any token to be wending his way to either of the above-named suburban places. Not that I wish it to be by any means inferred that this elevation of the whip by its knight conveyed the slightest implication of contempt, chastisement, or defiance to him over whose head it was nicely balanced; the sense in which similar movements of this

instrument of castigation are more generally understood by gentlemen who are chary of their honourable name. The soft and winning accents of him who bore it as an emblem of his profession, addressed to those over whose heads it swung in airy height, banished all idea of any insult being intended; for its plain meaning, in coachman's parlance, was, "Will you please to ride, Sir?" When, however, these invitations had in most instances failed, and we had got clear of the rattle of the stones, it followed, as a matter of course, that we should linger awhile at those pleasant places of repose, the Elephant and Castle and the Bricklayers' Arms, in order that the driver might recruit his exhausted lungs by imbibing such a quantity of Hodges's best Cordial as he in his wisdom deemed sufficient for the purpose; that the parched throats of the jaded steeds might be cooled by a potation of a less potent beverage; and that the usual dish of confab between the facetious driver and the gentry who rejoice in the monosyllabic appellation of "Cads," a gentry with most knowing physiognomies and most pithy sayings, who swarmed in great abundance at these celebrated rendezvous, might be leisurely served up.

Had there been any other inside passenger, with whom I might have relieved the irksomeness of the journey by an interchange of ideas, and the recreation of "sweet converse," old Time and I should have jogged on much more pleasantly together. But, unfortunately, the Fates, in their cruelty, had decided that I should reign sole and undisputed monarch of the greasy interior of the four-wheeled vehicle, as all the other passengers, who were being thus tardily transported from the noise and smoke of the capital to their different destinations, had selected the roof of the coach, or the basket in its posterior, as their mode of conveyance; either with the view of their being thus enabled better to observe the beauties of the scenery as we slowly passed along, or, if I might be allowed to form a judgment on this knotty point, from their personal appearance and the style of language in which their intercourse was carried on one with the other, from a necessary and prudent regard to the matter of pounds, shillings, and pence.

At length, after a journey "long drawn out," with a *mens sana in corpore sano*, I was safely set down at Deptford, at the south end of what was then called Butt Lane, but which has since that period assumed the more dignified appellation of the High Street. Hence I conveyed myself on foot, if not at a quicker pace certainly at a much more steady one than the rumble-tumble unicorn coach had hitherto brought me, to the Dockyard gates, where, on the warder's demanding my errand, when the sounds escaped my lips that I was the Chaplain of the ——— frigate, I could scarcely believe that I had spoken the truth. However, though I could hardly be said to look the man in the face when I thus answered him, he gave a very satisfactory proof of his being convinced of the veracity of my tale, by immediately allowing me to pass on; and finding one of the ship's boats going off to the hulk in which the officers and crew were living till the ship herself was in a state of readiness to receive them, I was very soon introduced to my future messmates.

Though everything in this hulk bore a miserably dingy appearance, as everything always does in these craft, which are not inappropriately thus named, being nothing more than the hull of some old vessel, fitted

up according to the strictest scale of economy, and intended to serve only as a temporary abode, yet the kind and warm-hearted reception which awaited me in the mess-room did away with the unfavourable impression which the profusion of dirty-yellow paint with which the sides, or, in nautical parlance, the bulkheads of the apartment, in the true dockyard-matey style, were bedaubed, would otherwise have made upon me.

During the hour or two I remained in this floating domicile, I endeavoured to glean what information I could respecting my new mode of life, and was then allowed by the senior officer to return to the shore. The only sitter in the boat which was to convey me to *terra firma*, besides the coxswain and myself, was a wan, meagre-looking personage, whose tattered dress and queer looks would have made me rather suspicious of him, had not the First Lieutenant given, as I novice-like supposed, the strongest proof possible that, whatever my prejudices against the woe-begone appearances of my companion might be, he looked upon him as a paragon of honesty; for before he stepped over the hulk's side into the boat alongside, this officer delivered into his possession a pair of shoes, more than a little the worse for wear, with strict, nay, even stern injunctions that he should carry them to the shop of Mr. ——, the most celebrated renovator of soles in the place, and having there deposited his charge, he was bidden to take especial care to be back to the boat in ten minutes, as after that space of time, it would positively return on board. I need hardly add that this was a mere *ruse de guerre*, which I was not adept enough to see clearly through at the moment. My pale-faced friend was no other than a notorious member of the light-fingered fraternity, who for some good deed or other, the particulars of which have never transpired, had deemed it to be to his interest to present himself on board the receiving ship moored off the Tower, and, by a piece of great good fortune, having been quietly entered on her books, had been thence drafted into the frigate.

This contrivance, which the First Lieutenant conceived to be the readiest method of ridding the ship of so accomplished a member of society, succeeded perfectly according to his wishes; for whether this worthy was not gifted with speed enough to dispatch his mission within the time prescribed, or, during this unexpected airing on shore, he discovered any other pursuit which held out brighter prospects for advancing himself in life, certain it is, that his person was never more seen, either in the hulk or in the frigate. Yet though he bore a very high reputation for skill in being able to insinuate his fingers into the pockets of strangers, without their leave or licence, and by these clandestine means appropriating to his own use and profit whatever he could thence extract, without the least respect to the broad distinction which the sages of the law and the voice of the public, very foolishly in his humble opinion, have made between *meum* and *tuum*, I did not discover that by any scrutiny of my pockets on his part he had authorized me to add an additional voucher to confirm the reputation which he had won for himself by his previous light-fingered adroitness.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DISPATCHES AND GENERAL ORDERS OF FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

(Continued from page 439.)

CHARGES OF INFANTRY.

THE following extracts from the Dispatches of the Duke of Wellington, are selected to shew what are called the Charges of Infantry; and that in such cases the bayonet has not been used in close contact, but that the moral effect has been produced by the advance in line, with the proper supports, of disciplined troops.

There appear to have been no examples in the armies under the command of the Duke of Wellington, "of that compact order and awful silence in two bodies advancing upon each other, until their bayonets cross," as described in the battles of Maida and elsewhere. For, in the Peninsula, lines, or other bodies of infantry, were rarely known to have advanced upon each other within the distance of 100 yards, the moral effect arising from discipline, superior intelligence in command, reserved fire, or other causes, having always decided the retreat, at more than that distance, of one party or of the other. There may have been instances of individual personal combats with the bayonet; but it is doubted, from the experience in the closely contested battles in the Peninsula, where the contending armies were composed of some of the bravest men of two hostile nations, whether actual collision with the bayonet by *bodies* of infantry advancing upon each other, ever actually took place.

Bayonet wounds were of rare occurrence, and numbers of them, on the same day of collision, unknown in the hospitals. It may be therefore presumed, in the advance of lines, or columns of infantry (the last being the practice in French armies) upon each other, that success must depend, as in the attacks of cavalry, upon the superiority of discipline, of intelligence in command, and of reserved fire, of either of such advancing or contending *bodies;* and that it is the moral effect, and not the weapon itself that insures the superiority on such occasions.

Vimeiro, 21st August, 1808; *to Lieut.-General Sir H. Burrard.*

The enemy's attack began in several columns upon the whole of the troops on this height; on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and they were checked and driven back only by the bayonets of that corps.....This attack was supported by a large body, and was made with the usual impetuosity of French troops. It was received with steadiness by Major-General Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regts., and these corps charged as soon as the enemy approached them, who gave way, and they continued to advance upon him!

In mentioning Col. Burne and the 36th regt. upon this occasion, I cannot avoid adding that the regular and orderly conduct of this corps throughout the service, and their gallantry and discipline in action, have been conspicuous.

Talavera, July 29, 1809; *to Viscount Castlereagh.*

Early in the night he pushed a division on the left of the height occupied by General Hill, of which he gained a momentary possession; but Major-General Hill attacked it instantly with the bayonet, and regained it. This

attack was repeated in the night, but failed; and again at daylight in the morning of the 28th, by two divisions of infantry, and was repulsed by Major-General Hill.....The defeat of this attempt was followed, about noon, by a general attack with the enemy's whole force upon the whole of that part of the position occupied by the British army.....The general attack began by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley, with a view to attack the height occupied by Major-General Hill. These columns were immediately charged by the 1st Hussars, K.G.L., and the 23rd Light Dragoons.....And although the 23rd Dragoons suffered considerable loss, the charge had the effect of preventing the execution of that part of the enemy's plan.

At the same time he directed an attack upon Brigadier-General A. Campbell's position in the centre of the combined armies, and on the right of the British. This attack was most successfully repulsed by Brig.-Gen. Alexr. Campbell.....The Brigadier-General mentions particularly the conduct of the 97th, 2nd batt. 7th, and 2nd batt. 53rd regts.; and I was highly satisfied with the manner in which this part of the position was defended.

An attack was also made, at the same time, upon Lieut.-General Sherbrooke's division, which was in the left and centre of the first line of the British Army. This attack was most gallantly repulsed by a charge with bayonets by the whole division, but the brigade of Guards which were on the right having advanced too far, were exposed, on their left flank, to the fire of the enemy's batteries, and of their retiring columns, and the division was obliged to retire towards the original position under cover of the second line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, which I moved for the centre, and of the 1st batt. 48th regiment. I had moved this last regiment from its position on the height, as soon as I observed the advance of the Guards, and it was formed in the plain, and advanced upon the enemy, and covered the formation of Lieut.-General Sherbrooke's division.

Memorandum on the battle of Talavera.

The advance of the Guards to the extent to which it was carried, was nearly fatal to us; and the battle was certainly saved by the advance, position, and steady conduct of the 48th regiment, upon which General Sherbrooke's division formed again.

July 29, 1809; *to Lieut.-Colonel Gordon.*

I beg that you will do me the favour of recommending Major Middlemore to the particular protection of the Commander-in-Chief. He commanded the 1st batt. 48th regt., after Col. Donellan was wounded during the greater part of the advance of that corps, which tended so much to the first success of the action yesterday, by covering and enabling General Sherbrooke's division to form again. He is, besides, an excellent officer; and if his conduct then did not, I would almost say, demand promotion, his uniform good conduct and attention to his duty would do so.

Le Maréchal Masséna, Prince d'Essling, à S. A. le Prince, Major-Général, au bivouac sous Ciudad Rodrigo, le 12 *Juillet*, 1810.

La belle conduite de la 3me compie de grenadiers du 22me de ligne, contre un parti Anglais, ne peut être passée sous silence. Cette compagnie envoyée, le 11 au matin, à Villar de Puerco pour soutenir une reconnaissance de dragons, avait à peine dépassé le village qu'un parti de cavalerie Anglaise, de plus de 400 chevaux, est sorti du bois à gauche de la route et à chargé la compagnie de grenadiers. Le capitaine de cette compagnie forma aussitot un quarré par demi-sections; il attendit de pied ferme l'ennemi; un feu de file bien nourri fait à 30 pas, a arreté la cavalerie ennemie, que sabrait déjà dans les rangs et dont les coups n'ont porté que sur les fusils et les baïonnettes. Une 2me charge a été reçue de la même maniere; 12 baïonnettes atestant qu'elles ont été enfoncées dans le poitrail des chevaux; l'ennemi

allait tenter une 3me charge; mais il se ravisa et récapitulant les pertes qu'il venait de faire, il prit le parti de se retirer. Les 2 premières charges ont laissé autour de notre quarré 24 cavaliers morts, parmi lesquels le chef de la troupe, et 20 chevaux. Nous n'avons eu de notre côté ni blessés ni tués. La présence d'esprit et la fermeté du Capitaine Gouache et le courage du sergent Patois, ont servi d'exemple aux braves grenadiers de la 3me compagnie du 22me de ligne. Cet exemple merite nos encouragements et une récompense. Je prie V. A. de proposer le premier pour le grade de chef de bataillon, qui a été demandé plusieurs fois pour lui; et pour le deuxième la décoration de Légionnaire.

Coimbra, Sept. 30, 1810; *to Lord Liverpool.*

Busaco. At six o'clock in the morning of the 27th, the enemy made two desperate attacks upon our position, the one on the right, the other on the left of the highest part of the Serra. The attack upon the right was made by two divisions of the 2nd corps on that part of the Serra occupied by the 3rd division of infantry. One division of the French infantry arrived at the top of the ridge, where it was attacked in the most gallant manner by the 88th regt., under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Wallace, the 45th under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Meade; and by the 8th Portuguese regt., under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Douglas, directed by Major-General Picton. These three corps advanced with the bayonet, and drove the enemy's division from the advantageous ground which they had obtained. The other division of the 2nd corps attacked further on the right, by the road leading by St. Antonio de Cantaro, also in front of Major-General Picton's division. They were repulsed before they could reach the top of the ridge, by the 74th, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. R. Trench, and the brigade of Portuguese infantry of the 9th and 21st regts., under the command of Colonel Champelmond, directed by Colonel Mackinnon.....Major-General Leith reports the good conduct of the Royals, 1st batt. 9th regt., and 2nd batt. 38th regt.; and I beg to assure your Lordship that I have never witnessed a more gallant attack than that made by the 88th, 45th, and 8th Portuguese regts. on the enemy's division, which had reached the edge of the Serra.

On the left the enemy attacked with three divisions of infantry of the 6th corps on the part of the Serra occupied by the light division of infantry, commanded by Brigadier-General R. Craufurd; and by the brigade of Portuguese infantry commanded by Brigadier-General Pack. One division only made any progress to the top of the hill, and they were immediately charged with the bayonet by Brigadier-General Craufurd, with the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th, and the 3rd Portuguese caçadores, and driven down with immense loss.

The loss sustained by the enemy in his attack of the 27th, has been enormous. I understand that the Generals of divisions, Merle, Loison, and Maucune, are wounded, and General Simon was taken prisoner by the 52nd regiment; and three colonels, officers, and 250 men. The enemy left 2000 killed upon the field of battle; and I understand from the prisoners and deserters that the loss in wounded is immense.

Villa Seca, March 14, 1811; *to Lord Liverpool.*

The post in the wood upon their right, was forced by Sir W. Erskine with the Light division.....Major General Sir W. Erskine particularly mentions the conduct of the 52nd regiment and Colonel Elder's caçadores in the attack of the wood; and I must add that I have never seen the French infantry driven from a wood in a more gallant style.

Isla de Leon, March 6, 1811, *Lieut.-General Graham to Lord Liverpool.*

Barrosa. General Leval's division, notwithstanding the havoc made by Major Duncan's battery, continued to advance in very imposing masses, opening his fire of musketry, and was only checked by that of the left wing.

The left wing now advanced firing. A most determined charge by the three companies of Guards, and the 87th regt., supported by all the remainder of the wing, decided the defeat of General Leval's division. The eagle of the 8me légère, which suffered immensely, and a howitzer, rewarded this charge, and remained in possession of Major Gough, of the 87th regiment. These attacks were zealously supported by Colonel Belson with the 28th regiment, and Lieut.-Colonel Prevost with a part of the 67th. A reserve formed beyond the narrow valley, across which the enemy was closely pursued, next shared the same fate, and was routed by the same means. Meanwhile, the right wing was not less successful. The enemy, confident of success, met Gen. Dilkes on the ascent of the hill, and the contest was sanguinary; but the undaunted perseverance of the brigade of Guards, of Lieut.-Colonel Browne's battalion, and of Lieut.-Colonel Norcott's and Major Acheson's detachment overcame every obstacle; and General Ruffin's division was driven from the heights in confusion, leaving two pieces of cannon.

Sabugal, April 4, 1811; *to Marshal Sir W. C. Beresford.*

Yesterday morning we moved the whole army (with the exception of the 6th division, which remained at Rapoula de Coa, opposite Loeive,) to the right, in order to turn this position and force the passage of the river. The second corps could not have stood here for a moment; but unfortunately the Light division, which formed the right of the whole, necessarily passed first, and the leading brigade, Beckwith's, drove in the enemy's piquets, which were briskly followed by 4 companies of the 95th and 3 of Elder's caçadores, and supported by the 43rd regiment. At this time there came on a rain storm, and it was as difficult to see as in the fogs on Busaco, and these troops pushed on too far, and became engaged with the main body of the enemy; the light infantry instantly fell back upon their support, which instead of halting, moved forward. The French then seeing how weak the body was which had passed, attempted to drive them down to the Coa, and did oblige the 43rd to turn. They rallied again, however, and beat in the French, but were attacked by fresh troops and cavalry, and were obliged to retire, but formed again and beat back the enemy. At this time the 52nd joined the 43rd, and both moved on upon the enemy, and to be charged and attacked again in the same manner, and beat back. They formed again, moved forward upon the enemy, and established themselves on the top of the hill in an enclosure, and here they beat off the enemy. But Regnier was placing a body of infantry on their left, which must have destroyed them, only that at that moment the head of the 3rd division, which had passed the Coa on the left of the Light division, came up, and opened their fire upon this column; and the 5th division, which passed this bridge and through the town, made their appearance. The enemy then retired, having lost in this affair a howitzer and, I should think, not less than 1,000 men. Our loss is much less than one would have supposed possible, scarcely 200 men. The 43rd have 73 killed and wounded. But really these attacks in columns against our lines are very contemptible.

The contest was latterly for the howitzer, which was taken and retaken twice, and at last remained in our hands. Our cavalry, which ought to have crossed the Coa on the right of the Light division, crossed at the same ford, and therefore could be of no use to them. Besides they went too far to the right. In short, these combinations for engagements do not answer, unless one is upon the spot to direct every trifling movement. I was on the hill on the left of the Coa, immediately above the town, until the 3rd and 5th divisions crossed, whence I could see every movement on both sides and could communicate with ease with every body; but that was not near enough.

Villar Formoso, April 9, 1811; *to Lord Liverpool.*

Sabugal. Although the operations of the day were, by unavoidable

accidents, not performed in the manner in which I intended they should be, I consider the action that was fought by the Light division, by Colonel Beckwith's brigade principally, with the whole of the second corps, to be one of the most glorious that British troops were ever engaged in..... The action was commenced by an unavoidable accident, to which all operations are liable; but having been commenced, it would have been impossible to withdraw from the ground without risking the loss of the object of our movements; and it was desirable to obtain possession, if possible, of the top of the hill from which the enemy had made so many attacks with advantage on the first position taken by the 43rd regiment. This was gained before the 3rd division came up.

Villar Formoso, May 8, 1811; *to Lord Liverpool.*

Fuentes de Oñoro. The enemy's principal effort was throughout this day again directed against Fuentes de Oñoro, and notwithstanding that the whole of the six corps were at different periods of the day employed to attack this village, they could never gain more than a temporary possession of it. It was defended by the 24th, 71st, and 79th regiments, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Cameron.....The contest again lasted in this quarter till night, when our troops still held their post, and from that time the enemy made no fresh attempt on any part of our position.

Villar Formoso, May 15, 1811; *to Major-General A. Campbell.*

The frequent instances which have occurred lately of severe loss and in some instances of important failure, by officers leading the troops beyond the point to which they are ordered and beyond all bounds, such as the loss of the prisoners taken in front of the village of Fuentes, on the 3rd and 5th inst.; the loss incurred by the 13th Light Dragoons, near and at Badajoz, on the 25th March; the severe loss incurred by the troops in the siege of Badajoz, on the right of the Guadiana, on the 10th inst.; and the loss incurred by Lieut.-Colonel ————, on the 11th inst.; have induced me to determine to bring before a General Court Martial, for disobedience of orders, any officer who shall in future be guilty of this conduct. I entertain no doubt of the readiness of the officers and soldiers of the army to advance upon the enemy; but it is my duty, and that of every General and officer in command, to regulate this spirit, and not to expose the soldiers to contend with unequal numbers in situations disadvantageous to them; and, above all, not to allow them to follow up trifling advantages to situations in which they cannot be supported, from which their retreat is not secure, and in which they incur the risk of being prisoners to the enemy they had before beaten. The desire to be forward in engaging the enemy, is not uncommon in the British Army; but that quality of it which I wish to see the officers possess, who are at the head of the troops, is a cool discriminating judgment in action, which will enable them to decide with promptitude how far they can and ought to go with propriety; and to convey their orders and act with such vigour and decision that the soldiers will look up to them with confidence in the moment of action, and obey them with alacrity.

The officers of the army may depend upon it that the enemy to whom they are opposed are not less prudent than they are powerful. Notwithstanding what has been printed in gazettes and newspapers, we have never seen small bodies unsupported successfully opposed to large; nor has the experience of any officer realized the stories which all have read of whole armies being driven by a handful of light infantry or dragoons.

I trust that this letter, copies of which I propose to circulate to the General Officers commanding divisions, with directions to circulate it among the officers of the army, will have the effect of inducing them to reflect seriously upon the duties which they have to perform before the enemy, and to avoid the error which is the subject of it, which has really become one of serious detriment to the army and to the public interests.

Villar Formoso, May 15, 1811; *to Lord Liverpool.*

My attending personally to this operation, after I had been the whole day on the Azava, did not occur to me. However it is that alone in the whole operation with which I have to reproach myself, as every thing was done that could be done in the way of order and instruction. I certainly feel every day more and more the difficulty of the situation in which I am placed. I am obliged to be every where, and if absent from any operation something goes wrong. It is to be hoped that the General and other officers of the army will at least acquire that experience which will teach them that success can be attained only by attention to the most minute details, and by tracing every part of every operation from its origin to its conclusion, point by point, and ascertaining that the whole is understood by those who are to execute it.

Albuera, May 18, 1811, *Marshal Sir W. C. Beresford to Marshal General Viscount Wellington.*

The right brigade of General the Hon. W. Stewart's division, under Lieut.-Colonel Colborne, first came into action, and behaved in the most gallant manner, and finding that the enemy's column could not be shaken by fire, proceeded to attack it with the bayonet, and while in the act of charging, a body of Polish Lancers.....turned it, and being thus attacked unexpectedly in the rear, was unfortunately broken and suffered immensely.....Major-General Cole, seeing the attack of the enemy, very judiciously bringing up his left a little, marched in line to attack the enemy's left, and arrived most opportunely to contribute, with the charges of the brigades of General Stewart's division, to force the enemy to abandon his position and retire precipitately, and to take refuge under his reserve. Here the Fusilier brigade particularly distinguished itself.

Elvas, May 20, 1811; *to C. Stuart, Esq.*

Albuera. The Spaniards, by all accounts, behaved remarkably well; but they were immoveable, and their want of discipline and of the power of manœuvring appears to me to have created a necessity for using the British infantry in all parts of the field, and to have thrown upon us the great burden of the battle. This was exactly the case in the battle of Talavera; and only that the Spanish troops were more distant from the fire, I suspect it was the case at the battle of Barrosa.

Elvas, May 22, 1811; *to the Right Hon. H. Wellesley.*

The Spanish troops, I understand, behaved admirably; they stood like stocks, both parties at times firing on them, but they were quite immoveable. and this is the great cause of all our losses. After they had lost their position, the natural thing to do would have been to attack it with the nearest Spanish troops, but they could not be moved; the British troops were the next, and they were brought up, and must always in these cases be brought up, and they suffered accordingly. The battle of Talavera was an example of the same defect in the Spanish troops; they could not be moved, however advantageous this movement would have been; and I suspect that the battle of Barrosa was something of the same kind. It is scarcely to be believed that any officer, who could depend upon the discipline of his troops in their movements, would have remained the quiet spectator of such an action at such a moment.

From these circumstances you will believe that I am not very easy about the result of another action, if we should be obliged to fight one. What a pity it is that the Spaniards will not set to work seriously to discipline their troops! We do what we please with the Portuguese troops; we manœuvre them under fire equally with our own, and have more dependence upon them; but the Spaniards can do nothing but stand still, and we consider ourselves fortunate if they don't run away.

[Here the Fusilier Brigade distinguished itself.]

It is impossible by any description to do justice to the distinguished gal-

lantry of the troops; but every individual most nobly did his duty, which will be well proved by the great loss we have suffered, though repulsing the enemy; and it was observed that our dead, particularly the 57th Regt., were lying as they had fought, in ranks, and every wound was in front.

[For the conduct of the 2nd batt. 5th Regt., and the 77th Regt., and 21st Portuguese Regt., at El Bodon, see previous extract from the Attacks of Cavalry, July Number, page 431.]

Merida, Dec. 30, 1811; *Lieut.-Gen. R. Hill to General Viscount Wellington.*

The intrepid and admirable manner in which the enemy retired, his infantry formed in square, and favoured as he was by the nature of the country, of which he knew how to take the fullest advantage, prevented the cavalry alone from effecting anything against him; and after following him for upwards of a league, and making an ineffectual attempt to break him, I judged it advisable to give over the pursuit, and he effected his escape, with the loss of about 20 killed, and as many wounded, from four 9-pounders, which got within range, and followed him for some distance.

Tarifa, Jan. 1, 1812; *Colonel Skerrett to Major-General Cooke.*

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 31st December a strong column was seen rapidly advancing to the breach; our musketry eventually checked the enemy, and the firm front and intrepid behaviour of the troops in less than an hour gained a complete victory. The most bold of the enemy fell near the foot of the breach, and the mass of the column made a precipitate retreat.

Truxillo, May 21, 1812; *Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill, K.B., to General Viscount Wellington.*

Almaraz. The 1st batt. 50th Regt., and one wing of the 71st Regt., regardless of the enemy's artillery and musketry, escaladed the work in three places nearly at the same time. The enemy seemed at first determined, and his fire was destructive, but the ardour of our troops was irresistible, and the garrison was driven at the point of the bayonet through the several intrenchments of their fort and *tête de pont*, across the bridge, which having been cut by those on the opposite side of the river, many leaped into the river, and thus perished. The impression made upon the enemy's troops was such that panic soon communicated itself to those on the right bank of the river, and Fort Ragusa was instantly abandoned, the garrison flying in the greatest confusion towards Navalmoral.

Cabrerizos near Salamanca, July 21, 1812; *to Earl Bathurst.*

I desired Lieut.-General the Hon. G. L. Cole to attack, with Major-General Anson's and Brigadier-General Harvey's brigade of infantry, the latter under the command of Colonel Stubbs, the enemy's infantry, which were supporting their cavalry. He immediately attacked and defeated them with the 27th and 40th Regts., which advanced to the charge with bayonets, Colonel Stubbs' Portuguese brigade supporting, and the enemy gave way. Many were killed and wounded, and Major-General Alten's brigade of cavalry having pursued the fugitives, 240 prisoners were taken.

Flores de Avila, July 24th, 1812; *to Earl Bathurst.*

Salamanca. The extension of his line to his left, and its advance upon our right, notwithstanding that his troops occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave me an opportunity of attacking him, for which I had long been anxious. The attack upon the enemy's left was made in the manner above described, and completely succeeded. Major-General the Hon. E. Pakenham formed the 3rd division across the enemy's flank, and overthrew everything opposed to him.

San Estevan, August 1, 1813; *to Earl Bathurst.*

Sorauren. I, however, ordered the 27th and 48th Regts. to charge, first, that body of the enemy which had first established themselves on the height, and next those on the left. Both attacks succeeded, and the enemy were driven down with immense loss; and the 6th division having moved forward at the same time, to a situation in the valley nearer to the left of the 4th, the attack upon this point ceased entirely, and was continued but faintly on other points of our line.

In the course of this contest the gallant 4th division, which had been so frequently distinguished in this army, surpassed their former good conduct. Every regiment charged with the bayonet, and the 40th, 7th, 20th, and 23rd four several times. Their officers set them the example..... All these operations obliged the enemy to abandon a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

SIEGE OF HERAT, IN 1837 AND 1838.

FROM A RUSSIAN REPORT.

THE siege of this fortress, to which so much importance attaches as the starting-point from which Russian aggression upon the ascendancy of the British power in India will one day be poured down, has been copiously detailed in the columns of English journals and other publications. These details have been gathered from semi-official authority or Anglo-Asiatic sources. What we proceed to lay before our readers is a statement drawn up by Luganski, the adopted patronymic of a German litterato of distinction, who accompanied the Russian force on its expedition against Chiva, and thus enjoyed abundant opportunity of acquiring information from the Persians themselves. Besides this, he was thrown into contact with three Chiva captives, Russians by birth, who had served with the Persians during the whole of the second siege of Herat, in the years 1837 and 1838, and after their return, had been made prisoners by a Turkoman horde, sold by them to the Khan of Chiva, and released from their captivity in pursuance of the terms agreed upon between that Prince and the Muscovite Government. "The prudence and discretion of one of these individuals, no less than the familiar terms upon which they all stood with General Borowski, who was attached to the Persian army, and the Asiatic publicity with which everything was transacted in the Shah's camp, enabled them," says the reporter, "to supply me with a series of interesting details connected with the siege in question." Having thus described the sources from which his narrative is drawn, he enters upon it as follows:—

"It is a common tradition among the Persians that a prophet formerly predicted, that when the dynasty of Nadir Shah should become extinct, the Kadshares should take possession of the throne of Persia, but not occupy it for more than three reigns, the first of which should be of fifteen years' duration, the second of forty, and the last of seven; after that, an era of licentiousness should ensue, and Persia fall into such distraction and decay, that a wild infidel race should make them-

selves masters of the soil. The Persians allege that this era has commenced, and that the Shah, with a view to the acquisition of additional power and reputation, as well as to prove the prophecy to have proceeded from lying lips, felt himself impelled to set about some foreign conquest. Besides Herat, he had, however, no adversary against whom to turn his arms: its people were formerly subjects of the Persian Crown, but in later times they embarked in predatory expeditions, transported men as slaves across the borders, and sold them to the Chivans; the Persians became a laughing-stock to them, and had not half as much weight among them as the Russians. But at the present moment the Czar's interference having put an end to Russian captivity in Chiva, the Persians are held in somewhat better esteem. Herat is in the hands of the Shahzad Kamran*, a kinsman of the Shah of Cabool, who was expelled by Dost Mohammed thirty years ago; but the British have expelled the Dost in their turn, and restored the principality to the old Shah. The present Sovereign of Persia sat down before Herat for six weeks, in the winter of 1833–1834, his father being then alive: but he struck his camp on the death of the latter, and has now renewed his attempt. The Shah likewise took the field in 1836, subsequent to his campaign against the Turcomans on the Gurgen, when his forces having dispersed for the purpose of plundering their encampments, the assailed assembled in considerable parties, and cut the Persians to pieces. We were not on the spot†; but this we know, that if they had had any other enemy but Turcomans and savage hordes to deal with, not one of them would have reached home in a whole skin. A twelvemonth afterwards, namely, in the summer of 1837, the Shah assembled a fresh army, and again advanced towards Herat; the troops marched in a disorderly manner, spreading themselves over a surface of thirty miles, and more; the wild Hulans led the host, next came the artillery, with the cannon the Czar had presented to them; then followed the Russian battalion, the guards, and the Fandshas, who constituted the bulk of the army, battalions of foot intermixed with horsemen. The soldier carried nothing but his cartridge-box; the whole of his other equipments was loaded on asses' backs, of which there was a large phalanx, led by about a fourth of the soldiery. Whenever the Shah sallied from his tent, he was saluted by a discharge of zemburcks‡; the same ceremony took place when he halted in the middle of the day's march to take his meal, as well as when the troops took up their quarters for the night. Hudshi Mirza Agassi, the most eminent among the Persian noblesse, commanded next to the Shah; he forces his enormous shako low down the back of his neck, has a pair of high shoulders, a large bridge nose, prominent eyes, and deep wrinkles spreading about them as far as his temples; but his features are cheerful and playful. Mirza Agassi is a noisy, braggadocio fellow, who is always in the right, simply because no one dares to contradict him; and when he talks big, leaves the party to whom he is addressing himself without a leg to stand upon, by asking

* This personage is dead since the report was written, and his son has been driven out by Jar Mohammed, the Vizier.

† The remark of the Russian deserters in the Persian service.

‡ The "zemburck" is a small gun, borne on the back of a camel, who kneels down when it is to be discharged.

him, 'Is it not so?'—'Am I not in the right?' And the questioned naturally replies by a profound obeisance, adding, 'Beli, beli!'—To be sure, to be sure! Hudshi hereupon smiles self-contentment, and emits a loud laugh. He is of low extraction, but played the part of tutor to the present Shah, and is an adept, as the Persians unanimously assert, at reading the stars, and unravelling the future; in other respects he is a mere drone, though he will occasionally break out into a rhapsody when his soul is on the wing at night, lay down the cause of a campaign or other adventure having succeeded or miscarried, according to the position of the stars; while it may be that he has all the time no faith in his own conclusions. He is utterly ignorant of military matters; yet, in spite of his ignorance, takes command of the army, superintends the arsenal, and presumed to direct the operations before Herat.

"The Shah's army amounted to 30,000 men, with 60 guns. He had appointed five or six Khans as commandants of corps, each of whom acted for himself without reference to the rest or acquainting them with his movements; hence arose the wretched mismanagement of the whole operation; whenever the enemy obliged the one to yield, the five others took to their heels with their divisions, nor did any one of them bethink himself of coming to the assistance of his brother commandant.

"They undertook to reduce Gurian, a fortress about forty miles from Herat, and fired off every arm they possessed, great or small, into the air, in the hope of frightening the garrison. Some days afterwards one of the leading chiefs, while in chase of an antelope, wounded one of the gunners, and nearly killed him; this, however, was an affair of which no one thought it worth his while to take the slightest notice. The wounded man was a friend of mine; and on my way to pay him a visit, I perceived Mirza Agassi and the other commanders on horseback, standing behind the guns; he had four pistols in his girdle, and in the exuberance of his contentment with the thunder that was roaring, cried out, 'The Gurians will surrender in a twinkling; in another week Herat will be ours, and then we will go wherever the Shah orders us, and conquer all before us till the sea brings us to a halt; and then the whole herd of infidel dogs shall toil and sweat for us, and be our hinds and slaves.' But the Gurians did not choose to surrender: they turned out and manned the works. The town is in the shape of a quadrangle, each side is a hundred fathoms in length, the walls are of clay, each angle is defended by towers, and the whole is encompassed with a double ditch, the external one being two fathoms deep, with one fathom's depth of water in it. The Khan of Herat's brother, Shir Mohammed, was in the fortress; this man was perpetually making inroads into Persia, despoiling the land, making prisoners of the males, and carrying them off for sale to the Chivans. He had fifteen hundred men and two guns at his disposal. Seminot, a Frenchman, conducted the siege; but the Khans would not obey his orders on any occasion: they advanced straight upon the place at all points, because there was firing from its walls, and discharged their guns so close upon it that the balls flew right over the ramparts, and fell among the besiegers themselves; but the fury of their attack evaporated after the second day's onset, and their guns were less frequently called into play. Seminot was desirous of laying down parallels, but not a single spade was to be

found in the whole camp; so they were obliged to manufacture them on the spot as well as they could, and convert their axes themselves into scrapers and ditch-hewers. The parallels were set about in right earnest, and followed up for seven days: upon this the place surrendered. Two guns, 1000 muskets and cutlasses, 300 shamshals, or wall-pieces, about 1200 pounds weight of gunpowder, and 8000 pounds weight of corn, were captured. The Persians had at least a hundred men killed and wounded. The Shah did not allow the fortress to be plundered; but, having placed a garrison in it, he sent the Affghans to Persia as colonists, and carried Shir Mohammed away with him.

"This occurred in the beginning of November. It was five days' march to Herat. On the second day we had an affair with the Affghan horse; the Turcomans, too, hovered round us, and laid hold of stragglers and such as could not keep up with us; on the whole, however, things went on smoothly enough, and we came in sight of Herat. It forms a quadrangle, four hundred fathoms in length and two hundred and fifty in breadth. The walls are of clay, four fathoms high, with oblique sides, crowned by a castellated wall; there are towers placed at certain intervals, and at each of the corners of the fortress; the latter are built of clay, lofty and thick, but exceedingly narrow. The ditch has water in it, and is two fathoms deep; the wall is provided with a double *épaulement*, behind which the garrison can conceal themselves and assail their assailants. No provision has been made for mounting cannon. The existing citadel was, it is said, the Kremlin of the flourishing city of Herat, the ruins of which lay scattered far and wide round it. There were several small suburbs, consisting of houses and gardens, that encircled the fortress when we arrived there; but the army sorely dismantled them by carrying off the wood. We learnt that the Persian inhabitants, fifty thousand in number, had all withdrawn into the town. in the citadel were Kamram Mirza and his commander, Jar Mohammed Khan, with three thousand Affghans, who had not only stripped the people of all their cash, but robbed them of their last ounce of bread. The land in the environs of Herat is very rich, and wholly laid out in gardens and fields. Much grain is raised; but otherwise all is poverty-stricken. Immediately adjoining the town, however, all is hilly and wooded for five and ten miles distance, excepting on the side next to the Persian territory, which is a level damp country, and very fertile.

"If the Persian leader had known his business he would have blockaded Herat, erected parallels on all sides, and mounted a dozen cannon in battery, so as to have knocked the wall about the garrison's heads; he would have filled up the ditch, or destroyed it by mining, and then have forced his way into it with as much ease as a man forces his way through a neighbour's hedge. The besieged had no guns, and the suburbs were built close into the walls; had the Russians been suffered to conduct the operations a couple of weeks would have been quite sufficient to reduce the place. But Hadshi Mirza Agassi had no taste for close quarters; he posted his army round the town, in the hope of starving them all out; he said, 'They have no provisions, and as we will not allow any to be brought them, famine will compel them, *nolens volens*, to submit to us.' He therefore ordered two of the gates to be occupied in the Shah's name, and the third to be left open, so that the town's people might have an easy means of escape to the hills. But they did

not avail themselves of it until Jar Mahommed, apprehensive of a famine, drove them out himself. The open gate, in the mean while, enabled him, three months long, to accumulate a stock of provisions; nay, even to reinforce his garrison."

[To be continued.]

EGYPT.

"The wind is fair; our sails swell out, and we drive lustily up the Nile. The Rais himself is sitting on the deck, and doing duty as helmsman, while the sailors, congregated in the fore part of the vessel, are busy stripping the skin off a ram, cutting it up, and setting the pieces to boil. It is an important day with them, a species of holy day, on which they beseech Allah to vouchsafe them a prosperous voyage; without such a celebration as this no power on earth could move the Arab sailor to make a start; it forms an indispensable item for every contract they enter into, and is the first stipulation made in it. The 'Maruf,' or ram, is boiled in a cauldron, and the sailors use the blood as a pigment for daubing their faces; they then place melons in a circle on the deck, and squat themselves down outside of it. One of them plays a four-holed pipe, like Pan's, as represented by the ancients; a second beats time upon an earthen pot, the upper part having a ram's skin drawn tight across it, and others begin clapping their hands, might and main: the life and spirit of the scene depend, however, upon the 'Trefuis,' a well-grown lad, one of whom is an indispensable appurtenance to every Arab ship; the lad posts himself, nearly stark naked, in the centre of the melon ring, and begins to dance the 'Sais,' which is the national dance of Upper Egypt. The performer never moves from the spot where he begins it, nor lifts either of his feet from the ground; the sum total of the pantomime he enacts, consists in the action he imparts to his head and shoulders, and especially the hinder part of his body. This dance has spread to every corner of Egypt, and is now practised by the 'Almés,' (female dancers), in whose hands, however, it is danced after a more luscious and animated fashion. This prologue being ended, the Trefuis picks out two of the sailors, and begins a comedy, strikingly characteristic of the habits and customs of this race."—(From a Traveller's Diary.)

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR OF THE UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE.

Grievances of Commissioned Naval Officers.

Mr. Editor,—The insertion of the inclosed will oblige several Naval Officers, your readers and friends.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Justus.

Admirals.—The ignorant and unreflecting may conclude that a British Admiral can have little cause of complaint, but when we consider his age at the time he receives his promotion, and his long previous services and declining years, we then see that he has little to congratulate himself upon, even on this summit of naval rank, and having often a family expecting much from him, when, alas! he knows that at the best a few short years are allowed him to provide for them, independent of the necessary expenses of maintaining his rank in society; hence arises the anxiety of many to obtain active employment, whose gray hairs and tottering steps seem far more

suitable for retirement from public life, but his sons, perhaps, are in the service and require advancement, and his daughters are marriageable, and he must still strive for them. All Naval Officers who have served of late years in flag-ships, have witnessed, with sorrow, the unseemly and painful position of decrepid men striving, with all the noble spirit befitting them and the Service, to do their duty in despite of the fearful havoc that time has made upon them. A very large retirement, with an increased rate of half-pay, is both desirable and necessary for the greater number of these officers.

Post-Captains.—Whoever examines the list of Post-Captains will observe, with much concern, the great age of the majority of these gallant officers; men who have deserved so well of their country; distinguished by every title except the one that is most desirable to them, and which they have been vainly expecting so long; so that now, if hundreds were at once made Admirals, the favour would be too late; time has done his destroying work upon them, and they are useless to the Navy from their years. A large retirement is absolutely necessary, with additional allowance of half-pay, for this class of officers.

Commanders.—A list of gallant officers, and containing some of the best sailors in the Navy, many of them wounded, and many vainly striving for employment, and some employed are in fact the actual service Captains of all the line-of-battle ships afloat, driven by necessity to take the pay of Commanders and do the work of the Captain, for, by a most harsh rule of the Naval Service, and contrary to the usage with Captains, the Commanders must serve before a further promotion be given them, which is, in fact, dooming the great majority of them to their present miserable half-pay for life. Many of them, having families to provide for, are in great necessity, and without hope, and some of them 30 years in their present rank. A retirement of all of these officers above 50 years of age, and a small increase of half-pay, is only just and necessary to this class of officers.

Lieutenants.—Let any one examine this list, and fancy, if possible, the sufferings and disappointments the seniors amongst these officers have endured; long deferred hope, despair, and poverty have been their lot, in return for many and glorious services. It may *now* be said, that from the numbers on the list, their case is irremmediable, and age has placed further service for many hundreds of them quite out of the question. What then can be done? Let there be an additional half-pay to all of them that are above 50 years of age, and have served in war; this will be something. Give them also the rank of retired Commanders—this will better meet their naval feelings than any additional income; and, for the future, let not Commanders take the duty of 1st Lieutenant in ships of the line, so derogatory to the Commander and hurtful to the Lieutenants, making them mere ciphers—so different from what they were in war-time; and let a certain number of years' service as 1st Lieutenants lead to certain promotion, as it ought to do.

The above class of Naval Officers have always been ill-paid, and exposed to every danger; they have required strong minds and bodies to go through their duties properly, and in some circumstances great intelligence has been necessary. Their courage is undoubted, and their conduct must have been good to attain their rank. The majority of them have been greatly hindered in their promotion by the patronage required by different Governments, and it rests with the Treasury to enable the Lords of the Admiralty to put an end to these evils. The present Admiralty are high-minded men, and anxious to do it. They know that a large naval retirement is quite necessary to clear the present Naval List of its inactive members, and to introduce a better system for the future, so that it shall not be so heavy and out of proportion to the wants of the country. Her Majesty, the country, every honest man, is most anxious for the wholesome government of this great service, and that all that is just, and even generous, shall be done to its gallant members.

Increase of Pay to the Officers of the Army; and Examination of Candidates for Commissions.

Mr. Editor,—It is matter of constant complaint and of regret in the Service, that whilst there are so many candidates for commissions, so few comparatively of those who obtain them remain *long* in the Service; so that there is a constant *traffic*, as it were, of sale of commissions,—many entering it, not as a profession for life, or for any other purpose but to wear *scarlet* and *gold* for a *year or two*, to get well *set up*, as it is called, or to marry an *heiress*, or to exchange, *i. e.* sell out and go on the *turf*, and some of the young nobility, until they come of age, and have had *enough* of it. It will be admitted, I think, that none of these classes are likely to produce many good and efficient officers, except they really *love* their profession, and desire to remain in it. Now what is desirable is to *ascertain* the *fitness* and elegibility of these young officers, *before* entering the Army, or getting their name put on the list for commissions, until seen, examined, and passed by an officer of rank and experience, or a board of officers at London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; when if approved on being seen, examined, certificates, &c., produced, and their inclination for a military life, and to serve in all quarters, sufficiently tested—*then*, and only then, to be *put* on the Commander-in-Chief's List for Commissions; and, in order to keep them to the Service, another change might be made, viz., to allow of no sale of commission until the officer desiring to sell has been ten years in it, and part of that time abroad with his regiment, if serving abroad. This would not injure any except the rich, who could afford to lose the price; and although the price of the commission did not return to the officer so quitting before ten years' service, yet his successor should be made to purchase, and the price go to a fund to *increase the pay* of officers of the Army, which it must be confessed is too low, especially for the Subalterns, who require an addition of 2*s.* per day each, to enable them to live as gentlemen, and keep pace with their brother officers, who have private fortunes. It is true this addition would require a large sum per annum, yet, as an army cannot be efficient, nor a regiment left in high order without being well officered, as well as drilled, and officers who are *underpaid* cannot be comfortable, if debt and overwhelming expenses are staring them in the face, they cannot give their minds and hearts to their duty, nor any longer be, what they ought to be and would be, were these evils removed, the future Wellingtons, Lynedochs, or Murrays of the British Army. I now speak of those officers who enter the Army *without* private fortune, officers' sons, who have been killed, or died on service, and many others who are heart and soul devoted to their profession, but cannot remain in it, on account of the greatly increased expense of living with their regiments, especially when at home. Now, surely, this is a class which *ought* to be regarded, for it is still large, although gradually diminishing; and it is highly valuable, for it comprehends the elements and sinews of our future strength. These fine young men should be cherished and preserved to the Service, and some way found to check the lavish and profuse expenses which young men of fortune introduce into regiments which, after a very brief period of *home service* they generally quit; but from this I gladly except the officers of the Guards, who stick to their corps and colours like true British soldiers, and are just as willing to serve in Canada as at St. James's palace, and always prove themselves worthy of their name and high character—and behold their laurels and their rewards! See how many guardsmen have now regiments for distinguished services. I need only mention Woodford, Bouverie, Berkeley, Clitherow, Hardinge, and others, to whom the country still looks in time of need and service.

But my remarks apply especially to the cavalry, in which the changes and sale of commissions *go on so rapidly*, that a young man is sure of getting his troop by the time the regulations allow him, viz., in three years. Now, as it takes three years to make a soldier, he is made a captain just a

soon as done with drill, or good for any thing as a soldier in the field. Is it possible that a regiment *thus* officered, can be in high or efficient order? The Colonel may be an Earl of Cardigan, or any other dashing commander, and the Adjutant a martinet, yet, if the *others* are deficient, if the troops or companies are ill commanded, and the subalterns *know-nothings*, what can be *expected?* The men scarcely know their officers, and, when they do not know their duty, which privates soon become aware of, they do not respect them. To the commanding officers and adjutants, such young men are a continual torment and vexation, and the loss to the Service generally is serious, especially when regiments are ordered abroad, and the desire to sell, exchange, or get to the depôt, becomes general in the corps, as often is the case. Now the cure for these evils is just what I mentioned, to exclude, as far as possible, *all* who do not enter the Army as a profession for life, until their health gives way, and then, let them sell out, or go on retired pay; increase the pay of Subalterns at any rate—of all ranks if it can be done; and establish a fund, as proposed, by sale of the retiring *rich men's* commissions, when they *quit before* the ten years. And, in order to make the Service tenable to young men of small or no private fortune, the greatest boon which the Secretary-at-War could confer on the Service—after the establishment of savings' banks, so noble an institution, and the handsome allowances now given to enable officers to carry out their families with them to the foreign stations where their regiments are quartered, and for their own passages when ordered to join—the greatest boon, I say, would be some *new* regulations for the expenses, on joining regiments, messing, and giving entertainments—all which, and other charges, he might put on a better and easier footing than now subsists. When a young officer, before going on parade, finds that his *half year's* pay, is forestalled, and that he has nothing but his rations if abroad, or allowance, if he has one, at home, to depend upon, three months' leave on appointment is therefore very desirable, when the service admits of it; and as to regimental balls, dinners, &c., could not the following regulations, or some such, be introduced, viz., that no officer be called on to contribute above a sovereign, but rich officers joining together, may give balls or dinners on a greater scale of expense, if they please, obtaining the Colonel's sanction, and inviting their brother officers, as guests or partakers at moderate expense, to be limited, and not too often repeated. Of course keeping horses and servants is a private affair, and each officer will do in that as his fortune, and taste, and rank, lead him to indulge in; but the great *desideratum* is *to keep in the Service* those talented and fine young men who wish to make it their profession for life, and to exclude those who enter it only for a year or two, and who do no good, and often a great deal of harm to themselves and others, by their expensive habits. Sir Henry Hardinge, in framing the new regulations for allowances to officers embarking on a foreign voyage to join their regiment, did certainly *enjoin economy* on those in command and in charge, and so far this was well, and the new arrangements excellent, and a great boon indeed to all ranks. But *more* is *required*, and I trust his successor will take this matter in hand.

If it is said,—Would you limit the Commander-in-Chief's patronage, by putting a stop to so many changes and sales as is now going on?—I answer, Yes, if the public good requires it; and the great Duke himself would answer exactly in the same way, viz., I desire no patronage that is not consistent with the efficiency of the Army and the good of the country, and the honour of the Service. And sure I am, if expenses can be lessened, or pay increased, so as to allow these fine, meritorious young men, often the sons or relatives of gallant officers who have died in their country's service on the field of battle, or of wounds or diseases contracted or received in foreign climes, and deserving non-commissioned officers, it will confer benefits on the Army, and the Service generally, which will be felt in every regiment, and on every station, whether at home or abroad, and increase the high reputation, even of a Wellington. G.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE PRINCIPAL PORTS AND STATIONS.

Portsmouth July 18, 1844.

MR. EDITOR,—An inquiry took place on board the Collingwood, on 22nd ult., Rear-Admiral Parker, president, on the application of Rear-Admiral Sir George Seymour; it having been stated to him that her masts were not properly secured, and liable to be crippled. The report of the officers who were ordered on this inquiry completely refuted the complaint, and it is to be regretted that it was ever made.

Queen arrived on 25th ult., and was inspected by Rear-Admiral Parker next day; she was paid off on the 11th inst., and the following day was taken charge of by Captain Martin and the officers and crew of the Camperdown (arrived on the 8th from Sheerness), and when equipped will go to Sheerness, as flag-ship of Vice-Admiral Sir J. C. White.

Wanderer was put out of commission on the 28th, and the crew paid wages at the dockyard.

The Naval College half-yearly examination concluded on the 28th. Mr. George Hancock, son of the late Rear-Admiral Hancock, was recommended for, and has since obtained, the Lieutenant's commission. Messrs. Knight, Budd, and Meade, Marine Cadets, have been declared qualified for marine commissions.

Sydenham has been sent to Tangier with despatches; she left this port on the 2nd inst., with directions to call at Plymouth. Childers arrived on the 3rd, and went into harbour to land her silver freight; she had about 700,000 dollars worth of Sycee silver. She left Ascension on the 15th May. Espoir was lying there. Penelope cruising. Tortoise not arrived.

St. Vincent has sailed for Plymouth, there to wait orders. She has six months' provisions and stores on board, and her crew completed to 950. The Victory has lent her 100 seamen and 20 boys; the Excellent 40 seamen, and taken the flag while she is absent; and 150 marines have embarked for head-quarters.

The officers and crew of the Victory will, with the warrant-officers of Camperdown, return her stores, &c. Resistance went to Spithead on the 18th, and is ordered to Cork. Apollo is also to go thither, and it is expected they will embark troops from thence for India. Nautilus has been sent to cruise.

Not any appointments are down for the brigs; but many officers are named as being certain of commanding them. There is very little doing in the port; the sailors are enjoying themselves at the Free Mart Fair.

Excellent, with Sir C. Rowley's flag, Victory, Queen, Collingwood, Seaflower, Royal Yacht, in Harbour. Resistance at Spithead.

Plymouth, July 16, 1844.

MR. EDITOR,—June 21st. Sailed Cygnet, 6, Com. Henry Layton, for the coast of Africa; she has taken out despatches for Capt. W. Jones, commanding the Penelope steam-frigate, senior officer on that station.—22nd. Arrived Swift packet, 6, Lieut.-Com. John Douglas, from Falmouth, to refit and have her defects made good.—23rd. Arrived Diligence, N.T., from Portsmouth, with stores for the dockyard.—24th. Sailed Falmouth tender with stores for Woolwich and Deptford dockyards. Fox, 42, Capt. Sir Henry M. Blackwood, Bart., has had her defects made good. Avenger, first-class steamer, intended to be built at Deptford, is to be built in this dockyard.

By a new regulation of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, relative to the dockyards, the artificers are to have a whole instead of a half-holiday on the anniversaries of Her Majesty's birthday and coronation. Orders have been received at this dockyard to enter 6 shipwrights, 6 blacksmiths, and 6 coopers for service in China, who are to be borne on the books *of the flag*-ship on that station.

28th. The anniversary of Her Majesty's coronation was observed here this day with the usual ceremonies; the standard was hoisted at all the public departments, and at 12 o'clock royal salutes were fired from the Citadel at Plymouth, and the Caledonia and San Josef.

29th. The Grecian, 16, was hauled out of dock, having had a large repair. The Delight, 10-gun brig, which was a short time since reported to be fitted for the custom service, and to be stationed in the river Tees, has been sold out of the service by private contract.

July 1st. A number of artificers were this day ordered on the Amethyst, 26, building in this dockyard, in order to expedite her, as the Avenger steam-frigate is to be laid down on her slip as soon as she is launched. Arrived the Aid, tender, from Sheerness and Chatham, with stores for the dockyard.—2nd. The Indus, 78, lately paid off at this port, was hauled into dock to have her copper cleaned and repaired. The King of Saxony arrived here this day, and visited the dockyard, breakwater, and most of the public departments, also the Caledonia; as His Majesty was travelling *incog.* the customary honours were not observed; he left the 3rd for Cornwall.

3rd. Arrived the Sydenham, steam-vessel, Lieut.-Com. D. R. B. Mapleton, from Portsmouth; embarked some supernumeraries, and sailed for the Mediterranean.

4th. The crew of the Swift packet, 6, Lieut.-Com. John Douglas, were paid wages this day. Orders arrived yesterday for the Caledonia to prepare for sea, in consequence of which 150 seamen from the San Josef (as supernumeraries) were sent on board of her this day; and Lieuts. Farmer and Nepean, 3 Serjeants, 3 Corporals, 1 Fifer, and 150 privates from the Royal Marines (also supernumeraries) embarked on board her.

4th. Arrived, the Asia freight-ship, from Gravesend, with a detachment of the 62nd regt., bound to Calcutta—put in, having some cases of small-pox on board; she sailed the following day for her destination.—5th. Sailed the Diligence, N.T., Master-Com. W. Martin, for Pembroke, with stores for the dockyard; also sailed the Camel tender, for Cork, with stores for the squadron. Sailed the Caledonia, 120, Capt. A. Milne, for Gibraltar; 50 additional supernumeraries were sent from the San Josef prior to her sailing. Admiral Sir David Milne shifted his flag to the Sylph tender, *pro tem.*

6th. Sailed Fox, 42, Capt. Sir H. M. Blackwood, Bart., for Tangier, with despatches; after delivering them she will proceed for India and China, touching at the Cape of Good Hope; several officers and supernumeraries are gone in her to join their respective ships on those stations. Capt. Blackwood, on his arrival at China, will hoist a broad pendant, and relieve Com. Henry D. Chads, in the Cambrian, 36, which ship is ordered home. Sailed the Swift, packet, 6, Lieut.-Com. John Douglas, for Falmouth, to take the mail to Rio de Janeiro.—7th. Sailed the Adventurer N.T., for Woolwich and Deptford, with stores. The Indus, 78, lately paid off at this port, is ordered to be brought forward as an advance ship.

10th. Sailed the Sinbad, tender, with stores for Portsmouth and Deptford dockyards.—11th. Arrived, the St. Vincent, 120, Capt. R. F. Rowley, from Portsmouth.

11th. Arrived Emerald, tender, from Portsmouth, with men belonging to the St. Vincent, who were on shore when she sailed; the Emerald sailed on her return the following day with volunteers for Collingwood. Sailed Duck, tender, with stores for Chatham.

14th. Admiral Sir David Milne struck his flag last evening on board the Sylph, and it was rehoisted on board the St. Vincent. Arrived Edward (barque), from Quebec, with timber; the Captain and 13 of her crew have been taken into custody, having on board 683 lbs. of tobacco; they were examined at the Town Hall the following day, and remanded until the 18th.

15th. Arrived Firefly steam-vessel, Capt. F. W. Beechey, from Woolwich; her crew were paid wages in advance the next day, and she has sailed on a survey of the coast of Ireland.—16th. Indus, 78, was hauled out of dock, having had her copper cleaned and repaired; she is fitting as an

dvance ship for Portsmouth. The Superb, 80, was hauled into dock to have her copper cleaned.

In Harbour—San Josef, Confiance steam-vessel. In the Sound—St. Vincent.

Milford Haven, July 17th, 1844.

Mr. Editor,—The following are the occurrences of the port for the past month. It will be seen by a portion of its contents that tranquillity has been restored in the Principality.—21st. The Firefly steam surveying-vessel, Capt. Beechey, arrived, and ran up to Pembroke Yard to refit. She is to be employed surveying the adjacent coast.—26th. The Firefly left for the Bristol Channel.—July 1st. The Juno, a 26-gun frigate, was launched to-day at the Royal Dockyard. The following are the particulars of her principal dimensions:—

	Feet.	Inches.
Length between the perpendiculars	131	0
Length of keel for tonnage	106	1
Breadth, extreme	40	6
Breadth for tonnage	40	0
Breadth, moulded	39	6
Depth in hold from upper side of main-deck	17	6
Ditto ditto lower-deck	10	9
Burthen in tons	911$\frac{22}{94}$	

As she was launched in a very unfinished state, in order to the removal of the roof under which she was built, she was taken into dock the following day, where she is being completed by the different classes of mechanics.—6th. Firefly returned.—8th. Diligence naval transport, with stores for the Arsenal, arrived.—10th. Tortoise, dockyard lighter, arrived. The disturbances having pretty well subsided throughout the mountainous districts of Wales, the Marines have been recalled to Pembroke. Major Whylock's party from Haverfordwest, with Lieutenants Daniel and Lillicrap, arrived on the 6th, as did the one under command of Captain Dawes, with Lieutenants Hamley and Adair, from Cardigan. Captain Griffin's detachment from Aberayoron, with Lieut. Spratt, arrived on the 8th.—14th. The Firefly steamer left for Plymouth, to be paid.—15th. The Dee, steam-transport, arrived to convey the extra Marines to divisional head-quarters.—17th. The Dee left with detachments of Marines for Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Chatham. The officers who return to divisions in her are Brevet-Major Whylock, Captains Dawes and Griffin, Lieutenants Hamley, Daniel, and Spratt. Those that remain at Pembroke are Lieut.-Colonel Pilcher, Captains Barnes and Rea, Adjutant Jackson, Quartermaster Holland, Lieuts. Fosbrook, Lillicrap, Coode, and Adair, with about two hundred men. This slight augmentation of the force at Pembroke will admit of a Subaltern's guard being mounted at the dockyard. Notwithstanding the immense amount of government property contained within the precincts of this unrivalled port, it is a strange fact that there is not a naval cruiser of any description upon the station. The Tortoise lighter, with unserviceable and decayed stores for Plymouth, sailed yesterday. In consequence of the new regulations the workmen at Pembroke, in common with the other dockyards, are allowed but one hour for dinner, and whole days are granted as holidays instead of half, as was formerly the case.

REVIEWS AND CRITICAL NOTICES.

Spain and the Spaniards in 1843. By Captain S. E. Widdrington, R.N., K.T.S., F.R.S., F.G.S., Author of Sketches in Spain in 1829-30-31-32.

Captain Widdrington's "Sketches in Spain," ten years ago, are well remembered, as constituting one of the most complete books ever penned

upon the state of that country at the period referred to; and the present volumes (inscribed to His Grace the Duke of Northumberland) will be found at least equally acceptable, as embracing a general view—though judiciously eschewing politics—of the present aspect of Spain, as regards her public affairs, her government, her natural produce, agriculture, commerce, and revenue; with the character, manners, and morals of the people, &c. In fact, the work is indispensable, as a supplement to the author's former publication.

Premising that Captain Widdrington is not merely an intelligent and practical traveller, but a man of science and general information, conversant with natural history in its various branches, and possessing a refined taste for the arts, we need not hesitate to recommend his book as one of intrinsic value. Abstaining, however, from all attempt at criticism, or even analysis, which would carry us far beyond our limits, we can venture only to take a cursory glance at its extensively varied contents. Nearly in the writer's own words, we may say that the first portion of his work relates principally to his personal narrative of an extensive tour in the middle and southern provinces of Spain, some parts of which had been previously little visited, and less described; the second portion embracing his progress through the northern provinces, with architectural and other notices of early churches, hitherto scarcely known; with accounts, also, of the most important changes in the civil situation of the country, and of the causes which led to the strange and unexpected events which have recently occurred.

Setting out in the spring of 1843, Captain Widdrington availed himself of the opportunity to accompany Dr. Daubeny, of the Agricultural Society of Great Britain, who had undertaken to examine a curious and unique formation of phosphorite, which had been long known to exist in Estramadura, with a view to ascertain whether that mineral could be imported as a substitute for bones, by way of manure. For the promotion of this object, the local authorities obligingly furnished every facility.

Arriving at Madrid, we find that the names of the streets have in many instances been changed, and the houses are regularly numbered. The shops are well filled, and great bustle and movement every where prevail. The famous Fontana de Oro has been closed, and its apartments converted into a spacious set of reading rooms, with baths and lodgings attached, under French management. Three or four London daily papers are taken. Nearly forty periodical papers are published in Madrid. Light and gaily painted omnibuses, drawn by mules, now traverse the principal parts of the city.

Curious particulars are given of the celebrated Countess of Mina, who was governess of the Queen; and the future historian, as well as the contemporary reader, will peruse with deep interest the details furnished by that lady of the "noche triste" of October, 1841, when the Queen was attacked in her palace.

Captain Widdrington regards Estramadura as "ancient Spain, unchanged and unchanging."

The quicksilver mine at Almaden is an important establishment, employing about 5000 men during the full season; yet yielding an annual profit to the government of not more than £75,000. The iron mine and foundry of Pedroso, only in its infancy in 1831, is now a flourishing colony, with extensive buildings and about 500 workmen. The principal works in the foundry are managed by three Englishmen, the only foreigners engaged, who receive about £4 sterling each per week, equal to double the amount in their own country, with many indulgences.

As useful information for future travellers, Captain Widdrington describes the mode of preserving the skins of animals by immersing them in a diluted solution of corrosive sublimate of one to one hundred parts of water; being about half the strength of Kyan's solution. Where there is choice of materials, however, he would prefer the arsenical soap to corrosive sublimate, especially for ornithological specimens.

The climate of the Serrania de Ronda, mild and equable, is strongly recommended for consumptive patients.

It appears that the once notorious "Prince of the Peace" has brought what is equivalent to an action of ejectment against the Duke of Wellington, respecting his estate of the Soto de Roma, claiming it as his property by a former grant of the royal possessor. The supreme tribunal of Grenada has more than once decided in favour of the Prince, but the superior court of Madrid declares itself incompetent to enter on the question!

The monument of Sir John Moore, at Corunna, is in perfect order and preservation.

No description of the curious and interesting cathedral of Santiago having before been given, Captain Widdrington has supplied the *desideratum* by very copious details. Another subject, to which considerable attention is paid, is the fall of the regency. And we have much that is important relating to the Church, its revenues, the number of its dignitaries, priests, &c. The state of affairs, subsequent to the death of Ferdinand, is well described; and many points of information respecting Queen Christina, Don Carlos's generals Zumalacarregui, Cabrera, Maroto, Carlos de España, Manzanares, &c., are given.

Pressed by want of space, we are reluctantly compelled thus to close a notice, which, could we pursue our inclination, might be extended to several pages.

Historic Fancies. By the Honourable George Sydney Smythe, M.P. 1 Vol.

If this pleasing and cultivated volume does not excite an unusual share of public attention, it will argue a serious and radical defect in the literary tastes of the day. Its writer is evidently an accomplished person, whose opinions and feelings are worth attention on any subject about which they may concern themselves; and they take a wide range, touching on most of those topics which interest the public mind at the present moment, and which have chiefly moved and modified it during the last thirty or forty years. No topic is too high or too humble for Mr. Smythe's handling; and he handles all with a fearless, as well as a liberal touch. His volume may be described as a set of essays and miscellaneous pieces, in prose and verse, having no general tone or bearing beyond that which is given to them by a large humanity "looking before and after." Those pieces which will be read with most interest, and which are perhaps the best done, are the prose sketches of the chief heroes of the French Revolution. These may be fairly described as historic truths, rather than "historic fancies." Those pieces which answer to the latter title are chiefly in verse. The most conspicious and excellent of these is a dramatic scene, dating during the administration of Walpole, between Bolingbroke, Pulteney, and Wyndham, which leads us to look with high expectation to any future efforts, on a more extended scale, which the writer may hereafter make in this department of literary composition.

The volume is altogether a very graceful and acceptable proof of the tastes that prevail in a certain portion of our young aristocracy.

Facts and Fictions illustrative of Oriental Character. By Mrs. Postans.

These tales, for the most part reprints from the Asiatic Journal, were written to "popularize Indian subjects," and are well adapted to accomplish that end. They are amusing, instructive, and characteristic of Indian society, habits, and customs.

EDITOR'S PORTFOLIO;

OR,

NAVAL AND MILITARY REGISTER.

Captain Warner has repeated his experiment of blowing a vessel to atoms, on a larger scale than that which all our readers must remember. A ship was given him for the occasion by the eminent Mr. Somes; and the note of preparation being sounded, not fewer than 40,000 people collected to witness the explosion at Brighton. On Saturday, the 20th, the John of Gaunt, a fine bark of about 300 tons burthen, was towed by a steamer from Shoreham Roads to an offing in front of the Steyne Battery, where a Union Jack was to be hoisted by Captain Lord Ingestre, and others, to indicate to Captain Warner, on board the steamer, the moment they expected him to attack the ship. All arrangements being made, the signal was given, the doomed ship struck amidships, the main-mast sent up like a rocket, and the hull sunk, all in a few minutes,—giving the spectators a mingled feeling of admiration, dread, and astonishment.

All the world, of course, are pondering upon how this feat was done. Some suggest a galvanic communication between the fated ship and the steamer; others nitrate of silver or gold, so managed as to make a fearful explosive compound. Chlorides and chlorates of every kind, and all sorts of preparations from mercury are also brought forward,—but the "*bottled lightning*" is as great a mystery as ever. Then, again, the public are all at sea as to its application,—whether it is necessary to place sunken shells in the track of the enemy to be destroyed, or whether it must be used as a projectile. The general impression, however, at Brighton, was, that the injury to the John of Gaunt was effected externally,—and that Captain Warner is in possession of a horrible and powerful engine of destruction.

This is the present state of the question, and all that can be yet known of it. For ourselves, we would certainly like to see a government ship taken to any point selected by Captain Warner, there to be destroyed by him, without his having any communication with her, as must be the case if he were attacking an enemy. This, indeed, would be the *experimentum crucis*, which would at once satisfy the public mind. We shall probably, ere long, have to record such a conclusive experiment.

The last mail from India was dispatched before the regular period, on account of the approach of the monsoon; consequently the amount of general intelligence is rather limited, and possesses no further interest than that which comes from the north-western quarter; attention being strongly drawn to what is passing in the Punjaub. In our

last Number we noticed the insurrection raised in favour of Cashmeera Singh and Pashora Singh, natural sons of Runjeet, the Lion of Lahore. It will also be recollected that Ajeet Singh, who murdered the last King, Shere Singh, and his Prime Minister, Dhyan Singh, was himself in turn slain by Heera Singh, the present Minister, who thus revenged the loss of his father. Not content with this, the whole family of Ajeet was butchered, with the exception of one boy of nine years of age, who, under the guidance of his uncle, Utter Singh, contrived to escape to the Sikh States which are under our protection; here they remained for seven months, until the revolt alluded to offered them an opening to return to their country; which they seized on, and joined the two sons of Runjeet. It is said that after the junction, the united forces had proceeded to attack Heera Singh, who is reported to have been wounded in a sanguinary battle that took place.

By this recital it will be seen that the elements of discord have received a fresh accession, and it becomes daily more difficult to decide who shall govern the country. Simply as a scramble for a succession, these quarrels, sanguinary as they are, may be said not to concern us; but many circumstances may arise, and are likely to do so, that may draw us into the dispute, or require our arbitration.

We find already that Heera Singh, the actual ruler of Lahore, has taken umbrage at our having given an asylum to the child of the man who murdered his father, and thus defeated the wholesale system of retaliation so prevalent in the East. He further suspects that these refugees, while sheltered in the Sikh States, received support and countenance from the British Authorities; he threatens reprisals, by making inroads on our territory, and should these measures be acted on, it is very easy to guess what must follow.

We have understood that it was not the intention of Lord Ellenborough to interfere in any way with the future government of Lahore, and it has been publicly declared by Lord Ripon, on the part of the Government at home, that it is not the wish to extend our conquests and territory. We all know what is said to form the pavement in a certain warm place; whatever may be the intentions of the ruling powers at home and in India, many circumstances, such as what we have alluded to above, may occur, which will force them to give up forbearance. That such will happen is our firm conviction, and we are further certain that even a moderate degree of peace and tranquillity will never be restored to that unfortunate country until we are either its masters or protectors. Should we appear in the latter capacity, it is to be hoped that we will change the system altogether with respect to these Oriental dynasties; that the succession will be placed on a surer foundation, and not allowed to continue a bone of contention between ambitious ministers and problematical bastards.

The assembly of a large force near Ferozepore gives assurance that when occasion requires the interference will be prompt and satisfactory, and we have little doubt that in the general line of policy pursued in that quarter Sir Henry Hardinge will carry out the views of his enlightened predecessor.

We understand that by the addition of two Battalions to Bengal, one to Madras, and one to Bombay, ninety-two officers will be required for the Artillery Establishments. A large proportion, between fifty and sixty, of the Cadets to be appointed, must necessarily be composed of young men who have been educated at various seminaries.

The following is the test of qualification for candidates for direct Artillery Cadetships, which must be filled up within a year:—

MEMORANDUM.

Test of Qualification for Direct Appointments to the Corps of Artillery, according to the Regulations of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, for their Military Seminary at Addiscombe.

First.—MATHEMATICS. The present qualifications for Artillery Cadets at Addiscombe consist in a knowledge of the undermentioned parts of the Course of Mathematics published by the Rev. Jonathan Cape, Professor of Mathematics and Classics at that institution, viz.:—

In Vol. 1. Arithmetic; Logarithms; Algebra, Part 1; Geometry; Geometrical Problems; Application of Algebra to Geometry, Section 1; all Mensuration excepting Artificers' Work.

In Vol. 2. In Trigonometry, Section 1; Section 2, the first seventeen articles; Conic Sections, with the exception of the Hyperbola. Mechanics, the definitions. In Statics the first part of Section 1, which treats of the composition and resolution of forces in the same plane; the first part of Section 2, not including the application of the integral calculus, &c.; all Section 3. In Dynamics, all Section 1, excepting the last article; Sections 2 and 3; Section 5, the three first Propositions. In Hydrostatics, Section 1, excepting the last Proposition; all Section 2.

Secondly.—IN RESPECT TO FORTIFICATION. This is taught at Addiscombe from a Treatise published by Major Straith, Professor of Fortification and Artillery. The present qualifications for the Artillery Cadets at Addiscombe are a knowledge of the substance of Major Straith's Treatise on Fortification (3rd edition), from page 1 to 180, on Field Fortification; from page 1 to page 372, on Permanent Fortification.

The Plates of Fortification required correspond with those in the Atlas of Major Straith's Treatise, but are all drawn on a larger scale, and are as follow:—

Plate 1. Field Fortification. All the figures in this plate are done on a larger scale, and shaded, except figs. 20, 21; 17, 18; 19, 21, 22, 23, 32, 33, 34; 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, and 40, which are not required.

Plate 2. Field Fortification. All the figures in this plate are done in outline, except figures 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 79, 81, 82, and 83, which are not required. Figures 74, 75, and 76, are filled in and shaded.

Plate 3. Field Fortification. Figures 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, and 98, are done in outline.

Plate 1. Permanent Fortification. Figures 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, and 12, filled in and shaded.

Plate 2. Permanent Fortification. Figures 14, 17, 18, filled in and finished fully.

Plate 4. Permanent Fortification. Figures 46 and 47 filled in and shaded. Figures 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, and 56 in outline.

Plate 5. Permanent Fortification. Completely finished and shaded.

Plate 6. Permanent Fortification. Figures 83 and 84, finished and shaded.

Thirdly.—IN ARTILLERY. The qualification for the Artillery Cadets at Addiscombe is a knowledge of Major Straith's Memoir on Artillery, contained in his Treatise, from page 1 to page 108; but the plates are not always drawn.

N.B.—Qualifications both in Mathematics and in Fortification equivalent to the above will be satisfactory, no matter from what authors, or according to what system, the candidates may have studied. But in respect to Fortification and Artillery particularly, considering that those branches are not taught in all parts of the kingdom, the Public Examiner has been instructed to make allowance for the difficulty of finding competent masters; and therefore the candidates for direct Artillery appointments may be passed without possessing a knowledge of all the details contained in Major Straith's Treatise before quoted; but they will be expected to

understand the nature of works of permanent fortification, according to Vauban's first system, or the modern system; and to be able to explain the operations of a siege: and they must also have some knowledge of field-fortification. They must produce drawings of fortification, and a plan of attack of a regular fortress, executed by them as students, which, if satisfactory, may be fewer in number than those required at Addiscombe. These plans must have been constructed according to scale, and not mere copies, as a proof of which the candidates may be required to draw the outline of some work from dictation.

Under the same consideration, should the candidates be qualified in other respects, a very moderate knowledge of artillery will be accepted, as they will have the opportunity of acquiring it in India.

Fourthly.—DRAWING AND SURVEYING. The Cadets at Addiscombe are taught civil and military drawing, and are taught the practice of surveying, according to the rules contained in Major Basil Jackson's printed Course of Military Surveying, which they follow in making surveys of the country near Addiscombe.

The candidates for direct Artillery appointments will produce drawings in whatever style they may have been taught, whether landscape and figures or topographical; the latter to include their actual surveys; and the common practice of land-surveying by the theodolite will be considered satisfactory.

As soon as any candidate, who has obtained a nomination to a direct Artillery appointment, shall be considered competent, his friends will send notice thereof to Mr. Thomas Robert Clarke, at the East India House, by whom they will be informed as to the periods of examination, when he will be required to appear before Major-General Pasley, at such place in or near London as may be appointed for that purpose; who will make a report of the qualifications of individual candidates, of whom several will be brought forward at the same time. Each examination will occupy several days, as is usual at the private examinations at Addiscombe, preliminary to the public examinations, when the appointments of the Cadets to the Artillery, &c., are decided. None will take place before the month of January next, and none later than the month of August, 1845.

The Professors of Mathematics, Fortification, and Surveying, at Addiscombe, have permission to give lessons to the candidates for direct Artillery appointments during the vacations at that institution, viz., from the middle of June to the end of July, and from the middle of December to the end of January.

Every candidate must produce a certificate of good conduct from the Master under whom he last studied.

No candidate can be appointed a direct Artillery Cadet who is under sixteen or above twenty-two years of age.

The direct Artillery Cadets will be required to proceed to their respective destinations within three months from the day of being reported qualified, their relative rank amongst themselves being fixed in the order of seniority, at each examination, as determined by the report of the Public Examiner.

East India House, 17th July, 1844.

Letters have been received by the Admiralty from Capt. Wyvill, of H.M.S. Cleopatra, 26, at the Cape of Good Hope, confirming the account of the massacre of Lieutenant Montague Treby Molesworth, R.N., and seven men of that frigate. It appears, from the peculiar local currents on the west coast of Madagascar, that the Cleopatra was carried on a reef of rocks, about sixty miles north of St. Augustine's Bay, the position of which was not laid down in the charts; but she fortunately was got off without receiving any serious damage.

Subsequently, on the morning of the 23rd of March last, Lieut. M. T. Molesworth was sent in the pinnace, with a crew of thirteen men, without any arms whatever, to recover a kedge-anchor and hawser, which had been put out to warp the frigate off. A great number of the natives in their canoes were attracted to the spot, and surrounded the pinnace; two of whom, while the sailors were engaged in their duty,

entered the boat unarmed, and, as it was supposed, with the intention of bartering shells in their usual way, but, in fact, of stealing the stores. On this being discovered they were turned out. A spear was then thrown, which hit Lieut. Molesworth, and was the signal for a general attack. A deadly flight of spears followed, which were hurled with terrible effect on the hapless unprepared crew. The Cleopatra was only two hawsers' length from her boat, but so sudden was the attack, and so unexpected, that it was not seen from on board; and the wretches were only frightened away by supposing the frigate was standing in towards them, when they made for the shore with the utmost speed. The inhuman deed occupied only two minutes! Two men were killed on the spot, Lieut. Molesworth and five others received mortal injury, and three were severely wounded, leaving only three of the pinnace's crew untouched.

Lieut. Molesworth lingered two days, and then died, as a Christian should die, in faith and hope of a higher and nobler promotion.

He was a very promising young officer, and gave early proof of doing honour to his profession. It was mainly through his exertions, by the blessing of Providence, that H.M. cutter Mercury was preserved, when thrown on her beam-ends in a violent gale in the Bristol Channel, on the 26th of January, 1842; for which service the Lords of the Admiralty were pleased to make him Lieutenant. He was in the 25th year of his age, and the second son of the Rev. William Molesworth, of St. Breoke, in the county of Cornwall.

Capt. William Williams Foote, R.N., deceased, was well known amongst his comrades as a thorough seaman, and highly esteemed by them for his many excellent qualities. He belonged to the class, without the roughness, of that good old school of British tars who never dreamt of defeat, and whose splendid achievements cannot be surpassed.

Capt. Foote entered the Navy, in the Leviathan, in the year 1778; was in the Valiant (Capt. Goodall), in Lord Rodney's action of the 12th April, 1782, and when she subsequently fell in with and captured, single-handed, the Cato, of 64, and Jason, of 64 guns. In 1783 he was employed in the Channel service, and in 1786 was appointed to the Orestes, Capt. Manly Dixon, and from that ship to the Romulus, Capt. Frederick; from thence to the Niger, Capt. Keats; in 1793 to the Illustrious, Capt. Frederick, on the Mediterranean station, and was actively employed in gun-boats at the siege of Toulon. In 1794 he received his rank of Lieutenant, and commanded the sloop St. Clare, manned by men of all nations, and whilst sailing in her with dispatches to the Admiral, fell in with and engaged a privateer, which after a short action got out her sweeps and escaped. Was Lieutenant of the Illustrious in Lord Hotham's action, in July, 1794, when the Alcede was taken, but took fire and blew up before she was boarded. In 1795 was Lieutenant of the Blenheim at the blockade of Toulon, which ship was one of the three that had never dropped anchor or been into port for seven months; was First Lieutenant of the Blenheim at the battle of St. Vincent, which ship, with two or three others, bore the brunt of the action. He was then appointed to the command of the Comet sloop, and arrived at the Nore the night before the grand mutiny broke out. Subsequently he was ordered to convey the French prisoners, taken on their descent at Fishguard, to King's Lynn, on their way to Norman Cross Prison, and after performing that service, he returned to Yarmouth Roads the same day that those ships in a state of mutiny left Admiral Duncan off the Texel, when the Delegates took the command from the officers. Was Lieutenant of the

Director at the battle of Camperdown, and First Lieutenant of the Blenheim in the blockade of Cadiz. In 1798, the Blenheim being out of repair, the flag and officers were shifted into the Princess Royal, and in 1799, under the command of Lord Keith, chased the French fleet into Brest harbour. The Princess Royal was in great distress, having sprung a leak which was not gained upon until she drew near land in smooth water, and during the time she lay in Hamoaze, preparing to be docked and paid off, one chain-pump was kept at work. In 1799 was promoted to the rank of Commander, and remained on half-pay until 1803, when he was appointed to the command of the Tisiphone, under the orders of Sir Sidney Smith, on the line of blockade and the Channel service. In 1809 was appointed to the command of a new sloop, the Partridge, and took a convoy to the West Indies, and was then put under the orders of Lord Gardner on the North Sea station; also went to Corunna, to convoy home the remains of Sir J. Moore's army. In 1810 was promoted to the rank of Post Captain, and in 1842 appointed one of the Captains of Greenwich Hospital.

Amongst the many incidents of his life, it may be stated that during and at the close of the battle of St. Vincent, he took full notes of the events as they occurred. After the action, Lord St. Vincent having very imperfect notes, heard of Lieut. Foote's, and requested to be supplied with a copy. This was done, and he was highly complimented on the occasion. It is believed that these notes formed the chief portion of the Earl's dispatch announcing the victory.

A cenotaph to the memory of the late Major-General O'Malley is in progress of erection, not far from the house wherein he was born, near the church of Castlebar. The contour of the monument will be square at the base, at each angle a column; and on the front a white marble tablet, inscribed with the armorial bearings of the O'Malley family, and with a list of the actions in which the General was engaged. In the centre of the square is a pedestal covered with a massive block, on which is to stand the statue of the General, sculptured by Kirk. A marble slab in front of the pedestal will contain the following inscription:—

"To the Memory of Major-General O'Malley, C.B., who expired in London, on the 16th of May, 1843, in the 63rd year of his age, and whose mortal remains are deposited in the family burying place, at Murrisk Abbey, this Statue is erected, by his Naval, Military, and Civil friends, amongst whom are the members of the ancient and most benevolent Order of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick, as a small tribute of their esteem and affection. He served his country in Egypt, North America, the West Indies, the Mediterranean, &c. He commanded the 2nd Batt. of the 44th Regt. at Waterloo, where he was twice wounded, and subsequently commanded the 88th Regt., or Connaught Rangers. He was a pious Christian, a brave and excellent soldier, a sincere and firm friend."

It is a pleasant thing to record of an old soldier that he has won golden opinions wherever employed; and we therefore give publicity to the following document, which will gratify a large circle of military friends and acquaintances:—

To MATTHEW FORSTER, ESQ., COMPTROLLER-GENERAL OF CONVICTS, M.L.C.

DEAR SIR,—We the undersigned, who served with you as Stipendiary Magistrates while you held the office of Chief Police Magistrate of Van Diemen's Land, beg, on your retirement from that appointment, to offer for your acceptance the accompanying Piece of Plate, as a token of our sense of the efficient and courteous manner in which you invariably performed your duty, and also as an enduring tribute of our respect and regard for one whose high-principled and able conduct greatly contri-

buted to the honour and efficiency of the department over which he so long presided.

We remain, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

Thomas Anstey, M.L.C.
Thomas Mason.
O. D. Ainsworth, Major, and Major of Brigade.
Charles Arthur.
J. L. Archer.
John Whitefoord.
George Bagot, 51st Light Infantry.
Augustus Rice, Captain ditto.
Edward St. Maur, Major ditto.
Robert Bush, Capt. 96th Regt.
William Champ, late 63rd Regt.
John Price.
William Moriarty, Capt. R.N.
D. Erskine (the Hon.), 51st Light Inf.
R. Wales.
G. S. Davies.
William Franks.
L. F. Jones, Capt. 96th Regt.
Frederick Forth, late Capt. 21st Fusiliers.
W. Nairn.
J. Forster.
A. Gardiner.
William H. Breton, Lieut. R.N.
C. Driscoll.
John Peyton Jones, late 63rd Regt.
P. R. Cheape, Major 96th Regt.
Fred. Mainwaring, Major 51st Light Inf.
George Yeoland, A.C.G.
C. O'Hara Booth, late Captain 21st Fusiliers.
A. B. Jones, late Madras Cavalry.
William Tarleton.
G. B. Forster, Lieut. R.N.
James Smith.
S. Lapham.
Charles Schaw, late Major 21st Fusiliers.
B. Baily, late Capt. ditto.
Samuel Barrow.
R. P. Stuart.
Percy Rice, Capt. 51st Light Infantry.
E. D. Isham, Capt. ditto.
W. T. Noyes.
M. L. Smith.
John Clark.
James Thomson.

Hobart, 6th January, 1844.

GENTLEMEN,—I accept with extreme pleasure the valuable and enduring proof of your regard which you have just presented to me, and I am still more gratified by the sentiments expressed in the address which accompanies it—sentiments so fully according with what I at all times experienced—a fair and liberal construction of the motives by which I was ever influenced in my official intercourse with you.

I well knew that the efficiency of the department, so long confided to my charge, could never be impaired by the observance of the courtesies referred to in your address, and which, permit me to add, were upon all occasions reciprocated by you.

In desiring to continue those kindly feelings which have so uninterruptedly subsisted between us, I am prompted alike by my own inclinations and a desire to obtain for the office I have now the honour of holding, the advantage which it cannot fail to derive from the zealous and friendly co-operation of the Stipendiary Magistrates of the Colony.

Allow me to assure you, Gentlemen, that I have parted with you as Chief Police Magistrate with sincere regret, and that I shall ever remain,

Your sincerely faithful,
M. FORSTER, Comptroller-General of Convicts.

The remark has frequently been made, as a matter of reproach in some degree merited, of the discontinuance of rural sports in England; which at one time formed the delight and recreation of the peasantry: of these scarcely a vestige remains, with the exception of the game of cricket,—which holds its ground, not only on account of being a fine athletic sport, requiring considerable skill and even science, but also because it has been made a *fashionable* amusement. Seeing that this game alone has to fill up the whole space of time allotted to rural recreation, we have been much surprised that no diversity has been attempted,—as, for instance, exercises in the use of arms. When the bow was the principal weapon of the English infantry, all the youth of the realm was trained to archery, the meetings were frequent, and no

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held at Basle the fourth federal jubilee, to commemorate the battle of St. James. To this meeting were sent as representatives the best riflemen from all the cantons to contend for prizes; and all these detachments, as they arrived, were led into Basle with music and honours —those that arrived after dark, were accompanied by persons bearing flambeaux.

The Alsatian railway, and all the roads from the Jura, were filled with passengers, and much difficulty was experienced in lodging in Basle all the visitors for this national fête, which was opened on Monday by salvos of artillery soon after daylight; at six o'clock a vast chorus marched round the cathedral, singing a religious hymn; at seven there was Divine Service in all the churches; at nine the different authorities and the members of the different committees assembled in the square of the cathedral, and the procession being formed, took the direction of Saint Jacques, accompanied by a crowd estimated at 100,000 persons. The houses on the way were beautifully decorated, and on the procession reaching Saint Jacques, it was received with fresh salvos of artillery. The provisional *salle-à-manger* covered two acres of ground, and 5000 persons sat down to dinner; they were entertained during the repast by two bands alternately, and the celebrated singers of Appenzel were brought forward on the occasion. The following three days were devoted to the rifle practice and the distribution of prizes.

CIRCULAR.

WAR OFFICE, 29TH JUNE, 1844.

SIR,—With reference to the Circular Letter, No. 895, dated "War Office, 10th Jan., 1842," granting an allowance of one shilling a-day to Medical Staff Officers abroad, in lieu of a soldier Servant, I have the honour to acquaint you that, from the 1st of the month subsequent to the receipt hereof, the said allowance may be issued to the Medical Staff Officers at the Station under your command, at the increased rate of one and sixpence a-day, the additional sixpence being intended as a commutation in lieu of Rations in kind, which sixpence is accordingly to be stopped whenever the necessities of the Service may render it necessary to issue the Rations in kind to the Civil Servant for whom the said allowance is granted. I have to add, that from the date when this arrangement shall take effect, Officers of the Medical Staff will be entitled to draw from the Commissariat Rations of Provisions only for the Civil Male Servants actually kept by them within the limit assigned to their respective ranks in the schedule annexed to the Royal Provision Warrant, and under the restrictions contained in the 3rd Article thereof, *exclusive* of the servant for whom the allowance of 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day is granted.—I am, &c.,

The General or other Officer Commanding. THOS. F. FREEMANTLE.

STATIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

[Where two places are mentioned, the last-named is that at which the Depôt of the Regiment is stationed.]

1st Life Guards—Regent's Park.
2nd do.—Hyde Park.
Royal Horse Guards—Windsor.
1st Dragoon Guards—Canterbury.
2nd do.—Ballincollig.
3rd do.—Dublin.
4th do.—Longford.
5th do.—Manchester.
6th do.—York.
7th do.—Cape of Good Hope; Maidstone.
1st Dragoons—Dublin.
2nd do.—Edinburgh.
3rd do.—Bengal; Maidstone.
4th do.—Ipswich.
6th do.—Brighton.
7th Hussars—Birmingham.
8th do.—Dundalk.
9th Lancers—Bengal; Maidstone.
10th Hussars—Cahir.
11th Hussars—Dublin.
12th Lancers—Nottingham.
13th Light Dragoons—Exeter.
14th do.—Bombay; Maidstone.
15th Hussars—Madras; Maidstone.
16th Lancers—Bengal; Maidstone.
17th do.—Hounslow.
Grenadier Guards [1st batt.]—Winchester.
Do. [2nd battalion]—St. George's Barracks.
Do. [3rd battalion]—St. John's Wood.
Coldstream Guards [1st batt.]—Portman St. B.
Do. [2nd battalion]—Wellington Barracks.
Sc. Fusilier Guards [1st batt.]—The Tower.
Do. [2nd battalion]—Windsor.
1st Foot [1st batt.]—Gibraltar; Tralee.
Do. [2nd battalion] Barbadoes; Enniskillen.
2nd do.—Bombay; Chatham.
3rd do.—Bengal; Sheerness.
4th do.—Madras; Chatham.
5th do.—Dublin.
6th do.—Chester.
7th do.—Gibraltar; Plymouth.
8th do.—Bolton.
9th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
10th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
11th do.—Dublin. For New South Wales.
12th do.—Mauritius; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Mauritius.
13th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
14th do.—Canada; Belturbet.
15th do.—Limerick.
16th do.—Dublin.
17th do.—Aden; Chatham.
18th do.—China; Chatham.
19th do.—Cephalonia; Jersey.
20th do.—Bermuda; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Bermuda.
21st do.—Bengal; Chatham.
22nd do.—Bombay; Chatham.
23rd do.—Barbadoes; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Canada.
24th do.—Dublin.
25th do.—Madras; Chatham.
26th do.—Edinburgh.
27th do.—Cape of Good Hope; Guernsey.
28th do.—Bombay; Chatham.
29th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
30th do.—Limerick.
31st do.—Bengal; Chatham.
32nd do.—Dublin.
33rd do.—New Brunswick; Buttevant.
34th do.—Athlone.
35th do.—Mauritius; Nenagh.
36th do.—Newry.
37th do.—Newcastle-on-Tyne.
38th do.—Gibraltar; Boyle.
39th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
40th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
41st Foot—Brecon.
42nd do.—Malta; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Malta.
43rd do.—Montreal; Carlisle.
44th do.—Plymouth.
45th do.—Cape of Good Hope; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Gibraltar.
46th do.—St. Vincent; Newbridge.
47th do.—Gosport.
48th do.—Jamaica; Hull.
49th do.—Winchester.
50th do.—Bengal; Chatham.
51st do.—Van Diemen's Land; Chatham.
52nd do.—New Brunswick; Dover.
53rd do.—Manchester. For Bengal.
54th do.—Birr.
55th do.—China; Chichester.
56th do.—Kilkenny.
57th do.—Madras; Chatham.
58th do.—N. S. Wales; Chatham.
59th do.—Portsmouth.
60th do. [1st batt.]—Fermoy. For Bombay.
Do. [2d batt.] Quebec; Stirling.
61st do.—Cork. For Bengal.
62nd do.—Bengal; Chatham.
63rd do.—Madras; Chatham.
64th do.—Northampton.
65th do.—Mullingar.
66th do.—Belfast.
67th do.—Manchester.
68th do.—Canterbury.
69th do.—Galway.
70th do.—Leeds.
71st do.—Grenada; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Canada.
72nd do.—Buttevant.
73rd do.—Newport, South Wales.
74th do.—Quebec; Chatham.
75th do.—Newport, South Wales.
76th do.—Gosport.
77th do.—Jamaica; Clonmell.
78th do.—Bombay; Chatham.
79th do.—Gibraltar; Londonderry.
80th do.—New South Wales; Chatham.
81st do.—Canada; Templemore.
82nd do.—Canada; Clare Castle.
83rd do.—Weedon.
84th do.—Madras; Chatham.
85th do.—Barbadoes; Newbridge.
86th do.—Bombay; Chatham.
87th do.—Glasgow.
88th do.—Malta; Paisley.
89th do.—Canada; Cork.
90th do.—Ceylon; Carlow.
91st do.—Cape and St. Helena; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Cape of Good Hope.
92nd do.—Aberdeen.
93rd do.—Canada; Templemore.
94th do.—Madras; Chatham.
95th do.—Ceylon; Kinsale.
96th do.—N. S. Wales; Chatham.
97th do.—Corfu; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Corfu.
98th do.—China; Chatham.
99th do.—New South Wales; Chatham.
Rifle Brig. [1st batt.]—Corfu; Athlone.
Do. [2d batt.]—Halifax, N. S.; Isle of Wight.
Do. [Reserve battalion]—Halifax, N.S.
1st West India Regiment—Demerara, &c.
2nd do.—Jamaica.
3rd do.—Nassau, Sierra Leone, &c.
Ceylon Rifle Regiment—Ceylon.
Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment—Canada.
Cape Mounted Riflemen—Cape of Good Hope.
Rl. Newfoundland Comps.—Newfoundland.
Royal Malta Fencible Regiment—Malta.
St. Helena Regiment—St. Helena.

[This Document being prepared exclusively for the U. S. Magazine, we request that, when used, its source may be acknowledged.]

STATIONS OF THE ROYAL NAVY IN COMMISSION,

With the Years when Built, and Dates of Commission of the Officers in Command.

Acheron, st., 2, 1838, Lt.-Com. B. Alpin, 1811, Mediterranean.
Adder, 1, st., M.-Cm. J. Hammond, (act.) Pemb.
Advice, 1, st.-tug, Lt.-Com. C. A. Petch, 1828, Pembroke.
African, st., 1825, Mast.-Com. J. King, (act.) Sheerness.
Agincourt, 72, 1817, Rear-Adm. Sir T. J. Cochrane, Kt., Capt. H. W. Bruce, 1821, China Division, East Indies.
Aigle, 24, 1801, Capt. Lord C. E. Paget, Med.
Alban, 1, st. v., 1826, Lieut.-Com. J. Jeayes, Ireland.
Albatross, 16, 1842, Com. R. Yorke, 1833, Coast of Africa.
Albert, st., 1840, Lieut.-Com. O. Cumberland, 1841, Coast of Africa.
Albion, 90, 1842, Capt. N. Lockyer, C.B., 1815, Mediterranean.
Alecto, st., 1839, Lt.-Cm. W. Hoseason, 1826, Mediterranean.
Alert, 6, 1835, Com. C. J. Bosanquet, 1839, Coast of Africa.
Alfred, 50, 1811, Com. J. B. Purvis, 1809, Brazils.
Alligator, 26, tr. sh., 1821, Master-Com. J. N. King, 1823, China.
America, 50, Capt. Hon. John Gordon, 1818, South America.
Anson, 72, convict-hulk, Com. F. R. Coghlan, 1844, Hobart Town.
Apollo, 8, tr. 1805, Com. W. Maclean, 1841, particular service.
Ardent, st. 1841, Com. J. Russell (*b*), 1840, C. A.
Asp, 1, st. Lt.-Com. W. W. Oke, 1825, Portpat.
Basilisk, 6, 1824, Lt. H. S. Hunt, (act.) 1835, S. America.
Beacon, 6, sur. ves., 1823, Com. T. Graves, 1841, Mediterranean.
Beaver, st. v., 1827, Lt.-Com. R. Mudge, 1815, Woolwich.
Bee, st. v., tender for the use of students on board the Excellent, and at the Naval College, Portsmouth.
Belvidera, 38, 1809, Cpt. Hon. G. Grey, 1834, Mediterranean.
Bittern, 16, 1840, Com. E. Peel, 1841, Cape of Good Hope.
Black Eagle, st. ves., 1831, Mast.-Com. S. B. Cook, (act.) 1838, Woolwich.
Blazer, 3, st. v. 1834, Capt. J. Washington, 1842, Surveying.
Bonetta, 3, 1836, Lieut.-Com. T. S. Brock, 1842, Mediterranean.
Bramble, 10, 1822, Lieut.-Com. C. B. Yule, 1842, East Indies.
Caledonia, 120, 1808, Capt. Alex. Milne, 1839, Gibraltar.
Cambrian, 36, 1841, Comm. H. D. Chads, C.B., 1825, China.
Carysfort, 26, 1836, Capt. Lord Geo. Paulet, 1833, Brazils.
Castor, 36, 1832, Capt. C. Graham, 1830, China.
Ceylon, 2, 1810, Lieut. R. Curtis, 1838, F.L. receiving ship, Malta.
Champion, 18, 1824, Com. J. Clavell, (act.) S.A.
Charon, st. ves., 1827, Sec. Mas. E. C. Rutter, (act.) 1837, Dover.
Cleopatra, 26, 1835, Capt. Chris. Wyvill, 1832, Cape of Good Hope.
Clio, 16, 1807, Com. J. Fitzjames, 1842, on passage home.
Cockatrice, 6, 1832, t.-Cm. J. Oxenham, 1826, South America.
Collingwood, 80, Rear-Adm. Sir G. Seymour, G.C.H., Capt. H. Eden, 1827, Portsmouth.
Columbia, st. ves., Lt.-Com. J. Harding, 1815, North America.
Comet, st.-v., 1822, Lieut. W. Prettyman, 1823, Woolwich.
Confiance, 2, st., 1827, Sec. Mast. J. Jagoe, (act.) Devonport.
Conway, 26, 1832, Capt. W. Kelly, (*c*) (act.) 1844, Cape of Good Hope.
Cormorant, 6, st., 1842, Com. G. T. Gordon, 1840, S. America.
Cornwallis, 72, 1813, Vice Admiral Sir W. Parker, G.C.B., Capt. P. Richards, 1828, E. Indies, on passage home.
Crescent, 42, rec. sh., 1810, Lt.-Com. W. G. Hemsworth, Rio de Janeiro.
Cuckoo, st., Lieut.-Com. A. Parks, 1815, Weym.
Curaçoa, 24, 1809, Cpt. Sir T. S. Pasley, Bart., 1831, Brazils.
Cyclops, 6, st. ves., 1839, Capt. W. F. Lapidge, 1837, Ireland.
Cygnet, 10, Com. H. Layton, 1825, C. of Africa.
Daphne, 18, 1838, Capt. J. J. Onslow, 1834, S. America.
Dasher, st. ves., Mas.-Com. R. White, (act.) Weymouth.
Dee, 2, st. v., 1832, Mast.-Com. T. Driver, 1809, particular service.
Devastation, 6, st. v., 1841, Com. W. H. Kitchen, 1827, Mediterranean.
Dido, 18, 1836, Capt. Hon. H. Keppel, 1837, China, on passage home.
Dolphin, 3, 1836, Lt.-Com. W. O'B. Hoare, 1823, South America.
Doterel, st. ves. Mas.-Com. J. Grey (act.) Holy.
Dover, st. ves., Mast. E. Lyne, (act.) Dover.
Driver, 6, st. ves. 1840, Com. C. O. Hayes, 1839, China.
Dublin, 50, 1812, Rear-Admiral R. Thomas, Capt. J. J. Tucker, 1838, South America.
Dwarf, st. v., Lieut.-Com. W. C. Chamberlain, (1840), Ireland.
Electra, 18, 1837, Com. A. Darley, 1827, W. I.
Emerald, 1820, ten. to St. Vincent, Sec. Mast. S. Baggs, Portsmouth.
Espoir, 10, 1821, Com. A. Morrel, 1823, Coast of Africa.
Eurydice, 26, 1843, Capt. G. Elliot, 1838, Amer.
Excellent, 1810, Admiral Sir C. Rowley, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.H., Capt. Sir T. Hastings, Kt., 1830, Portsmouth.
Experiment, 1, st. ves., Lt.-Com. J. Harper, 1815, Lake Huron.
Fair Rosamond, 2, Lt.-Com. A. G. Bulman, 1828, America.
Fanny, tender to St. Vincent, Sec. Mas. G. Allen, Portsmouth.
Fearless, st. ves. Com. W. L. Sheringham, 1841, Portsmouth.
Ferret, 6, 1840, Com. J. Oake, 1827, C. of Africa.
Firefly, 2, st. ves., Capt. F. W. Beechey, 1827, Surveying, Ireland.
Fisguard, 42, 1819, Cpt. J. A. Duntze, 1829, S.A.
Flamer, 1831, Lieut.-Com. C. J. Postle, 1836, Ireland.
Fly, 18, 1831, Capt. F. P. Blackwood, 1838, E. I.
Formidable, 84, 1825, Vice-Adm. Sir E. W. C. R. Owen, K.C.B., Capt. G. F. Rich, 1823, Mediterranean.
Fox, 42, 1829, Capt. Sir H. M. Blackwood, Bart., 1837, on passage to China.
Frolic, 16, 1842, Com. C. B. Hamilton, 1844, S. America.
Geyser, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. E. I. Carpenter, 1827, Mediterranean.
Gleaner, 2, st., 1833, Sec. Mast. H. Hill, Berm.
Gorgon, 6, st. ves., 1837, Capt. C. Hotham, 1833, Coast of Africa.
Griffon, 3, 1832, Lieut.-Com. C. Jenkin, 1829, West Indies.

Growler, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. C. H. M. Buckle, 1836, Coast of Africa.
Harlequin, 16, 1836, Com. the Hon. G. F. Hastings, 1838, East Indies.
Hazard, 18, 1837, Com. C. Bell, 1830, East Indies.
Hecate, 4, st. v. 1840. Com. J. P. Bower, 1841, Ireland.
Hecla, st.-v. 1839, Com. J. Duffill, 1839, Med.
Helena, 16, Com. Sir C. Ricketts, 1831, C.G.H.
Hermes, 2, st. ves., 1835, Lt.-Cm. W. Carr, 1821, America.
Heroine, 6, 1841, Lt.-Com. H. R. Foote, 1842, C. of Africa.
Hornet, 6, 1831, Lt.-Com. R. B. Miller, 1837, W. Indies.
Hyacinth, 18, 1829, Com. F. Scott, 1841, Coast of Africa.
Hydra, 4, 1838, Com. H. B. Young, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Illustrious, 72, 1803, Vice-Admiral Sir C. Adam, K.C.B., Capt. J. E. Erskine, 1838, Amer.
Imaum, rec. ship, Commodore A. R. Sharpe, C.B., 1813, Jamaica.
Inconstant, 36, 1836, Capt. C. H. Freemantle, 1825, West Indies.
Iris, 26, 1840, Capt. G. R. Mundy, 1837, China.
Isis, 44, 1819, Capt. Sir J. Marshall, Knt., K.C.H., 1814, Cape.
Jasper, st. ves., Mas.-Com. E. Rose, 1823, Pembroke.
Lark, 4, sur. v., 1830, Lieut.-Com. G. B. Lawrence, 1843, West Indies.
Larne, 18, 1829, Com. J. W. D. Brisbane, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Lightning, 2, st. v., 1823, Sec. Mas. W. Roberts, particular service.
Locust, 3, st. ves., 1840, Lt.-Cm. J. Lunn, 1829, Mediterranean.
Lucifer, st. sur. v., Com. G. A. Frazer, 1841, Irel.
Lynx, 3, 1833, Lieut.-Com. J. T. Nott, 1810, Ireland.
Madagascar, 44, 1822, Cpt. John Foote, 1827, C. of Africa, Plymouth.
Mastiff, 2, 1813, sur. v. Mas.-Com. Thomas, 1808, Orkney.
Medea, 4, 1833, st. v., Com. F. Warden, 1838, Mediterranean.
Medina, 2, st. v., 1840, Mas.-Com. W. Smithett, (act.) Liverpool.
Medusa, 2, st. v., 1839, Lt.-Com. J. G. Raymond, 1828, Liverpool.
Mercury, tender, Sec. Mast. J. Scarlett, Portsmouth.
Merlin, 2, st. 1839, Lt.-Com. E. Keane, 1815, Liverpool.
Meteor, 2, st. 1824, Lieut.-Com. G. Buttler, 1811, Ireland.
Minden, 20, hos. sh., 1810, Capt. Michael Quin, 1837, China.
Modeste, 18, 1837, Com. Thomas Baillie, 1841, S. America.
Mohawk, Com. W. N. Fowell, 1839, L. Ontario.
Monkey, 1, st., Sec. Master W. Bryant, (act.) Woolwich.
Montreal, Lieut.-Com. J. Tyssen, 1832, Lake Erie.
Nautilus, 10, 1830, tender to Victoria and Albert, Lt.-Com. W. Tringham, 1826, Port.
Nereus, store ship, 1821, Mas.-Com. F. W. Bateman, 1837, Valparaiso.
Netley, 8, tender to Caledonia, Sec. Mas. F. H. May, Devonport.
Nimrod, 20, 1828, Com. F. H. H. Glasse, 1838, E. Indies.
North Star, 26, 1824, Capt. Sir J. E. Home, Bt. 1837, East Indies.
Ocean, 80, 1805, Vice-Admiral Sir J. C. White, K.C.B., Captain-Sup. Peter Fisher, 1814, Sheerness.
Orestes, 16, 1834, Com. E. St. Ledger Cannon, 1838, Mediterranean.
Otter, st. v., Lt.-Cm. H. P. Jones, 1814, Holyd.
Pelican, 16, 1812, Com. P. Justice (*b*), 1824, China, on passage home.
Penelope, st., 24, 1829, Capt. W. Jones, 1828, Coast of Africa.
Perseus, rec. sh., 1812, Lieut.-Cm. W. Greet, 1840, off the Tower.
Philomel, 6, 1842, Com. B. J. Sulivan, 1841, Brazils.
Pickle, 2, 1827, Lieut.-Com. J. A. Bainbridge, 1826, West Indies.
Pigmy, 1, st. v., 1827, Lieut.-Com. C. Autridge, 1815, Pembroke.
Pike, 1, st., Lt.-Com. A. Boyter, 1815, Portpat.
Pilot, 16, 1838, Com. W. H. Jervis, 1834, China.
Pique, 36, 1834, Capt. the Hon. M. Stopford, 1825, West Indies.
Plover, sur. v., Capt. R. Collinson, C.B., 1842, China.
Pluto, 2, 1831, Lieut.-Com. W. P. Crozier, 1837, Ireland.
Poictiers, 72, 1809, Com.-Sup. W. H. Shirreff, 1809, Chatham.
Polyphemus, 1, st., 1839, Lieut.-Com. T. Spark, 1812, Mediterranean.
Princess Alice, Mast.-Com. L. Smithett (act.), Dover.
Prometheus, st. sloop, 1839, Commander J. Hay, 1841, Coast of Africa.
Prospero, 1, st. v., 1829, Sec. Mas. P. Rundle (act.), reserve packet, Pembroke.
Queen, 110, 1839, Capt. W. F. Martin, 1834, Portsmouth.
Racer, 16, 1833, Com. A. Reed, 1837, Brazils.
Rapid, 10, 1829, Lt.-Com. E. C. Earle, 1813, Coast of Africa.
Raven, 4, 1829, Lt.-Com. John Stephen, 1815, Portsmouth.
Redwing, st. v., 1834, Com. Thomas Bevis, 1829, Liverpool.
Resistance, 1805, tr. s., Com. C. G. G. Patey, 1840, Ireland.
Rhadamanthus, 2, st., 1832, Mast.-Com. Laen, 1812, particular service.
Ringdove, 16, 1833, Com. Sir W. Daniell, Knt., 1826, Coast of Africa.
Romney, depôt, 1815, Lt.-Com. R. M'Clure, 1837, Havannah.
Rose, 18, 1821, Com. H. R. Sturt, 1830, W.I.
Royal Sovereign, 1804, Capt.-Sup. Sir W. Pell, 1813, Pembroke.
Royalist, Lieut.-Com. G. Hill (*b*), 1843, E. Ind.
St. Vincent, 120, 1815, Admiral Sir D. Milne, G.C.B., Capt. R. F. Rowley, 1830, Plym.
Salamander, st., 4, 1832, Com. A. S. Hamond, 1838, South America.
Samarang, 26, 1822, Capt. Sir E. Belcher, C.B., 1841, China.
San Josef, 110, 1783, Rear-Ad. Sir Samuel Pym, K.C.B., Capt. F. W. Burgoyne, 1815, Plymouth.
Sapphire, tr. sh., 1827, Mas.-Cm. J. R. Fittock, 1827, China.
Sappho, 16, 1837, Com. the Hon. G. Hope, 1840, Cape of Good Hope.
Satellite, 18, 1826, Com. R. H. B. Rowley, 1842, Brazils.
Savage, 10, 1830, Lt.-Cm. J. H. Bowker, 1815, Mediterranean.
Scout, 18, 1832, Com. Hon. J. R. Drummond, 1838, Mediterranean.
Scylla, 16, 1809, Com. R. Sharpe, 1826, North America.
Seaflower, 6, cutt., 1830, Com. N. Robilliard, 1841, Portsmouth.
Sealark, 18, 1843, Com. T. L. Gooch, 1842, Coast of Africa.
Serpent, 16, 1832, Com. W. Nevill, 1825, China.
Shearwater, 2, st. v., 1826, Com. C. G. Robinson, 1838, surv. Coast of Scotland.
Siren, 16, 1841, Com. W. Smith (*b*), 1826, E. Indies.
Skylark, 4, 1826, Lt.-Com. G. Morris, 1823, Isle of Man.

Snake, 16, 1832, Commander Hon. W. B. Devereux, 1836, Mediterranean.
Snipe, 2, 1828, Lieut.-Com. G. Raymond, 1815, particular service.
Sparrow, 6, ketch, Lieut. H. C. Otter, 1831, Coast of Scotland.
Spartan, 26, 1841, Capt. the Hon. C. G. J. B. Elliot, 1841, West Indies.
Speedy, 2, 1828, Lieut.-Com. G. Beaufoy, 1821, Coast of Scotland.
Spider, 6, 1835, Lieut.-Com. R. E. Pym, 1815, South America.
Spiteful, st., 6, 1842, Com. W. Maitland, 1840, China.
Sprightly, 1, st., 1823, Mast.-Com. J. P. Moon, (act.), Holyhead.
Spy, 3, 1841, Lt.-Com. S. O. Wooldridge, 1837, Sheerness.
Star, 10, 1835, Cm. R. J. W. Dunlop, 1842, Coast of Africa.
Stromboli, 6, 1839, Com. the Hon. E. Plunkett, 1840, Ireland.
Styx, 6, st., 1841, Capt. A. T. E. Vidal, 1825, Azores.
Swallow, 1, st. Mast.-Com. R. Sherlock (act.), Dover.
Sydenham, st.-ves., Lieut. D. R. B. Mapleton, 1837, Mediterranean.
Sylph, 2, tender to Caledonia, Devonport.
Sylvia, 6, Lt. E. E. Turnour, 1842, tndr. to Seaflower, Plymouth.
Talbot, 26, 1824, Capt. Sir T. Thompson, 1837, Pacific.
Tartarus, st. v., 1834, Com. J. Wolfe, 1843, Ireland.
Thalia, 42, 1830, Capt. C. Hope, 1826, Pacific.
Thunder, 6, sur.v., 1829, Com. E. Barnett, 1838, West Indies.
Thunderbolt, 6, st., 1842, Com. G. N. Broke, 1840, Cape of Good Hope.
Tortoise, 12, Com. W. Finlaison, 1820, Ascension.
Tyne, 26, 1826, Capt. W. N. Glascock, 1833, Mediterranean.
Urgent, 2, st. v., Mas.-Com. J. Emerson, 1810, Liverpool.
Vestal, 26, 1833, Capt. C. Talbot, 1830, China.
Vesuvius, 6, st., 1840, Com. E. Ommanney, 1840, Mediterranean.
Victoria and Albert, yacht, 1843, Capt. Lord A. Fitzclarence, 1821, Portsmouth.
Victory, 104, 1765, Rear-Admiral H. Parker, C.B., Captain Henderson, C.B., K.H., 1838, Portsmouth.
Vindictive, 50, 1813, Capt. Nicolas, C.B. K.H., 1815, Portsmouth.
Viper, 6, 1831, Lt.-Com. J. Carter, 1815, South America.
Virago, 6, st.-ves., 1843, Com. G. G. Otway 1841, Mediterranean.
Vixen, 6, st. ves., 1841, Com. G. Giffard, 1840, China.
Volage, 26, 1825, Capt. Sir W. Dickson, Bart., 1837, Ireland.
Volcano, 2, st., 1836, Lieut.-Com. E. C. Miller, 1826, Ireland.
Warspite, 50, 1807, Capt. P. W. P. Wallis, 1819, Mediterranean.
Wasp, 16, 1812, Com. S. B. Usher, 1837, Coast of Africa.
Widgeon, 1, st., Lt.-Com. T. S. Scriven, 1822, Dover.
Wildfire, 1, st. 1826, Lieut.-Com. A. Darby 1828, Weymouth.
William and Mary, yacht, 1807, Commodore Sir F. A. Collier, Kt., C.B., K.C.H., 1808, Woolwich.
Winchester, 52, 1822, Rear-Adm. the Hon. J. Percy, Capt. C. Eden, 1841, C. of Good Hope.
Wolf, 18, 1826, Com. A. Vyner (act.), 1841, China.
Wolverine, 16, 1836, Com. C. F. Brown, 1841, China.
Young Hebe, Lieut.-Com. W. T. Bate, 1841, China.
Zephyr, 1, st., 1827, Lieut.-Com. Jas. Small, 1825, Holyhead.

HER MAJESTY'S PACKET BRIGS AT FALMOUTH :—

Crane, Lieut.-Com. Lewis, 1821.
Express, Lt.-Com. E. Herrick.
Linnet, Lieut.-Com. P. H. Dicken.
Penguin, Lt.-Com. W. Leslie.
Peterel, Lt.-Com. T. Creser.
Swift, Lieut.-Com. J. Douglas.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

ROYAL NAVY.

DOWNING-STREET, July 10.

The Queen has been pleased to nominate and appoint Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., Captain in the Royal Navy, and Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the King of Greece, to be a Knight Grand Cross of the Most Hon. Order of the Bath.

PROMOTIONS.

Captain—Frederick Hutton (late of Vanguard).

Commanders—Malachi Donellan; Edward Hill (Coast Guard); Charles H. Douglas.

Retired Commanders (under His Majesty's Order in Council, of 30th Jan., 1816)—Charles Patriarche; George George.

Retired Commanders (under Order in Council, of 1st Nov., 1830)—G. Decourdoux; George Elrington; John White (*b*); George Welsh; Charles Tilly; Jonathan Nicolls; Edward Rowan; Stephen Briggs.

Lieutenants—C. J. Austen; George Hancock; W. L. Partridge; John O. Johnson; C. S. Dunbar.

Master—G. S. Hall.

Mates (Appointed)—Offley Malcolm C. Read; Charles Wake; John Richard Harward.

Second-Masters—Samuel William Kearney Freeman; Charles Parsons; J. G. Anderson.

Inspector of Hospitals—John Liddell.

Deputy Inspector of Hospitals—Edward Hilditch.

Surgeons—Hugh J. S. Beveridge, M.D. (of H.M.S. Lightening, which attended the Emperor of Russia to Holland); Robert John Scott; Alexander Woodcock.

Naval Instructors—Kempster Malcolm Knapp; Francis William Fowler; Frederick W. Smith.

APPOINTMENTS.

Captains—John C. Carpenter, K.H. (1821), to Out-pension of Greenwich Hospital; F. Bullock (1838), to Porcupine; W. F. Martin (1824), to Queen; John Bowker (1811), to Greenwich Hospital, vice Foster, deceased.

Commanders—E. Hawes (1828), to Royal Sovereign, for conducting packet service at Portpatrick; J. W. Morgan (1841), to Queen.

Lieutenants—C. J. Austen (addit.), to Agincourt; W. V. Lee (1827), to Semaphore Station, Chelsea; A. N. Fairman (1829), to Warspite; Hon. P. F. Pellew (1843), (addit.), to Collingwood; C. S. Dunbar (1844), and W. L. Partridge (1844), (addit.), to Agincourt; F. E. Johnston (1838), to Illustrious; W. G. Hemsworth, to command Crescent; H. Stokes (1842), to Tartarus; A. S. Robinson (1810), to Porcupine; W. F. Fead (1838), H. Loring (1835), M. H. Rodney (1840), T. C. O'D. Whipple (1840), and R. Hall (1843), to Queen; W. Prettyman (1823), to Comet.

Masters—Benjamin Renaud, James Bodle, and George Andrew (all act. add.), to Poictiers, for Cruiser, Mutine, and Espiegle; G. S. Hall (1844), (act.), to Geyser; W. F. Farrant (act.), to Sydenham; John Burdwood (1841), to Eurydice.

Mates—W. De Vere, to Collingwood; E. H. Blake, to Camperdown; G. M. Jackson (1838), to Camperdown; M. F. O'Reilly (1842), to Albion; A. P. Arkwright (1840), to Camperdown; G. S. Boys (1835), to Albion; M. M. Duncan (1844), to Shearwater; R. Chambers (1839), to Firefly; E. Burstall (1840), to Porcupine; C. O. H. P. St. John (1840), to St. Vincent, E. H. Blake (1835), J. Simpson (1838), G. M. Jackson (1838), and A. P. Arkwright (1840), to Queen; T. P. Coode (1842), to Collingwood; G. Bellis (1841), to Resistance.

Second Masters—T. Pitt (1841), to Medusa, steam-packet; W. B. Edwards, to Caledonia; R. T. Saunders, to Zephyr, steam-packet; S. Bradden, to Comet; J. G. Anderson (1844), J. North (act.), F. Figden (act.), W. Wilson (act.), and J. Hancock (act.), to Queen.

Midshipmen—G. A. Smith, to Firefly; R. F. Calvert, to Collingwood; P. Johnston, to Camperdown; T. Ross, to Albion; F. Bullock, to Porcupine; H. Bennington, to Excellent; J. C. Byng, to St. Vincent; R. G. Pochin, to Resistance; Hon. J. Byng, to Excellent.

Naval Cadets—Frederick Maitland Kingcome, to Caledonia; S. P. Townsend, to Cornwallis; H. Aonesley, and G. A. Tweedale, to Alfred; J. H. Chads, to Cambrian; F. A. Campbell, to Camperdown; W. L. Gordon, to Porcupine.

Inspector of Hospitals—John Liddell (1844), to Greenwich.

Deputy Inspectors—Gilbert King, M.D. (1841), from Bermuda, to Haslar Hospital, vice Liddell; Edward Hilditch (1844), to Jamaica Hospital; Oliver Evans, M.D. (1849), to Bermuda Hospital.

Surgeons—Charles McArthur, M.D. (1828), (addit.), to William and Mary yacht; Robert H. Broun (1832), to Temporary Hospital at Haulbowline; J. Robertson (*b*), (1834), to William Jardine, convict-ship; W. Bruce, M.D. (1816), to Queen; J. H. Acheson (1815), to Victory.

Assistant-Surgeons—D. Russel (1839), to Fearless; W. Traill (1838), Charles T. S. Kevern (1836), and W. Fosken, M.D. (1843), (addit.), to Illustrious; J. B. H. Collings (addit.), to St. Vincent, for service at Haslar Hospital; Walter A. Leslie (addit.), to Plymouth Naval Hospital; Vans C. Clark, M.D. (act.), (addit.), to Caledonia; Robert Clark, M.D. (1840), Ernest Elliott (1841), Thomas Wolrige, from Caledonia, to San Josef, for service at Plymouth Naval Hospital; L. C. Urquhart, M.D. (1838), from Camperdown, to Ocean, for service in Sheerness dockyard; G. J. Wiles (act.), (1844), from St. Vincent, to Victory, for service in Haslar Hospital; J. Gordon (1837), from Camperdown, to Poictiers, for service in Melville Hospital; John Belcher, M.D. (1833), to Virago; James Fisher (1840), and H. Trevan (1836), to Queen.

Chaplain—G. R. Lewin, to Queen.

Naval Instructors—G. S. Bourne, to Talbot; E. B. Barnes (1839), to Queen.

Paymasters and Pursers—G. A. Lance, John E. Brooman, and Joseph Lewis, (act.), (addit.), to Poictiers, for Cruiser, Mutine, and Espiegle; T. Jennings (*a*), (1806), to Queen; G. Dowell (1812), to Apollo.

Clerks—D. Stapleton, to Porcupine; John Macdouall (in charge), to Comet.

ROYAL MARINES.

ADMIRALTY, July 3.

Gent. Cadet F. C. Knight to be Second Lieutenant.

ADMIRALTY, July 10.

Colonel Second Commandant J. Owen to be Colonel Commandant and Deputy Adjutant General; Colonel Second Commandant J. Wright to be Colonel Commandant of the Chatham Division, vice Lawrence, who retires on full pay; Lieut.-Colonel C. Menzies to be Colonel Second Commandant, vice Wright, promoted; Capt. and Brevet H. Mitchell to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice Menzies, promoted; First Lieut. T. Lemon to be Captain, vice Mitchell, promoted; Sec. Lieut. A. Butcher to be First Lieut., vice Lemon, promoted.

ADMIRALTY, July 12.

First Lieut. P. T. M. Payne to be Capt., vice Brevet-Major H. B. Mends, deceased; Sec. Lieut. G. Drury to be First Lieut., vice Payne, promoted.

COAST-GUARD.

APPOINTMENTS.

Commanders Robert H. Elliot, Edward Lake, Lewis Maitland, George S. Reynolds, John Fulford, and Michael De Courcy, to be Inspect. Commanders, vice Riley, McIlwaine, Twysden, Newton, Wheatley, and Gordon; period of command expired 5th inst.

Commander R. H. Elliot, to Bridlington, vice Robinson, removed to Whitby, vice Gordon* (*b*); Commander Edward Lake, to Aldborough, vice Bate, removed to Dartmouth, vice Twysden*; Commander Lewis Maitland, to Grimsby, vice Welsh, removed to Wells, vice Riley*; Commander R. S. Reynolds, to Rottingdean, vice Wheatley*; Commander John Fulford, to Hastings, vice McIlwaine*; Commander M. de Courcy, to Newcastle, Castle Wellan, vice Wolley, removed to Bridgewater, vice Newton*.

Lieut. Thomas Thompson, to command Greyhound, R.C.; Lieut. William Hay, to command Lively, R.C.; vice Dooley and Hemer, period of command expired 5th inst. Lieuts. Dooley and Hemer, re-appointed to command stations; the former to Johnshaven, vice Mr. Hughes, superannuated; the latter to No. 2 Battery, vice Lieut. Domford, to Greenwich Hospital. Lieut. Joseph Wright and Lieut. William Boys, to command sta-

* The period of command of these Officers expired on 5th inst.

tions; Lieutenants P. Campbell, and John McDonnell, and John Allen, to command stations; Lieut. John Allen, appointed to Rickham, vice Jas. Campbell, resigned; Lieut. Lewis de T. Prevôst, R.N., and Lieut. Joseph Wright, R.N., to command Coast Guard Stations; Lieut. Patrick Campbell, to command the Station at Blackhead, vice Lieut. Bellairs, R.N., resigned; Lieut. John Julius McDonnell, to Lydd Station, vice Lieut. Lloyd, resigned; Lieut. Joseph Wright, to Courtmasherry, vice Mr. Starke, removed to Baltimore.

REMOVALS.

Commander Robinson, from the Bridlington, to the Whitby District; Commander Robert G. Welsh, from Grimsby, to Wells; Commander John M. Bate, from Aldborough, to Dartmouth, vice Gordon, Riley, and Twysden.

Lieut. J. Robinson, from Buckie, to Ilfracombe, in exchange with Lieut. John Coleman; Lieut. Lewis de Tessier Prevôst, R.N., has been appointed to Ballycroneen Station, vice Lieut. H. McK. Robinson.

ARMY.

WAR-OFFICE, June 7th.

1st Dragoon Guards—Lieut. G. W. C. Jackson to be Capt. by purch., vice Turnor, who retires; Cornet P. S. Thompson to be Lieut. by purch., vice Jackson.

6th Dragoons—C. Tower, Gent., to be Cornet by purch., vice Fitzwygram, promoted.

11th Light Dragoons—Capt. I. Jones to be Major by purch., vice Rotton, prom.; Lieut. B. Harrison to be Capt. by purch., vice Jones; Cornet G. T. Duncombe to be Lieut. by purch., vice Harrison.

14th Foot—F. Fortescue, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Swinburne, appointed to 82nd Foot.

18th—Quartermaster R. Imray, from 83rd Foot, to be Quartermaster, vice Cartmail, who exchanges.

36th—Capt. W. T. R. Brady, from h.-p. unatt., to be Capt., vice Brevet-Major W. H. Adams, who exchanges; Lieut. P. L. M'Dougall, to be Capt. by purch., vice Brady, who retires; Ensign J. A. Brockman, to be Lieut. by purch., vice M'Dougall; D. Tom, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Brockman.

41st—A. E. Hardinge, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Wethered, promoted.

56th—Capt. Sir W. Maxwell, Bart., from h.-p. unatt., to be Capt., vice John Charlewood, who exchanges; Lieut. L. C. Conran, to be Capt., by purch., vice Sir W. Maxwell, who retires; Ensign F. M. Ramsay, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Conran; H. C. Lananse, Gent., to be Ensign by purch., vice Ramsay.

61st—Lieut. F. Huson, from 1st West India Regt., to be Lieutenant, vice Dobson, who exchanges.

85th—Lieut. D. W. P. Labalmondiere, to be Capt. by purch., vice Emslie, who retires; Ensign J. W. Wallington, to be Lieut. by purch., vice Labalmondiere; Ensign J. D. Swinburne, from 14th Foot, to be Ensign vice Wallington; Ensign and Quartermaster, J. Cartmail, from 15th Foot, to be Quartermaster, vice Imray, who exchanges.

87th — Captain Henry Thomas Earl of Chichester, from h.-p. unatt., to be Capt., vice C. T. Graves, who exchanges; Lieut. Radcliff, to be Captain by purch., vice the Earl of Chichester, who retires; Sec. Lieut. W. H. Taylor, to be First Lieut. by purch., vice Radcliff; J. Fitzgerald, Gent., to be Second Lieut. by purch., vice Taylor.

1st West India Regt.—Lieut. T. J. Dobson, from 61st Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Huson, who exchanges; J. Rose, Gent., to be Ensign without purch., vice Spratt, who resigns.

Unattached—Bt. Lieut.-Col. J. R. Rotton, from 11th Lt. Dragoons, to be Lieut.-Col., by purch.; Bt. Lieut.-Colonel J. Crosse, from Major h.-p. unatt., to be Lieut.-Colonel, without purch.; Bt. Lieut.-Colonel Sir P. Watson, from Capt. h.-p., Portuguese Service, to be Major, without purchase.

Hospital Staff—Surgeon W. W. Bell, M.D., from 26th Foot, to be Staff-Surgeon of the First Class, vice J. French, M.D., who retires upon h.-p.

Brevet—Capt. W. S. R. Brady, 36th Foot, to be Major in the Army, June 28, 1838; Captain H. T. Earl of Chichester, 87th Foot, to be Major in the Army, Nov. 23.

Memorandum—The date of the Commission of Ensign R. Maclaine, 78th Foot, to be 31st May, 1843, instead of 8th April, 1842.

Lieut.-Colonel Manley Dixon, upon h.-p. unatt., has been allowed to retire from the Army, with the sale of an unattached Lieut.-Colonelcy, he having become a settler in Canada.

Northumberland and Newcastle Yeomanry Cavalry—R. C. Bewicke, Gent., to be Cornet, vice Cookson, promoted.

Arundel and Bramber Corps of Sussex Yeomanry Cavalry—Joseph Montefiore, Gent., to be Cornet.

WHITEHALL June 14.

Her Majesty is most graciously pleased to approve of the South West York Regt. of Yeomanry Cavalry being henceforth designated by the title of the "First West York Yeomanry Cavalry;" and of the Morley and Agbrigg Corps of Yeomanry Cavalry being henceforth designated by the title of the "Second West York Yeomanry Cavalry."

WAR OFFICE, June 14.

1st Dragoon Guards—M. Fenwick, Gent., to be Cornet, by purch., vice Thompson, promoted.

11th Light Dragoons—Lieut. E. V. Mackinnon, from 97th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Corrance, who exchanges.

15th Foot — Capt. W. Fulton, from 59th Foot, to be Captain, vice Dickinson, who exchanges.

22nd—Capt. J. Ramsay, from 49th Foot, to be Capt., vice Powell, who exchanges.

30th—Capt. W. F. Hoey, from the St. Helena Regt., to be Capt., vice Marechaux, who exchanges.

44th—Ensign H. A. Porter to be Lieut., by purch., vice Fulton, who retires; W. G. F. Copland, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Porter.

47th—Lieut. H. M. Hamilton, from 62nd Foot, to be Lieut., vice Drought, who exchanges.

49th—Capt. C. T. Powell, from 22nd Foot, to be Capt., vice Ramsay, who exchanges.

59th—Capt. H. B. F. Dickinson, from 15th Foot, to be Capt., vice Fulton, who exchanges.

62nd—Lieut. G. P. Drought, from 47th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Hamilton, who exchanges.

97th — Lieut. F. S. Corrance, from 11th Dragoons, to be Lieut., vice Mackinnon, who exchanges.

2nd West India Regt.— Ensign A. W. Joyce to be Lieut., without purch., vice Deckner, deceased, March 28; Serjeant-Major J. Lawless, from 4th Dragoon Guards, to be Ensign, vice Joyce.

3rd West India Regt.—Lieut. E. S. Glen, to be Capt., without purch., vice Berwick, deceased; E. A. M'Taggard to be Lieut., without purch., vice Glen, June 5.

St. Helena Regt.—Capt. C. H. Marechaux, from 30th Foot, to be Capt., vice Hoey, who exchanges.

MEM.—The Christian names of Ensign Cameron, 42nd Foot, are William Gordon, not Walter Gordon, as previously stated.

MEM.—For Promotions in the Gazette of 7th inst., in 85th Regt. of Foot, read 83rd Regt. of Foot.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, June 11.

Royal Regt. of Artillery—Sec. Lieut. C. M. Raynes to be First Lieut., vice Macartney, deceased, May 3; Sec. Lieut. G. H. L. Milman to be First Lieut., vice Willis, cashiered, May 15.

MEM.—The dates of the promotions of the undermentioned Officers, have been altered as follows, viz.:—First Lieut. M. P. Biddulph, 26th April, 1844; First Lieut. H. A. Vernon, 28th April, 1844.

Royal Mid-Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry—The Hon. S. Lord Aberdour to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice the Earl of Morton, resigned, April 22.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, June 15th.

Royal Regt. of Artillery—Sec. Capt. Arthur Gossett to be Capt., vice Knatchbull, retired on half-pay; First Lieut. George Drought Warburton to be Sec. Capt., vice Gossett; Sec. Lieut. the Hon. William Kennedy to be First Lieut., vice Warburton.

Ayrshire Regt. of Yeomanry Cavalry—Cornet Patrick Warner to be Lieut., vice Robert Fergusson, resigned.

WAR-OFFICE, June 25.

1st Regt. of Life Guards—Capt. the Hon. William Edward Fitzmaurice, from h.p. Unatt., to be Capt., vice Lord Thomas Charles Pelham Clinton, who exchanges; Lieut. Sir Charles William Kent, Bart., to be Capt., by purch., vice Fitzmaurice, who retires; Cornet and Sub-Lieutenant Thomas George Lord Glamis to be Lieut., by purch., vice Sir C. W. Kent; Cornet Frederick Ulric Graham, from 2nd Dragoons, to be Cornet and Sub-Lieut., by purch., vice Lord Glamis.

Royal Regt. of Horse Guards—Lieutenant Robert Edmund Oliver to be Capt., by purch., vice Richard Silver Oliver, who retires; Cornet Lord Alexander Francis Charles Gordon Lennox to be Lieut., by purch., vice Oliver; John Hamilton Montgomery, Gent., to be Cornet, by purch., vice Lord Alexander Gordon Lennox.

11th Light Dragoons—Capt. Charles John Colville, from the Royal Canadian Rifle Regt., to be Capt., vice Weguelin, appointed to 36th Foot.

1st Foot—Thomas Edward Bidgood, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Fleming, who retires; Assist.-Surg. William M'Carthy, M.D., from the Staff, to be Assist.-Surg., vice Robertson, promoted.

3rd—Gent. Cadet Charles Hood, from the Royal Military College, to be Ensign, by purch., vice Charlton, appointed to 95th Foot.

9th—Lieut. John Frederick Field to be Capt., without purch., vice Edmonds, dec.; Ensign Edward Morton to be Lieut., vice Field; Ensign Henry Jobling Wallack to be Lieut., by purch., vice Morton, whose promotion by purch. has been cancelled; Gent. Cadet Bryan Thornhill, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign, without purch., vice Wallack, promoted.

10th—Captain Barton Tenison, from h.p. Unatt., to be Capt., vice Edward Shanly, who exchanges, receiving the difference; Lieut. Samuel Hobson to be Capt., by purch., vice Tenison, who retires; Ensign Stewart Campbell Coffin Galloway to be Lieut., by purch., vice Hobson; Ensign Frederick Thomas Patterson, from 95th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Galloway.

11th—Lieut. Henry Fletcher Marston, from 41st Foot, to be Lieut., vice Neville, who exchanges.

22nd—Lieut. Joseph Edwin Thackwell to be Adjutant, vice Kelly, promoted; Ensign Thomas Andrews to be Lieut., without purch.

26th—Staff-Surgeon of the Second Class John Stewart to be Surgeon, vice Bell, appointed to Staff.

36th—Capt. Thomas Mathias Luz Weguelin, from 11th Light Dragoons, to be Capt., vice M'Dougall, appointed to Royal Canadian Rifle Regt.

41st — Lieut. Cosmo Neville, from 11th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Marston, who exch.

52nd—Ensign Raymond Richard Pelly to be Lieut., without purch., vice Frederick Carden, deceased; Serjeant-Major William Fuller to be Ensign, vice Pelly.

60th—Lieut. Henry Holbech to be Capt., by purch., vice Thomas, who retires; Sec. Lieut. Godfrey Rhodes to be First Lieut., by purch., vice Holbech; John Thomas Eustace, Gent., to be Sec. Lieut., by purch., vice Rhodes.

81st — Lieut. Henry Renny to be Capt., without purch., vice Perry, deceased; Ensign Charles James Skerry to be Lieut., vice Renny; Gent. Cadet Charles David Robert Colthurst, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign, without purch., vice Skerry.

86th—Gent. Cadet John Hynde King, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign, without purch., vice Porter, deceased.

87th—Lieut. James Alexander Cruickshank, from 91st Foot, to be Lieut., vice Shearman, who exchanges.

91st—Lieut. William Shearman, from 87th Foot, to be Lieut., vice Cruickshank, who exchanges.

94th—Henry Hamilton Pratt, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Fraser, appointed to 95th Foot.

95th—Lieut. Edward Thompson to be Capt., by purch., vice Fisher, who retires; Ensign James George Eddington to be Lieut., by purch., vice Thompson; Ensign Lionel Fraser, from 94th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Eddington; Ensign Edward Spicer Charlton, from 3rd Foot, to be Ensign, vice Patterson, appointed to 10th Foot.

97th—Capt. Henry Kean, from h.p. 60th Foot, to be Capt., vice Henshaw Russell, who exchanges; Lieut. William Garforth to be Capt., by purch., vice Kean, who retires; Ensign Sydney Crosby Jackson, to be Lieut., by purch., vice Garforth.

3rd West India Regt.—Charles William Bancroft, Gent., to be Ensign, without purch., vice M'Taggart, promoted.

Ceylon Rifle Regt.—Sec. Lieut. Augustus Frederick Colley to be First Lieut., by purch., vice Du Vernet, who retires; Robert Muller, Gent., to be Sec. Lieut., by purch., vice Colley.

Royal Canadian Rifle Regt.—Capt. Patrick Leonard M'Dougall, from 36th Foot, to be Capt., vice Colville, appointed to 11th Light Dragoons; William Henry Eliot, Gent., to be Ensign, without purch., vice Stewart, whose appointment has been cancelled.

Hospital Staff.—Assist. Staff-Surgeon John Charles Cameron, M.D., to be Staff-Surgeon of Second Class, vice Rumley deceased; Assist.-Surgeon George Gordon Robertson, M.D., from 1st Foot, to be Staff-Surgeon of Second Class, vice Nugent, deceased.

Brevet.—Capt. Barton Tenison, 10th Foot, to be Major in the Army; Capt. Henry Kean, 97th Foot, to be Major in the Army; Capt. the Hon. William Edward Fitzmaurice, 1st Life Guards, to be Major in the Army.

The undermentioned Cadets, of the Hon. the East India Company's Service, to have the local and temporary rank of Ensign during the period of their being placed under the command of Lieut.-Col. Sir Frederick Smith, of the Royal Engineers, at Chatham, for field instruction in the art of Sapping and Mining:—Thomas George Glover, Gent.; Henry Hyde, Gent.; Ralph Young, Gent.; James George Fife, Gent.; George Hutchinson, Gent.; George Vivian Winscom, Gent.

Commissariat.—Commissariat Clerk Robert Clement Major to be Dep.-Assist.-Commissary-General.

Memorandum.—The date of the commission of Staff-Surgeon of the First Class John Chambers, is 19th, and not 15th, Dec., 1843, as previously stated.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, June 24.

Corps of Royal Engineers—Gent. Cadets to be Sec. Lieuts.:—Andrew Clarke, vice Gray, promoted; Francis Du Cane, vice Gossett, promoted; Robert Dundas Kerr, vice Luyken, promoted; John Yerbury Moggridge, vice Sim, promoted; Francis Koe, vice Hossard, promoted.

Royal Regt. of Artillery—Gent. Cadets to be Sec. Lieuts.:—George Colclough, vice Hill, promoted; Thomas Walter Milward, vice Lawson, promoted; Henry Lowther Cherneside, vice Peter, promoted; Alexander Theophilus Blakely, vice Green, promoted; Robert Emilius Fazakerley Craufurd, vice Williams, promoted; Frederick William Craven Ord, vice Patton, promoted; William Conyngham Lynch Blosse, vice Morris, promoted; Walter Scott Hughes, vice Mackay, promoted; Matthew Bligh Forbes, vice Grant; William Townsend Barnett, vice J. C. Childs, promoted; Archibald Edward Harbord Anson, vice Johnson, prom.; Samuel Enderby Gordon, vice Connell, promoted; William Glascott Stubbs, vice Parson, promoted; John George Boothby, vice M'Crea, promoted; Charles Neville Lovell, vice Elgee.

Corps of Royal Engineers—Sec. Capt. John Isaac Hope to be Capt.; Sec. Capt. William Cameron Forbes to be Captain, vice Williams, seconded; First Lieut. Frederick Augustus Yorke to be Sec. Capt., vice Forbes; Sec. Lieut. James Robert Mann to be First Lieut., vice Yorke.

WAR-OFFICE, June 28.

2nd Dragoons—E. Amphlett, Gent., to be Cornet, by purch., vice Graham, appointed to 1st Life Guards.

4th Foot—Lieut. J. S. Shortt to be Capt., by purch., vice Mounsey, who retires; Ensign H. B. Ramsbottom to be Lieut., by purch., vice Shortt; Serjeant C. R. Wollaston to be Ensign, by purch., vice Ramsbottom.

6th—Serjeant Major W. Lee to be Quartermaster, vice G. W. Rafferty, who retires upon half-pay.

22nd—Gent. Cadet G. P. E. Morrison, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign, without purch., vice Andrews, promoted.

30th—Ensign J. H. Keogh to be Lieut., by purch., vice Edwardes, who retires; T. W. R. Coventry, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Keogh.

32nd—Quartermaster-Serjeant W. Garforth, to be Quartermaster, vice T. Healey, who ret. upon half-pay.

52nd—J. J. Bourchier, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice M'Nair, who retires.

53rd—Capt. P. Mitchell, from h.p. 66th Foot, to be Capt., vice Low, appointed Paymaster; Lieut. T. H. Bathurst to be Capt., by purch., vice Mitchell, who retires; Ensign F. G. Steward to be Lieut., by purch., vice Bathurst; Ensign A. E. Hardinge, from 41st Foot, to be Ensign, vice Steward: Capt. R. B. Low to be Paymaster, vice J. Q. Pardey, who retires upon half-pay.

63rd—Ensign G. A. Bannatyne to be Lieut., by purch., vice Domville, who retires; H. M. Walmsley, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Bannatyne.

81st—Colour Serjeant J. Carroll to be Quartermaster, vice J. Patterson, who retires upon half-pay.

97th—T. Venables, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Jackson, promoted.

98th—Lieut. E. Grantham to be Adjutant, vice Wade, who resigns the Adjutancy also.

1st West India Regt.—J. W. Johnston, M.D., to be Assist.-Surgeon, vice Holmes, who resigns.

Cape Mounted Riflemen—J. M'Donnell, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Francis, who retires.

Royal Military College—Capt. J. W. Dalgety, from 68th Foot, to be Capt. of a Company of Gentlemen Cadets, vice Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel C. Wright, who retires.

Brevet—Capt. P. Mitchell, 53rd Foot, to be Major in the Army.

WAR-OFFICE, June 26.

Mem.—Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to permit the under-mentioned regiments to bear, in addition to any other badges or devices heretofore granted, the following distinctions, in commemoration of their services during the second campaign in Affghanistan, in the year 1842, namely, 3rd Lt. Drags., 9th Foot, 13th Foot, 31st Foot, "Cabool, 1842;" 41st Foot, "Ghuznee and Cabool 1842." Her Majesty has likewise been graciously pleased to permit the 16th Lancers, the 39th and 40th Regiments, to bear the word "Maharajpore," and the 9th Lancers, the 3rd and 50th Regiments, the word "Punniar," in commemoration of the distinguished gallantry displayed by those corps in the actions fought at the above-named places, respectively, on the 29th of December, 1843.

WAR-OFFICE, July 5.

3rd Dragoon Guards—Lieut. I. R. Warner to be Capt., by purch., vice Nugent, who retires; Cornet C. P. Coote to be Lieut., by purch., vice Warner; F. A. Oakes, Gent., to be Cornet, by purch., vice Coote.

17th Light Dragoons—Lieut. H. R. Boucherett to be Capt., by purch., vice Broadley, who retires; Cornet S. Le Hunt Hobson to be Lieut., by purch., vice Boucherett; Cornet N. M. Innes to be Lieut., by purch., vice Taylor, who retires.

12th Foot—Ensign G. H. M. Johnston to be Lieut., by purch., vice Butcher, who retires; C. Maitland, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Johnston.

23rd—Serjeant-Major C. Grant, Grenadier Guards, to be Quartermaster, vice G. Moore, who retires upon half pay.

43rd—Capt. R. N. Phillips, from 53rd Foot, to be Capt., vice Havelock, who exchanges.

46th—Capt. G. P. Mansel, from 53rd Foot, to be Capt., vice Clarke, who exchanges.

48th—Lieut. G. S. Tidy to be Capt., without purch., vice Hall, deceased; Ensign W. F. Wyndowe to be Lieut., without purch., vice Tidy; Serjeant-Major Mancor to be Ensign, without purch., vice Wyndowne.

53rd—Capt. C. F. Havelock, from 43rd Foot, to be Capt., vice Phillips, who exchanges; Capt. W. H. H. F. Clarke, from 46th Foot, to be Capt., vice Mansel, who exchanges.

60th—G. Warburton, Gent., to be Second Lieut., by purch., vice Roche, who retires; Lieutenant J. F. Jones to be Adjutant, vice Mitchell, who resigns the Adjutancy only.

88th—Ensign S. Dunning to be Adjutant, vice Maxwell, who resigns the Adjutancy only.

Rifle Brigade—Sec. Lieut. A. Lautour to be First Lieut., by purch., vice Dawson, who retires; J. C. Nicholl, Gent., to be Sec. Lieut., by purch., vice Lautour.

Royal Canadian Rifle Regt.—Ensign J. N. Holmes to be Lieut., by purch., vice Mortimer, who retires; S. Peel, Gent., to be Ensign, by purch., vice Holmes.

Unattached—Lieut. G. Man, from 54th Foot, to be Capt., without purch.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

June 19th, at Plymouth, the Lady of Lieut.-Colonel Hallifax, Com. H.M.'s 75th Regt., of a daughter.

June 22nd, at Harley-place, Clifton, the wife of Commander W. S. Thomas, R.N., of a daughter.

June 25th, at Liverpool, the Lady of Commander E. G. Fanshawe, R.N., of a son.

June 25th, at the Cadet Barracks, Woolwich, the Lady of Lieut. H. P. Christie, Royal Artillery, of a son.

June 28th, at Cheltenham, the Lady of Lieut. James B. Willoughby, R.N., of a son.

June 28th, at Carshalton Lodge, Surrey, the Lady of Capt. Wallace, Bombay Army, of a son.

June 30th, at Fort Amherst, Chatham, the Lady of Staff-Surgeon Alexander Thorn, of a son.

July 5th, at Braughing Vicarage, Herts, the Lady of Capt. Say, Bengal Army, of a daughter, still-born.

July 12th, at Wimbledon, the Lady of Major Oliphant, of a daughter.

July 16th, at Dublin, the Lady of Lieut. Ward, 11th Hussars, of a daughter.

July 19th, at Paris, the Lady of Richard Phibbs, Esq., late 48th Regt., of a daughter.

At Castlebar, the Lady of Lieut. Franklin, 19th Regt., Staff Officer of Pensioners, of a daughter.

At Colombo, the Lady of William Holt, Esq., 95th Regt., of a son.

MARRIAGES.

June 13th, at Cheltenham, Munator Pipon, Esq., late Capt. King's Dragoon Guards, to Ann, eldest daughter of the late Hon. Captain Rodney, R.N.

June 20th, at Blandford, William Grey Pitt, Esq., late Lieut. 11th Hussars, to Laura, daughter of the late Admiral Ryves, R.N.

June 22nd, at Flixton, near Manchester, Captain E. R. Williams, R.N., to Sarah, daughter of the late James Forbes, Esq., of Hutton-hall, Essex.

June 25th, at St. Pancras, Capt. H. Anderson, 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, to Eliza, second daughter of the late Sir D. C. Roose.

June 25th, at St. Marylebone, B. B. Hewitt, Esq., to Letitia Catherine, only daughter of the late Major Colin Campbell, of Strachur, Argyleshire.

June 25th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Major Wetenhall, late of 10th Regt., to Agnes, daughter of the late P. Wettenhall, Esq., of Winnington Lodge, Chester.

June 26th, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, Capt. R. Russell, R.N., to Hester, daughter of the Right Hon. S. Lushington.

June 27th, at Tiberton, W. V. Guise, Esq., son of Lieut.-General Sir John Guise, Bart., K.C.B., to Margaret, daughter of the Rev. D. H. L. Warner.

July 1st, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Lieut. Colonel Le Blanc, of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, to Elizabeth, relict of the late Major-General Sir Alexander Caldwell, G.C.B.

July 2nd, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, P. A. Boyle, Esq., Commander, R.N., to Agnes, youngest daughter of J. Walker, Esq., of Great George-st., Westminster.

July 2nd, at St. George's, Hanover-square, E. W. Dickenson, Esq., of Dosthill-house, Warwickshire, to Sarah, widow of Major William Spratt, late of the H.E.I.C.S.

July 2nd, at Pagham, Sussex, G. Selby, Esq., Madras Artillery, to Angelica Mary, third daughter of Capt. Rowland Money, R.N., C.B.

July 2nd, at Edinburgh, Lieut.-Col. William Low, Madras Army, to Thomasina, elder daughter of the late Sir James Foulis, Bart.

July 3rd, at Alton, William Thomas, son of the late Captain Clement, R.N., to Mary, daughter of J. W. Clement, Esq.

July 3rd, at Willesborough, Kent, Mr. A. D. Tritton, of Hythe, to Angelica, daughter of the late Lieut. T. H. Warren, R.N.

July 3rd, at Aberdeen, W. P. Cockburn, Esq., 18th Royal Irish, to Johanna Charlotte, eldest daughter of Colonel David Forbes, C.B.

July 6th, at St. John's, Paddington, Captain Hirtland, Royal Artillery, to Clara, daughter of the late E. Dance, Esq., Dep. Commissary-General to the Forces.

July 10th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Horatio Kemble, Esq., to Margaret, only child of Lieut. Colonel Carpenter, of Potter's-Bar, Middlesex.

July 15th, in Guernsey, P. L. Macdougall, Capt. Royal Canadian Rifles, son of Colonel

Sir Duncan Macdougall, to Louisa Augusta, daughter of Major-General William F. P. Napier.

July 16th, at Stonehouse, P. Benson Stewart, Esq., Commander, R.N., to Charlotte Augusta, eldest daughter of John Foote, Esq., Capt., R.N., Commanding H.M.S. Madagascar.

July 18th, at Lewisham, E. O. Lyne, Esq., only son of the late Capt. E. Lyne, 1st Madras Cavalry, to Mary, daughter of W. Talmadge, Esq., of Blackheath.

At Milton, Kent, Capt. A. Park, 29th Bengal N.I., son of the distinguished traveller Mungo Park, to Rachael Anne, the daughter of Adam Park, Esq.

DEATHS.

Feb. 13th, on board the Earl of Hardwicke, India ship, Capt. Edmonds, 9th Foot.

Feb. 29th, on passage from Calcutta to Bombay, Ensign Porter, 86th Foot.

March 27th, drowned at Honduras, Lieut. Deckner, 2nd West India Regt.

March —, at Moulmein, East Indies, Capt. Richard L. Coxe, 84th Regt., brother to Lieut. and Adj. E. J. Coxe, 64th Regt., who died last year. Capt. Coxe was a very fine young man, and had been Subaltern of the grenadier company, previous to his promotion to a company in October, 1840. He was ten years and five months in the Service (all on full pay), and purchased all his commissions.

April 21st, at Dinapore, East Indies, Lieut. Egar, 62nd Foot.

"Dinapore, 24th April.—Regimental Orders. —Adverting to the melancholy fate of Lieut. Egar, who was unfortunately lost by the upsetting of a boat yesterday evening in the river, Officers are requested to wear crape on the left arm, until the ensuing Sunday inclusive, in token of respect and regard for the memory of a brother officer, to which his conduct during the seven years he served with the regt. deservedly entitled him."

April 21st, at Trichinopoly, Madras, Major Lindsay, 94th Foot.

April 30th, at Prince's Island, Thomas J. Fead, Esq., Commander of the ship Gloucester, aged 25, youngest son of Lieut.-Col. Fead, C.B., late of the Grenadier Guards.

April 25th, at St. Vincent, Lieut. Macartney, Royal Artillery.

May 2nd, at Bermuda, Staff-Surg. Nugent.

May 6th, Paymaster Haldane, h.p. 3rd West India Regt.

May 8th, suddenly, off the river Gallinas, West Coast of Africa, William Maitland, Esq., A.M., of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and Assist.-Surg. H.M.'s brig Rapid, Plymouth.

May 9th, Lieut. Russwarm, h.p. 50th Foot.

May 12th, at Stonehouse, Devon, Captain Kellon, late of Royal Marines.

May 13th, Lieut. Dobbs, h.p. 1st Foot.

May 16th, Ensign J. Mannsbach, h.p. 4th Line Batt. German Legion.

May 17th, at Nassau, New Providence, Bahamas, Lieut. T. V. E. Reynolds, 3rd West India Regt., aged 23.

May 19th, in Jamaica, Capt. Hall, 48th Foot.

May 19th, at Halifax, N.S., Lieut. Carden, 52nd Foot.

May 22nd, at Newfoundland, Henrietta, wife of Lieut. R. Talbot, Royal Artillery.

May 26th, at Guernsey, Ensign M'Culloch, late 7th Royal Veteran Battalion.

May —, in London, Capt. Hon. C. G. Wortley, h.p. 88th Foot.

June 4th, at the residence of his son-in-law, Frederick Scholes, Esq., Arlington Place, Oxford Street, Manchester, George Foskey, Esq., late Depôt Paymaster of the 29th Regt.

June 9th, at Eling, aged 85, Robert Tomlinson, Commander R.N., and brother to Admiral Tomlinson. This old and much-respected Officer was in constant active service during the last two wars, and filled the situation of a Lieutenant before many of the present Flag Officers entered the Service. He was one of the few survivors who participated in Rodney's action in 1782.

June 14th, in London, Capt. J. B. Morris, Unattached.

June 15th, at Bolton, Mrs. Isabella Mac Carthy, widow of James MacCarthy, Esq., late Lieutenant, 61st Regt., (who died at Prince Orroport's island, Dominica, 15th Nov., 1841, from the prevailing epidemic, and *coup de soleil.*) whose death resulted from the effects of the climate and affliction in her subsequent confinement, leaving four infant orphans, including a posthumous child.

June 16th, Lieut. De Lancey, h.p. 10th Dragoons.

June 19th, Retired-Commander Jeaffreson Miles. This officer entered the Navy in 1799; and, after serving in the Ferrol Expedition, was wrecked in the Stag frigate, in Vigo Bay, Sept. 6, 1800. Shortly after, joining the Renown, 74, under Sir John Warren, he continued in the Mediterranean until the close of the war, and aided in frustrating Admiral Ganteaume's attack on Lord Keith's squadron. In 1803, he assisted Capt. E. H. Columbine in the survey of Trinidad; and at the renewal of hostilities, was present at the capture of St. Lucia and Tobago. We next find him appointed to the Hippomenes sloop, of 18 guns and 120 men, Capt. Conway Shipley, with whom he participated in the capture, to windward of Barbadoes, of L'Egyptienne, French frigate-built privateer, of 36 guns and 240 men, after an arduous chace of 54 hours, and a running fight of 3 hours and 20 minutes, on the 28th March, 1804. He then proceeded to Surinam, and served at the taking of that colony, May 5, following. Shortly after, he had the misfortune to be shot through the elbow-joint while attempting to apprehend a party of deserters, and so severe was the wound, that he was forced to invalid, and took his passage home on board the Heron sloop, with convoy bound to Tortola. During the voyage, the Heron was attacked and boarded by a French privateer, but through the gallantry of the Captain and intrepidity of the crew, the enemy were beaten off and repulsed with great slaughter. On recovering from his wound, Mr. Miles was appointed Mate of the Centaur, 74, under Sir Samuel Hood, and was present when that brave officer lost his arm in the gallant action with the four French frigates off Rochfort, in Sept., 1806. He was next transferred to the Comus, 22, under Capt. Shipley, and commanded one of her boats at the cutting out of a Spanish armed packet, crowded with troops, and moored close to the batteries of Grand Canaria, May 8th, 1807. On the 23rd of July, he was promoted to the rank of Lieut., served in the Alfred, 74, Capt. John Bligh, at the bombardment of Copenhagen, and surrender of the Danish Fleet, in September, 1807, and was included in the general vote of thanks by both Houses of Parliament. He was also at the first landing of Sir Arthur Wellesley and the British army in Portugal; at the surrender of the Russian squadron in the Tagus, in Sept., 1808, and the re-embarkation of Sir John Moore's Army at Corunna and Vigo. We also find him serving, in 1809, in the Baltic, on board the Melpomene, 38, Capt. Frederick Warren; next as First Lieut. of the Sabrina, in 1810-11, and actively employed, in the same capacity, on board the Surprise, in the West Indies; as likewise in the expedition to

Washington and Baltimore, in 1812, 1813, and 1814.

During his long and useful career, Commander Miles assisted at the capture of 3 colonies, 26 line-of-battle ships, 18 frigates, and 21 sloops of war and privateers. Having been six and thirty years a Lieutenant, he was at length, shortly previous to his death, placed on the list of Retired Commanders, on the 28th Sept., 1843. At the peace he retired to the little village of Knapton, by the sea-side, in Norfolk, where he ended his days, regretted by all who knew him. His dying wish was, that the Union Jack should supersede the usual funeral pall, and that he should be buried with the least possible parade. His request was complied with, and the ground has closed over one of England's most zealous defenders. His vindication of Lord Nelson's proceedings in the Bay of Naples was published a short time since, and can hardly fail of establishing its author's object; it being a complete refutation of the calumnious opinions but too generally received, based upon facts which no sophistry can shake.

June 20th, at Gibraltar, Lieut. Dobbie, 7th Royal Fusiliers.

"Garrison Order.—Gibraltar, 21st June, 1844. —The remains of the late Lieut. and Adjutant Dobbie, of the 7th Royal Fusiliers, will be interred with military honours, to-morrow morning at seven o'clock. The general party will move off from the Casemate Barracks precisely at half-past six. The death of this officer deprives his corps and the Service of one of its estimable members, raised by the claims of meritorious conduct to the station which he occupied. He undeviatingly discharged all its duties so as to acquire general satisfaction and regard.

"Daniel Falla, Col., Town-Major."

June 26th, at Woolwich, George, youngest son of Capt. H. G. Teesdale, Royal Horse Artillery.

June 27th, at the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, aged 69, Lieut. Roberts. He had been in the British Navy more than half a century, and held a Lieutenant's commission since 1810. He had seen much hard service, and participated in no less than thirty naval engagements. He went out as mail agent in the Britannia on her first trip to the United States, has been in constant service since, and has crossed the Atlantic forty times. His remains were deposited in a vault under Park-street Church, Boston.

June 27th, at North-place, Hampstead-road, Judith, relict of the late Capt. T. Innes, R.N., aged 72.

June 27th, at Leamington Spa, Capt. Michael Head, R.N.

June 28th, at Clapham, aged 52, Mrs. Amelia Wood, widow of the late Colonel W. H. Wood, E.I.C.'s Service.

July 1st, after four days' illness, Harriet, the wife of George Bedford, Esq., late of Brighton, and only sister of Colonel Sir Robert N. Sale, G.C.B.

July 2nd, aged 28, at Henfield, Sussex, Goring Rideout, Esq., late of H.M.'s 86th Regt.

July 22nd, at St. Leonard's on-Sea, Louisa, daughter of Capt. Edmund Heywood, R.N., aged 28.

July 4th, at Aberdeen, Elizabeth, wife of L. Ricks, Band-Master, 92nd Highlanders.

July 5th, at his residence, Mespilvilla, Dublin, after great and long-protracted suffering, Colonel Charles King, K.H. He was for many years attached to the Staff of the Dublin Garrison as Inspecting Field-Officer. The services of Colonel King were continuous and active, commencing in early youth, and terminating but a short period before his death. He entered the army in 1805 as a Cornet in the 11th Light Dragoons. In 1810 he embarked with his regiment for Lisbon, and joined and served from that period under the Duke of Wellington throughout the Peninsular campaign. At El Bodon he was so severely wounded in the right arm as to render amputation necessary, having previously on the same day received a very bad wound in the left hand. As a reward for his services, and on the special recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, he was promoted by the Duke of York to a troop in the 16th Lancers, in which regiment he served for a period of fifteen years, having gone through the whole of the Peninsular war, and been present and taking an active part in all, and a conspicuous part in some, of the great battles for which that extraordinary campaign was distinguished. He returned with his regiment to the Continent in 1814, and was engaged in action at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, on the ever-memorable days of the 16th, 17th, and 18th of June, 1815, in which latter battle he had one horse killed, and another severely wounded, under him. He was immediately afterwards appointed Brigade-Major to the 4th Brigade. His regiment (the 16th) was ordered to India in 1822, he joined it in 1823, and in 1825 was promoted to the rank of Major. During that period he served in the whole of the campaign of Bhurtpore, in which he was engaged in many gallant and distinguished affairs of Cavalry, commanding the left wing of the Lancers, with guns detached. Major King particularly signalised himself during the investment and siege of the fortress of Bhurtpore, on which occasion he succeeded—in conjunction with Capt. Luard, and assisted only by two orderlies—in capturing a native Rajah, with his whole suite. For his services in this campaign he received the thanks of Brigadier-General Sleigh, commanding the cavalry on the occasion referred to. In 1827 he was promoted to an unattached Lieut.-Colonelcy by the Duke of Wellington, and in 1830 appointed Inspecting Field-Officer at Cork, by the late Lord Hill; and in 1834 was removed to Dublin in the same capacity, in which he continued until about a year since, when his state of health made it necessary for him to resign his situation. He obtained his Colonelcy on the occasion of the general Brevet at the birth of the Prince of Wales, in 1841.

July 6th, at Arthingworth, aged 60, Langham Rokeby, Esq., Lieut.-Col. of the Northamptonshire Militia.

July 8th, at Chatham, Emily Eunice, the infant daughter of Lieut. Blackmore, R.N.

July 12th, at East Looe, Cornwall, Capt. John Harris Nicolas, R.N., in his 86th year.

July 13th, at Kensington, Emily, daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Gilbert Buchanan, Royal Engineers.

July 13th, at St. Boswell's-Bank, Roxburghshire, Montgomerie, the wife of Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Fairfax, Bart.

July 13th, Stephen Clare, Esq., Purser, R.N., aged 55.

July 8th, Lieut. Octavius Hart Dyke, R.N.

At Ceylon, Staff-Surgeon Dr. Rumley.

At his Lodge, at Sandy Cove, John Madden, of Hilton, in the county of Monaghan, Esq., late Colonel of the Monaghan Militia.

Lately, at Stonehouse, Capt. Philip Sturgeon, R.M., aged 82.

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MAR 2 8 1917

LONDON: HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

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